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**CHRISTIANITY AND GENDER IN SOUTH-EAST CHINA:
THE CHAOZHOU MISSIONS (1849-1949)**

**CHRISTIANITY AND GENDER IN SOUTH-EAST CHINA:
THE CHAOZHOU MISSIONS (1849-1949)**

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Cai Xukui and Chen Xuanzhen to whom I owe everything.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

When I was a young girl, my father told me a family anecdote about which most of his kin preferred to remain silent. It was the story of Auntie Xu, my grandmother's sixth aunt (六姑母). In the 1940s, Auntie Xu (许氏) had run away from her husband and his family in Chenghai city (澄海), taking her little daughter with her, and had moved to the port city of Swatow where both of them converted to Roman Catholicism. Auntie Xu did not want to go home again because her husband wished to take a concubine in order to guarantee male offspring. After her conversion, Auntie Xu lived with her daughter and provided for the two of them. After the war, her daughter married a young Roman Catholic man who worked as catechist at the Swatow Roman Catholic Church of Communist China. This story stirred my curiosity about the role that Christianity (Protestant and Roman Catholic) had played in promoting female emancipation during the late Qing dynasty and in the Republican period in Chaozhou, the south-eastern coastal district where I grew up. What did the Roman Catholic church offer a lonely woman overcome by despair, what gave her the courage to decide to break with tradition and embark on a new life of her own?

In an article titled "Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women", Heleen Murre-van den Berg remarks that the most difficult question to answer is how the missionaries' activities influenced the position of women in the Middle East.¹ Her words point out an important dilemma in the history of Christian missions: We know who the woman missionaries were, why and how they became missionaries at home, what they did in the field; but we seldom know who the first two generations of the local Christian women were, why and how they converted, and what the impact of Christianity was on their daily lives (marriage and career). In an interview, Jessie G. Lutz, a historian of Chinese Christianity, has also emphasized the important role of local Christians, including Chinese evangelists and catechists, the individual Chinese congregations, the independent churches and the biographies of prominent Chinese Christians, in the ascendancy of Chinese Christianity.²

Inspired by Murre-van den Berg and Lutz, the present study attempts to answer these questions in connection with the daily lives of local Christian women in the Chaozhou region from 1849 to 1949. In the first two sections of this introductory chapter I shall introduce the geographical environment, the tradition of emigration and the gender patterns in Chaozhou society; then I shall reflect on gender issues in the history of Christian missions in the nineteenth century and the analytical framework which

1 Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 'Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women', in Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud (eds), *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2005.

2 Timothy Man-kong Wong (王文江), "An Interview with Jessie Gregory Lutz: Historian of Chinese Christianity", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2006. p.40. See also Joseph Tse-Lei Lee (*The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900*, New York: Routledge, 2003. p.xxv): "the making of Christian communities was a continuous process, and their history needs to be written from the perspectives of local Christians, rather than from the views of Western missionaries and Chinese officials who produced most of the primary sources and secondary literature. In so doing, it is possible to discover what remained unreported in the missionary accounts and Chinese official writings about Christian activities in the countryside, such as the overlap of Chinese kinship with Christian identity."

has been applied in previous research by other scholars. In the concluding sections, I shall introduce my own analytical framework and the primary sources for this study.

Geographical Environment, Dialects of the Chaozhou Prefecture and its Tradition of Emigration to the Southeast Asia



Figure 1: The prefectures of Huizhou, Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou in the late Qing period

In the Qing dynasty, three prefectures made up the eastern part of Guangdong province. From west to east they were: Huizhou, Jiayingzhou and Chaozhou.³ They were administered by the *Hui-Chao-Jia Daotai* (惠潮嘉道台, the circuit intendant of Huizhou-Chaozhou-Jiayingzhou) who resided in the prefectural city of Chaozhou.⁴ The city of Chaozhou was the political and cultural centre of east Guangdong. Chaozhou prefecture, situated in the coastal region, will be the main geographical area of my study. The prefecture had two natural geographical boundaries: the sea coast in the south-east and the range of Lotus Mountains⁵ to the north-west.

Two linguistic groups, the Hoklo and the Hakka, resided in Chaozhou prefecture. The former occupied the littoral region and the latter lived in the mountainous hinterland. In Chinese characters, Hoklo is written 学老, 福佬 or 鹤佬, which means the people from Fujian (Hokkien, 福建), because their ancestors migrated to Chaozhou from this province in the wake of such disasters as war and famine during the Southern Song (南宋, 1127-1279), the Yuan (元, 1271-1368) and the Ming (明, 1368-1644) dynasties. The term Hakka (客家, 客人), literally “the guest people” in Chinese, indicates that these people were relative late-comers to their present abodes.⁶ The Hakka people migrated from the Yellow River Valley in successive stages from the fifth century. By the thirteenth century, a large group of Hakka had settled in what became known as Jiayingzhou prefecture.⁷ In the early nineteenth

3 The character “zhou” (州) means prefecture.

4 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.3.

5 The Lotus Mountains stretch from the north-east (Dabu district) to the south-west (Haifeng District) and formed the natural border between Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou.

6 G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1957. p.39.

7 *Ibid.*, p.37.

century, they not only occupied most of the rugged areas to the north-west of the Lotus Mountains, but had also crossed this range, to occupy the mountainous areas along in the north and north-west borders of Chaozhou prefecture.⁸ The Hoklo and Hakka co-existed in nearly all the districts of the Chaozhou prefecture with only one exception: all of the residents in Chenghai district were Hoklo.

In his study of collective conversion to Christianity in Chaozhou, Joseph Tse-Hei Lee (李樹熙) focuses mainly on the littoral plains, the Hoklo region. He applies G. William Skinner's Southeast Coast Macroregion Theory to divide Chaozhou prefecture into five zones, namely: the Han River (韩江) Zone, the Rong River (榕江) Zone, the Lian River (练江) Zone, the Chenghai-Raoping (澄海-饶平) District Border and the Huizhou-Chaozhou (惠州-潮州) Prefectural Border (see Map 2 below), because "the ecological, political, social and economic variations of Chaozhou largely followed the inland river systems."⁹ This division excluded the mountainous areas of Chaozhou prefecture which could not be reached by river, namely: the northern parts of the Jieyang (揭阳), Chao'an (潮安) and Raoping (饶平) districts, and all of the whole of the Fengshun (丰顺) and Dabu (大埔) districts.

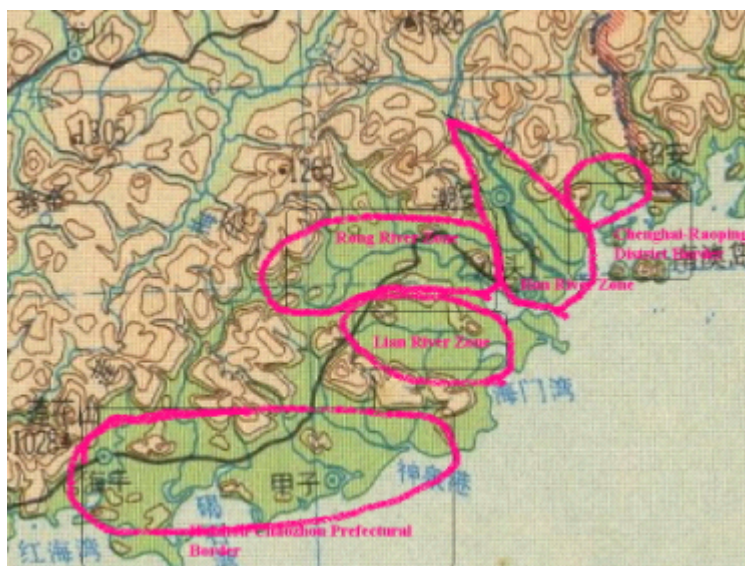


Figure 2: Five river zones in the littoral Hoklo region (according to Joseph Tse-Hei Lee)

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee had reason to exclude these mountainous areas, because his research focuses on the Hoklo linguistic group which lived in the littoral plains, while nearly all the mountainous areas were occupied by the Hakka people.¹⁰ Before 1900, where his study ends, the two Protestant missions under consideration, the American Baptist Mission (ABM) and the English Presbyterian Mission (EPM), had only a handful of out-posts in the Hakka region.

8 Ibid., p.39. 'Emigrant communities of Hakka are scattered all over south China; their major concentration, however, lies on the upper reaches of the Han River and its tributaries: that is, Ta-pu and Feng-shun hsiens in Ch'ao-chou, most of Chia-ying-chou, and part of T'ing-chou (in southwest Fukien), extending southwestward to the mountainous areas back from the coast in Hui-lai and Chieh-yang hsiens in Ch'ao-chou, and Lu-feng and Hai-feng hsiens in Hui-chou. Others are in the hinterland of Hongkong and in southwestern Kwangtung.'

9 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.8.

10 Except for the northern Chao'an and Raoping districts, where the people still spoke Hoklo dialect. On account of the difficulty in travelling, the ABM and EPM did not carry out the evangelistic work among the Hoklo in the mountains until the 1920s.

Because of the three Protestant missions (ABM, EPM, Basel Mission) and the Roman Catholic mission (les Missions Etrangères de Paris, MEP), my study will focus on fully developed Hakka stations both in Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou prefectures in the first half of the twentieth century. I shall include both the Hoklo and Hakka regions in my analysis. One might wonder whether the Chaozhou and Hakka should not be separated in the analysis. The reason for taking them together is that, as Rao Zongyi (饶宗颐) has suggested, on account of the long-term Hoklo-Hakka co-existence Chaozhou culture also contains elements of the Hakka culture and *vice versa*. At the periphery of these two groups, the mixed *Ban Shan Ke* (半山客, Half-Hakka) and *Ban Xue Lao* (半学老, Half-Hoklo) cultures on the Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou prefectural border overlapped each other. Treating them separately reifies an artificial border which does not exist in practice. Therefore, a wide horizon including the Hakka region is required when focusing on the study of the Chaozhou region.¹¹

In its general sense, the geographical scope of the Swatow mission field of the American and English missions, “Chaozhou” had three components: 1. all of Chaozhou prefecture; 2. all of Jiayingzhou prefecture with the exception of the Changle (长乐) district; and 3. the Haifeng, Lufeng districts of Huizhou prefecture. These three regions had close social and economic ties. Divided by the Lotus Mountains, the prefectures of Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou were connected by the Han and Mei Rivers (韩江, 梅江). In the nineteenth century people always mentioned “Chao-Jia” (潮嘉) and “Chao-Mei” (潮梅) in one breath because of the tight commercial bonds between two prefectures. The combination “Chao-Hui” (潮惠) was also popular, mainly because people residing in the coastal region of Huizhou shared the same dialect with the Hoklo in Chaozhou. The fishermen in the latter region always went fishing as far as the coast of the former.¹²

Because farmland was at a premium, plus dense population and concomitant social unrest rife in the late Ming dynasty, the Hoklo and Hakka in Chaozhou began to sail to the ‘Nanyang’ (南洋, meaning South-East Asia in Chinese) as migrant workers. William Skinner says that this movement turned into a constant flux from 1767¹³ to the first half of the twentieth century, with Siam as the main destination.¹⁴ When Singapore was founded as a commercial port by the British in 1819, it became the second destination of Chaozhou migrants.

As Skinner points out, unremitting social disruption in the mid-nineteenth century was the main push factor for the emigration of Hoklo and Hakka. This unrest was caused by the two Opium Wars

11 Chen Liming 陈历明, “Rao Zongyi xiansheng tan chaoxue yanjiu” 《饶宗颐先生谈潮学研究》 [Rao Zongyi’s view on Chaozhou Studies], *Chaoxue yanjiu* 《潮学研究》 [Chaozhou-Shantou Culture Research], vol. 5, Chaoshan lishi wenhua yanjiu zhongxin 潮汕历史文化研究中心 [Chao-Shan History and Culture Research Centre] & Shantou daxue chaoshan wenhua yanjiu zhongxin 汕头大学潮汕文化研究中心 [Chao-Shan Culture Studies Centre, Shantou University], Shantou: Shantou University Press, 1996. p.271.

12 The fourth of the fifth moon, *Journal of Chen Sun*, 海丰县东州坑。

13 The accession to the throne of Siam of a Chaozhou Hoklo named Tak Sin in that year drew a large number of Chaozhou immigrants to Siam.

14 Skinner, *Chinese Society*, p.41. “In central and upcountry Thailand, with Bangkok as its chief port of entry, the period from 1767 through the nineteenth century saw a spectacular increase in the proportion of Teochius and large increases in the proportion of Hainanese and Hakkas, coupled with a sharp decrease in the proportion of Hokkiens and a milder relative decrease in the proportion of Cantonese. The new pattern of things was well established prior to the 1880’s and was confirmed during that decade as the future pattern for Siam. The unfolding of the new migration patterns set in the nineteenth century has yielded the speech-group composition of the present-day Chinese population.”

(1839-1842, 1856-1858) and their direct consequences, such as the cession of Hong Kong to the Great Britain and the opening up of Canton and Amoy as treaty ports in 1842, followed by Swatow in 1858. The Taiping Rebellion (1848-1865) caused a general insurrection in Chaozhou in the 1850s. The ruthless pacification campaign launched by General Fang Yao (方耀) in 1870 in an attempt to restore peace also pushed those who were designated “criminals” to flee to the South-East Asia.¹⁵

From the 1850s, the coolie trade became another important cause of migration. Around Swatow and Double Island, the kidnapping and sale of coolies, either to English or American ships under charter to an English coolie house, were frequent occurrences.¹⁶ The coolie trade conducted by the English was gradually regularized when Swatow was formally opened in 1860. Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements were its main destinations. From 1880, the Dutch colonizers in the Netherlands East Indies began to participate in the coolie trade in Swatow too, the main point of destination were the tobacco plantations of Deli in north-east Sumatra. Direct coolie emigration to Sumatra also expanded by leaps and bounds, from 1,222 in 1888 to 3,825 in 1889.¹⁷

Before I move on to the discussion of traditional gender patterns in the Chaozhou region, it should be pointed out that from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, only men emigrated to the Nanyang. For a long period, Chinese women were forbidden by the Qing government to travel with their husbands. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century was the ban on women’s travel and emigration overseas (for instance, to Singapore) lifted. In most circumstances, husbands who earned their living abroad preferred their wives to remain at home to take care of the families and to assume responsibility for the veneration of their husband’s ancestors. From a personal point of view, for many women it was difficult to travel because, like most Hoklo women, they had bound feet. The impact of this male-dominated emigration pattern on the gender patterns will be discussed more generally in the next section.

Female Virtues and Gender Patterns in Chaozhou

Gender segregation was a common social phenomenon in pre-modern China. The Confucian ethic that “it was improper for man and woman to touch each other’s hands when handing objects to one another” (男女授受不亲) was deeply ingrained in people’s minds. A woman of good repute should not be touched by any man except her own husband and young women should not be seen by adult

15 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, pp.14-16. See also Chen Liming 陈历明, “Wailai wenhua de shentou” 《外来文化的渗透》 [The Penetration of the Foreign Culture], *Chaoshan shihua* 《潮汕史话》, Guangdong luyou chubanshe 广东旅游出版社, 1992. p.298.

16 Robert L. Irick, *China's Policy toward the Coolie Trade: 1847-1878*, Chinese Materials Center, 1982. p.138. p.140: “... That three of the American ships in the Messenger incident were under charter to the English house of Lyall, Still & Co. of Hong Kong, suggests the failure of the British efforts to control their own nationals in the trade.”

17 ‘Report on the Foreign Trade at the Port of Swatow during the Year 1889’, *British Parliamentary Papers*, Commercial Report Sessions p.556. Statistics on emigration from Swatow are available in ‘Report on the Foreign Trade at the Port of Swatow during the Year 1888’, *ibid.*, p.278: “Emigration: According to the customs returns 68,747 Chinese left, and 58,040 arrived at Swatow as passengers on foreign vessels, all of which were steamers, except a solitary sailing vessel; that carried one passenger. The corresponding total numbers of passengers in 1887 the departures were to Chinese treaty ports, 3,419; Hongkong, 16,311; Cochin China, 1,600; Siam, 6,129; Straits Settlements, 40,066; and Sumatra, 1,222; and the biggest number of passengers arriving was 46,291 from Hongkong, and most of these were probably emigrants returning from the Straits Settlements and Siam.”

male strangers.

The custom of foot-binding was also widespread in the Chaozhou region. Most of the Hoklo women, whether rich or poor, followed this custom, with the difference that girls in the rich families had their feet bound at seven or eight years of age, while those from the poor families only underwent this process when they were thirteen or fourteen years old, shortly before their marriage. The reason for the postponement of the binding was that they were expected to assist in all sorts of housework. The Hoklo women of the sojourner families (this refers to families with a husband or a son working in South-East Asia) did not have their feet bound, because they had to till the farmland.¹⁸



Figure 3: Girls with bound feet and natural feet in Chaozhou

Commenting on Chinese society, Freedman says: “The ideal family was one in which large numbers of kinsmen and their wives were held under the control of a patriarch imbued with the Confucian values of propriety and order.”¹⁹ The ideal female virtues according to Confucian values were spelled out in such traditional texts as the *Family Regulations of Zhu Zi* (朱子治家格言, 1617-1689), well known in all the Confucian households, or two elementary primers for boys and girls, *San Zi Jing* (三字经, the Tree Character Classic, 13th century) and *Qian Zi Wen* (千字文, The Thousand Character Classic, AD 502-549). These books helped to shape the Confucian gender ideal in the mind of the common people.

Throughout her whole life, a Chinese woman was never independent. She should obey her father and brothers before marriage (未嫁从父), her husband when married (既嫁从夫), and her sons in widowhood (夫死从子), the “three obediences” (三从). The “four virtues” (四德) required of a

18 According to Tian Rukang (田汝康), *Shiqi zhi shijiu shiji zhongye zhongguo fangchuan zai dongnan yazhou*《17-19 世纪中叶中国帆船在东南亚》[Chinese Junks in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries], Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957. p.6.

19 Maurice Freedman, *The Study of Chinese Society: Essays*, Selected and Introduced by G. William Skinner, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1979. p.244.

woman by the Confucian values were morality (妇德), proper speech (妇言), a modest manner (妇容) and diligent work (妇功). The “three obediences and four virtues” (三从四德) served as the criteria for Chinese family life; men used them as a yardstick to measure their wives’ conduct and women tried to ensure that their behaviour conformed to these rules.

The proper work for a woman was managing the household, but she should not be involved in the decision making about its important affairs. To acquire knowledge for the sake of gaining intelligence was not a female priority according to the old saying that “ignorance is woman’s virtue” (女子无才便是德). If a woman was intelligent, she should assist her husband, complementing his shortcomings.

The ideal relationship of a couple in a Confucian family was “the woman should admire the virtue of chastity, the man should model himself to those who have ability and wisdom; the husband guides, and his wife follows”.²⁰ And “*xiang jing ru bin*” (相敬如宾), “to treat each other with respect as a host treats his guest” was a norm of behaviour to achieve the harmony of a couple.

Chinese women, including the wives with absentee husbands in the Nanyang as often happened in migrant (sojourner) families in the Chaozhou region, generally shared these norms,²¹ but how did the absence of the husband affect the gender roles and division of labour in these families? What were its implications for the position of women in Chaozhou?

The division of labour which resulted from the trade and migration tradition was that the husband earned his living abroad and sent remittances home to support his family. The wife did all the housework. Those who did not have deformed feet also attended to all kinds of farm labour, standing fair and square, strong, diligent and tough; they were the managers of household affairs, shouldering all kinds of responsibilities, according to Tian Rukang (田汝康), a historian expert in the Chinese of South-East Asia, who observed the townspeople of Zhanglin (樟林).²² It turned out that this emigration-related division of labour was not terribly different from contemporary Western ideas such as those formulated by Dana L. Robert in connection with missionary practice: “man’s proper sphere being the world of work, in which he earned wages. Woman’s sphere, on the other hand, took her out of the competition for wages by centering her in the home.”²³ These ideas which emerged against the background of the Industrial Revolution in Europe did not quite fit the gender division in nineteenth-century China which was still heavily affected by its strong agricultural roots. Nevertheless, with their husbands overseas, the women in the Chaozhou sojourner families did experience a similar division of labour because the men of this region earned their livings overseas, leaving them in charge of all the responsibilities in the household.

20 “女慕贞洁，男效才良，夫唱妇随，” see *Qian Zi Wen*《千字文》。 *San Zi Jing* 《三字经》 also said “*fu fu shun*” (夫妇顺), “*fu fu cong*” (夫妇从), but both of them only convey a vague message of harmony between husband and wife. Both Herbert A. Giles and S.T. Phen translated these two sentences as “harmony between husband and wife”, see Herbert A. Giles, *Elementary Chinese (San Tzu Ching)*, Shanghai: Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1910; and Phen, S.T., *Three character classic (San zi jing)*, Singapore: EPB Publishers, 1989.

21 This was also a widespread practice in many migrant counties in Guangdong.

22 Zhanglin is in the Chenghai (澄海) district, the population were/are the Hoklo. Tian, *Chinese Junkies in Southeast Asia in the 17th to the mid-19th centuries*, p.6.

23 Dana L. Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’ as a Cornerstone of Anglo-American Missionary Thought and Practice,” Dana L. Robert ed. *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U. K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008. pp.136-137.

Jessie Lutz says that “by the late nineteenth century, a significant portion of the Hakka males had migrated to coastal cities or overseas to work, leaving their wives to till the soil. Under such conditions, Hakka women were less restricted than most other Han women.”²⁴ Usually these solitary wives and mothers were still technically under the aegis of an older kinsman of their husbands’ lineages, but as managers of their own households, the Hoklo wives in a sojourner household tended to be more independent than their peers who still lived together with their husbands and were therefore bound to follow their husbands’ instructions. As for the husband abroad, it is impossible not to wonder whether he was influenced by different gender patterns in South-East Asia where women occupied a strong position. Did he perhaps show his wife more respect and pay more attention to his daughters than other Chinese men? Perusing letters sent back to their families in Chaozhou by non-Christian Hoklo sojourners in South-East Asia in the mid-twentieth century, Du Shimin (杜式敏) concludes that the traditional gender idea “superior men - inferior woman” was still strongly embedded in what they had written. Some of these absentee fathers and husbands supported women in achieving more education,²⁵ but this attitude had not necessarily been acquired in South-East Asia, because the Qing government was already encouraging female education at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Hu Weiqing (胡卫清) based his research on the ethnological observation that “the social status of the Hoklo women was rather low generally”,²⁶ a cliché which is still quite pervasive in China nowadays. There is another prevalent idea that the Hoklo and Hakka women represented “ideal” wives because they were the perfect combination of toughness in the household affairs but at the same time subservient to male authority. What should be made of these two stereotypes? First of all, it is impossible to overlook the continuous existence of well-organized lineages in the south-east coastal China. Freedman observes that the lineage is a social unit organized in the form of patrilineal descent groups. As a social institution, it binds together large numbers of people who have kinship relationships, and hence exerts an important effect on political, economic and religious conduct at large.²⁷ Relationships are traced exclusively through the males, the females have no position in it. Therefore, the traditional lineage was the centralized embodiment of male authority. Once married, a woman was removed from her natal family and lineage, and passed under the control of her husband’s lineage. Her main task was to give birth to male offspring to continue her husband’s lineage. If she could not fulfill this task, she should look out for a concubine who could provide the family with a son. By doing so she would be praised as a virtuous woman. If she was unwilling to look for a replacement,

24 Jessie G. Lutz, “Women in Imperial China: Ideal, Stereotype, and Reality”, Jessie G. Lutz ed., *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women*, Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010. p.40.

25 Du Shimin 杜式敏, “Cong chaoshan qiaopi kan haiwai chaoren de nüxingguan” 《从潮汕侨批看海外潮人的女性观》 [Probing the Perspective on Female Gender of Overseas Chaozhou People through Their Letters Sending Home], *Shantou daxue xuebao* 《汕头大学学报(人文社会科学版)》 [Shantou University Journal (Humanities & Social Sciences Bimonthly)], Vol. 21, No. 3, 2005. pp.81-84.

26 Hu Weiqing 胡卫清, “Kunan de moshi: Jindai lingdong diqu nü jidutu de chuandao yu zhengdao” 《苦难的模式: 近代岭东地区女基督徒的传道与证道》 [The Mode of Misery: The Female Converts’ Evangelism and Their Witnesses to Christian Doctrines in the Modern Lingdong Region], Tao Feiya 陶飞亚 ed., *Xingbie yu lishi: Jindai zhongguo funü yu jidujiao* 《性别与历史: 近代中国妇女与基督教》 [*Gender and History: Modern Chinese females and Christianity*], Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, August 2006. p.299.

27 Freedman, *The Study of Chinese Society*, pp.240-241.

she should at least not stand in the way of her husband marrying a concubine. In other words, female offspring could not continue the natal lineage, but would in their turn become the tool of reproduction in their husbands' lineage, "worshipping others' ancestors"(拜别人家神).

Another reason for the low social status of the Hoklo woman was that she could not bring any income either into her natal or her affinal family. In the Hoklo region, earning money to support a household was the task of the Hoklo men, not of the women. This situation was quite different from the economic position of the Cantonese and Hakka women in the family. Jessie Lutz's research shows that "women in impoverished rural families, furthermore, were not generally cloistered. They had to contribute to family subsistence. Working in the fields, hiring out as servants, engaging in petty trading, running a food shop on the streets, or even begging, all were common."²⁸ It seems to me that such an assertion is too general and requires some refinement in the context of Guangdong society. "Working in the fields" generally refers to Hakka women, who did not have their feet bound (some of the Hoklo women in the sojourner families could also do the same job), whereas "hiring out as servants" was a pervasive custom among Cantonese women in the Pearl River Delta. In the early twentieth century, all of these economic activities could only be carried out by women whose feet were not bound.

It is possible to see the Cantonese female employees working in the silk-reeling industry in the Pearl River Delta as constituting the first generation of "professional" women in Guangdong province. This means that they had received a certain training and earned a salary by using their expertise. Jessie Lutz points out that, as a result of this income, the parents of these female employees might have been happy to have their daughters at home, causing a resistance to marriage among the daughters, a pervasive phenomenon among Cantonese women in the Pearl River Delta. In short, the prospect of sharing their daughter's earnings could have changed earlier marriage patterns.²⁹ Hoklo and Hakka women were not in the same position, partly because they gained economic opportunities much later than the Cantonese women, partly because they were more hemmed in by traditional ideas. When American merchants planned to set up needlework factories in Swatow in the 1920s, most of the Hoklo women still preferred to do the work at home, for the simple reason that "they would not be subject to close contact with strangers, especially men, in a distant community".³⁰ Hence, it was the combination of the dominance of male authority in the form of lineage and the low economic position of females in the family, which lay at the heart of the low social status of women in the Chaozhou region.

Gender in the History of Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions

It has been remarked that "the missions were one of the factors that stimulated Middle Eastern women

28 Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, p.39.

29 Ibid., p.41.

30 Theodore Herman, "Cultural Factors in the Location of the Swatow Lace and Needlework Industry", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 46, No. 1, (Mar., 1956). p.126.

to rethink their roles in family and society.”³¹ This assertion leads to the question of whether there was also a transformation in the position of Chaozhou women in family and society under the influence of Christianity between 1849 and 1949.

In an article entitled “The Mode of Misery: Woman Evangelists and Their Witnesses to Christian Doctrines in the Modern Lingdong Region”, Hu Weiqing, pioneer in the study of Christian women in the Chaozhou region,³² has proposed that “since that the Church had effectively promoted the emancipation of women in society (such as advocating gender equality, promoting the movement of natural feet (天足运动), forbidding polygamy and infanticide), it would be logical to expect that the women within the congregation should gain a certain degree of ‘emancipation’ in the politics of the church.”³³ However, he was disappointed to find that there are so few reliable sources on female Christians in the Chinese archives of the English Presbyterian Church. Consequently, he concluded that women took only a peripheral position in the politics of the Presbyterian congregation and that gender inequality was actually strengthened by the seemingly sacred division of labour in terms of gender in the congregation. Hu attributes this to the absence of a decree about the ordaining of female pastors. Because neither the Presbyterian nor Baptist churches in Chaozhou allowed women to be ordained before 1949, he feels that this lapse greatly restricted the status of women in the politics of the church congregation.³⁴ Hu’s hypothesis and explanation are somewhat problematic. Jessie Lutz says, “the gender specific division of labor drove women toward more cultural and secular activities. Until recent decades, ordination of women was rare; nor were women likely to serve in higher councils of the church. They could, however, become Bible-women, teach school, found and run orphanages.”³⁵ Ling Oi Ki comments that the presence of Bible-women in various Protestant missions³⁶ in China could not resolve the tensions raised by the role of women in ministry, because “in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Bible-women had no decision power in the male-dominated hierarchy of the

31 Murre-van den Berg, “Protestant Missions”, p.113.

32 Hu Weiqing is the pioneer scholar who located the Chinese synod records of the English Presbyterian Church which are kept in the Shantou Municipal Archives. He published a series of articles on the Protestant missions/Churches in Chaozhou:

Hu Weiqing 胡卫清, “Jindai chaoshan diqu jidujiao chuanbo chutan” 《近代潮汕地区基督教传播初探》 [The Transmission of Christianity in Chaoshan Region in Late Qing Period], *Chaoxue yanjiu* 《潮学研究》 [Chaozhou-Shantou Culture Research], vol.9, Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, July 2001.

Hu Weiqing 胡卫清, Yao Qianpu 姚倩璞, “Shengsu zhijian: Jindai chaoshan diqu de jidutu yu jiaohui” 《圣俗之间: 近代潮汕地区的基督徒与教会》 (Between Sanctity and Secularity: The Christians and Church in pre-Modern Chaozhou-Swatow Region), *Hanshan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 《韩山师范学院学报》 [Journal of Hanshan Teachers College], Vol. 4, December 2001.

Hu Weiqing 胡卫清, “Guojia yu jiaohui—shantou jidujiao jiaohui de zili yu fenli” 《国家与教会——汕头基督教教会的自立与分离》 [State and Church: The Self-support and Separation of the Swatow Protestant Church], *Dinujie Chaoxue guoji yantaobui lunwenji* 《第五届潮学国际研讨会论文集》 [Papers of the 5th International Symposium on the Studies of Chaozhou], May 2005.

——. “The Mode of Misery”.

——. “Jiceng jiaohui yu xiangcun zhengzhi: Lingdong zhanglaohui huanggangtang quzhujiacomu shijian jiedu” 《基层教会与乡村政治: 岭东长老会黄冈堂驱逐教牧事件解读》 [Grass-roots Church and Village Politics: Analyzing the Incident of Expelling Priest in the Lingdong Presbyterian Church of Huanggang], Wu Yixiong 吴义雄 ed., *Difang shehui wenhua yu jindai zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 《地方社会文化与近代中西文化交流》 [The Culture of Local Society and the Sino-western Intercourse in Modern China], Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2010.

33 Hu, “The Mode of Misery”, p.284.

34 Ibid., p.295.

35 Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, p.19.

36 They were the American Baptist Mission, the Church Mission Society, the China Inland Mission, the American Methodist Mission, and the American Presbyterian Mission, see Ling Oi Ki, “Bible Women”, *ibid.*, p.

church...Being released from church administration and responsibility concerning church buildings, church growth, and financial matters, they were free to attend to those people in need and were able to concentrate on personal work in a way that their male counterpart could not do.”³⁷ Henceforth women actually did perform all sorts of crucial jobs in the church but were overlooked in the official documents. The lack of biographies of Christian women should be attributed to the strongly patriarchal character of Chinese historiography itself.

Another myth underlying Hu’s problematic hypothesis is that woman missionaries are always considered to be feminists; under their influence, the local Christian women were supposed to have become feminists. Yet Jane Hunter presents another image of woman missionaries in China: “They promoted the same domestic ideology for Chinese women which structured their own service. They taught that women’s nurturing responsibilities included education, culture, and public morality, but that the ultimate center of their lives should be the home, where they would act as a stabilizing force for the tides of change and the currents of history.” This indicates that woman missionaries were not feminists at all but formed “a conservative body”.³⁸ Women’s ambition to be evangelists and teachers at home and abroad was encouraged by the idea of evangelical womanhood which developed in America between 1820 and 1860. This concept combined the traditional Protestant ideal of the “virtuous woman” with a new evangelical stress on action. It portrayed women as nurturing, sensitive, pious; more aware than men of injustice and more capable of providing comfort to those in need.³⁹ This ideal of womanhood stressed self-sacrifice but permitted women to adopt active social roles in such areas as teaching and moral leadership.⁴⁰ This ideal also influenced their teaching of the local Christian women. Having examined the Girls’ School ran by the American South Baptist Mission in China in the nineteenth century, Marjorie King puts it more succinctly when she says that, in their efforts to emancipate the Chinese women, women missionaries were “exporting femininity, not feminism”.⁴¹ This view also resonates in Ulrike Sill’s new book.⁴² Jessie Lutz strides a step forward and asserts that “they might not believe in the seclusion of women, and they supported education for women, but they would not quarrel with the Confucian concept of different spheres of activity for men and women. They acknowledged that wives should obey their husbands, they did not question the concept of patrilineage.”⁴³

Du Shimin, Peter Chen-main Wang (王成勉), and Dong Wang (王栋) help to shed more light on

37 Ling, “Bible women”, p.257.

38 Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984. p.176.

39 Anne M. Boylan, “Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Women in Sunday School”, *Feminist Studies*, 4 (1978). p.65.

40 *Ibid.*, p.63.

41 Marjorie King, “Exporting Femininity, Not Feminism: Nineteenth-Century U.S. Missionary Women’s Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women”, in Leslie A. Flemming ed., *Women’s Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, Boulder, San Francisco, & London: Westview Press, 1989. pp.117-136.

42 Ulrike Sill, *Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010. p.11: “As opposed to the image of Christian missions “empowering” women, academic debates since the 1980s have asked whether women in missions had not instead achieved the opposite, and by the model of femininity they propagated contributed to the subjugation of women overseas by assigning them to domesticity”.

43 Jessie G. Lutz, “Women in Imperial China”, p.37.

the local Christian women. On the basis of the oral accounts of four ex-students of the *Shude* Girls' School (淑德女校) run by the English Presbyterian Church in Swatow, Du Shimin shows that this school was not involved in the nationalist turbulence in the 1920s.⁴⁴ This tallies with Jane Hunter's conclusion that "women would act as a stabilizing force for the tides of change and the currents of history". Analysing the biographies of Christian women in the *Zhonghua Jidujiaohui nianjian* (China Church Year Book), Peter Chen-main Wang argues that a significant number of "eminent Christian women" were esteemed for many of the same virtues as those acclaimed in Confucianism.⁴⁵ By examining the issues surrounding women's advancement to higher learning at the pioneering Canton Christian College, Dong Wang declares that, although women in this college worked side by side with men as practical and hard-nosed activists in the 1920s Women's Emancipation Movement which championed the cause of women, they did not alter traditional gender boundaries drastically.⁴⁶ Hence it is very clear that the local Christian women were not typical feminists either. In Dunch's words, "Mission education did not overtly challenge the place of marriage and child-rearing as the principal calling of Chinese Protestant women."⁴⁷

The 'femininity' the local Christian women learnt from the women missionaries was exemplified in the concept of "the Christian Home".⁴⁸ Scholars such as Amanda Porterfield and Dana L. Robert have studied the history of missionary efforts to elevate women and their families in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁹ Porterfield focuses on Mary Lyon's students who graduated from Mount Holyoke, examining their evangelistic activities in Persia, India and Africa, so as to "explore the ways in which she (Mary Lyon) and her students revitalized the New England tradition of female piety."⁵⁰ Porterfield writes: "Antebellum missionary women promoted ...the necessity of monogamy and the importance of marital affection. [They] contributed to cultural change in many parts of the world, and to the development of new cultures that combined missionary concepts with traditional ideals."⁵¹ Dana Robert traces the development of "the Christian home",⁵² which she regarded as the cornerstone of Anglo-American missionary thought and practice. She says: "A central theme common to the Christian home in Africa, China, India, Japan was respect for women found in a marriage of companionship, including mitigating the evils of patriarchy, such as concubinage, wife-beating, and

44 Du Shimin 杜式敏, *Ersbi niandai de jidujiaohui nixiao: yi Shanton Shude nixiao weili* 《20年代的基督教会女校——以汕头淑德女校为例》 [The Christian Girls School in the 1920s: A Case Study of Shude Girls School in Shantou], M.A. Thesis, Shantou University, May 2005.

45 Peter Chen-main Wang, "Models of Female Christians in Early Twentieth-Century China: A Historiographical Study", Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, p.19.

46 Dong Wang, "Beginnings of Women's Education at Canton Christian College", *ibid.*, p.371.

47 Ryan Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country: Conversion, Education, and Ideology among Chinese Protestant Women, 1870-1930", *ibid.*, p.337.

48 Robert, "The 'Christian Home'", p.163.

49 Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University, 1997. p.143.

50 *Ibid.*, p.4.

51 *Ibid.*, p.7.

52 Dana Robert argued that "issues addressed by the concept of the "Christian Home" included relationships between husbands and wives, principles of child-rearing, and a whole range of tangible components such as cleanliness, clothing, and domestic tasks. See Robert, "The 'Christian Home'", p.136.

servitude to the husband's extended family."⁵³ She goes on to say: "the endurance of the Christian home ideal consisted partly in its ability to link indigenous women's domestic realities with the modernization propagated by missionaries."⁵⁴ Both of them agree that woman missionaries facilitated the breakdown of certain forms of gender segregation (such as separate eating)⁵⁵ and also transformed and improved the lives of the female converts.⁵⁶ All of these discussions inspired me to probe into what the "Christian home" entailed in the context of the missions in the Chaozhou region in South China.

The next question which has attracted the attention of scholars is how the Western women missionaries taught the local women. What methods did they use? Eliza F. Kent's research shows that Tamil Christian women, co-operating with their women missionary employers, introduced Christian ideas to their fellow Indian women through Tamil literary idioms and cultural practices.⁵⁷ Joseph Tse-Hei Lee demonstrates how the Presbyterian missionaries used the Romanized colloquial scripts to "Christianize" the Christian women and girls in the Chaozhou region.⁵⁸ In one particular case, he shows how a woman missionary taught young village women to read and also how the prestigious position of a lady in a small village church in Chaozhou was the result of her Christian education. He also analyses the patterns, scale and mechanisms of female conversion in the second half of the nineteenth century. Instructive as it is, his article still puts the local women in the passive role of receptors. Only after the Western missionaries were driven out of mainland China did they begin to play an active role in the maintenance of Christianity. However, in a study of the local women in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sill shows that there women were active agents who negotiated the existing and the new sets of norms and values introduced by the Basel woman missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁹ Did the Chaozhou women also take as active a role as Ghanese and Tamil Christian women did in introducing Christian ideas into the wider society? Did they also negotiate existing Confucian and new Christian ideas about female gender? I shall try to answer these questions in this thesis.

At this juncture, the most exciting question arises: What kind of transformation did the local Christian women experience in their families and their careers as a result of their conversion? Focusing on the work opportunities given to Chinese Christian women before 1919—such as 'Virgin',⁶⁰ Bible-woman (in the Protestant context), doctor and nurse—as the result of missionary education, Lutz optimistically suggests that Christian institutions played a role in changing the social position of women

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.82.

56 Ibid., p.141.

57 Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*, Oxford University Press, 2004. p.13

58 Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Gospel and Gender: Female Christians in Chaozhou, South China", Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, pp.182-198.

59 Sill, *Encounters*, p.173.

60 In the Roman Catholic context, meaning a particular group of unwed Roman Catholic women who played a vital role in the propagation of Roman Catholicism. See R. G. Tiedemann, "Controlling the Virgins: female propagators of the faith and the Catholic hierarchy in China", Deborah Gaitskell and Wendy Urban-Mead, *Transnational Biblewomen: Asian and African women in Christian mission*, 2008. pp.501-502.

and opened up new career opportunities for Chinese women.⁶¹ Was this also the case in the family sphere? Most of the scholars doubt it.

Kent's study of domesticity and conjugality among Protestant Indians and Elizabeth Poujoulat's research on Chinese Roman Catholic marriage patterns show that "acculturation" of Christian to Chinese local culture is unavoidable. Kent says, "the hybrid discourse of female respectability, formed from the interaction between elite Indian and Western gender norms, seems to bifurcate into two distinguishable varieties, one influenced more by Western bourgeois ideals and one influenced more by Brahmanical or Kshatriya ideals. Those who adopted the customs and behaviors of Europeans along with their religion tended to celebrate the companionate form of marriage, whereas those who appropriated Christianity but sought to cleanse it of European cultural elements advocated a form of marriage based on high-caste practice. What the two forms have in common is an abhorrence of divorce and widow remarriage; that is, both the Hindu Christian Church Christians and the high-caste Christians of the Sathianadhan family shared a commitment to lifelong monogamy and thereby distanced themselves from the non-monogamous practices of the lower castes."⁶² In Chaozhou, polygyny, or more correctly concubinage, was widely accepted by the Confucian gentry in the late Qing period. The less well-off middle-class men rarely had more than one wife, because of the cost of running a large household.⁶³ How was Christian marriage introduced and accultured to the local marital custom? What kinds of disputes arose during this process?

What Lutz and Kent have in common is their confidence in the Christian enterprise, that the transformation of the local Christian women would occur, fulfilling the expectations of the missionaries, however intricate the process might have been. But the questions they tend to ignore are: How was such a transformation possible? Or, to put it more explicitly, what was the husband's attitude to his wife's transformation? Focusing on the experience and the contributions made to missions by women, Rhonda Anna Semple does not make the mistake of overlooking the influence of the men in their lives.⁶⁴ Nor in the Chaozhou case is it possible to ignore the reaction of the husband in any discussion of the wife's transformation. After all, the case of Zeng Derong recorded by Du Shimin is a very good example of a husband's envy of his well-educated wife. Zeng Derong received her education at the *Shude* Girls' School and her husband was educated in the Presbyterian Seminary. They worked as evangelist and teacher for the English Presbyterian Church respectively.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, her husband always considered that it was unseemly for women to be educated and even tore up her diploma during a quarrel.

The last question that is of importance in this thesis is: What was the attitude of the local society to the new culture which emerged after the intrusion of Christianity? This is a question connected with the wider study of Western imperialism. Porterfield's pessimistic viewpoint on this question sets her

61 Lutz, "Introduction", Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, p.14.

62 Kent, *Converting Women*, p.197.

63 Adele M. Fielde, *A Corner of Cathay: Studies from Life among the Chinese*, New York, London: McMillan & Co., 1894. p.28.

64 Rhonda Anna Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*, The Boydell Press, 2003. p.69.

65 Oral account of Zeng Derong in Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.59.

apart from other scholars. She concludes that the interaction of Mary Lyon's students with the mainstream, non-Christian, societies produced negative results: "In Persia, American missionary efforts to reform Nestorian culture led to the decline of that culture; in Maharashtra, American missionary efforts to promote female literacy contributed to a revitalization of Hinduism; and in Natal, American missionary education helped establish an African Christian elite that rebelled against mission churches."⁶⁶ What caused such negative results was that "the religious and cultural imperialism permitted by their preoccupation with self-denial [that] prevented missionary women from seeing the underlying commonalities between their own lives and the lives of nonwestern women."⁶⁷ Did the same fate befall the new Christian ideas about female gender in the Chaozhou region?

Analytical Framework

The home base and the missionary field are two self-evident and distinct spaces in the history of Christian missions. The gender studies available can be classified into three categories according to how they deal with these two spaces.

a. Woman missionaries in the field:

This category, composed of research on various missions spread all over the globe, contains many geographical, ethnographic and linguistic differences. These studies might refer to local regions, countries large and small, sub-continent such as China, India, continents such as East Asia, Africa, Latin-America, or even the world itself. Jane Hunter's book on the American woman missionaries in China (1984) belongs in this category. It is a classic study of the social and educational background of the American woman missionaries at home and their evangelistic activities and daily lives in China. The same framework is used by Gael Graham in his study of the impact the education of the American Protestant Mission on Chinese gender and culture during 1880 to 1930.⁶⁸

In a global perspective, including all the American Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, Dana L. Robert traces the formation of evangelistic thought and practice back to their mission fields.⁶⁹ Her article on the 'Christian Home' (2008) continues this global perspective, demonstrating its formation in Hawaii, its significance as a cornerstone of the Anglo-American Mission, and its practice in the mission fields in Africa and Asia (China, India, Japan and so forth).

b. Interaction between the institutional home base and the mission field

Rhonda Anna Semple points out that "any history of gender in missions must, of necessity,

66 Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.140.

67 Ibid., p.141.

68 "Rather than focus on one specific missionary society or one region of China, in which missionaries worked, I have chosen to make a more general survey." Gael Graham, *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1995. p.4.

69 Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice*, Mercer University Press, 1997. Reprinted by McNaughton & Gunn, Inc., 1998.

consider ways in which missionaries and missions' institutions were shaped as a result of experiences both at home and abroad."⁷⁰ This idea has been put into practice by Amanda Porterfield in a study of Mary Lyon's students who graduated from Mount Holyoke, examining their evangelical activities in Persia, India, and Africa.⁷¹ She explores the various ways in which Mary Lyon and her students revitalized the New England tradition of female piety in different places.⁷²

Rhonda Anna Semple's book on the professionalism of the British woman missionaries and their Victorian ideas is another excellent example of this theme.⁷³ She focuses mainly on three missions (London Missionary Society, Scottish Presbyterian Mission and China Inland Mission), discussing the administrative structure and employment practices of each mission and comparing the differences between them. The study of each mission at home is complemented by case studies of the respective missions in the mission fields, demonstrating clearly how each mission evolved in response to both the characteristics of their recruits and the demands of the areas in which they were active. Her evaluation of the results achieved by the evangelistic activities is nuanced: "The London Missionary Society (LMS) stations in north India represent the failure of missions: all of the society's workers were pulled out of the area in the 1920s. The Scottish missions in Darjeeling exemplify the success of community-focused mission work, which resulted in a strong church community in the local Nepali Diaspora. The China Inland Mission (CIM) school at Chefoo (now Yantai in Shangdong province) on the east coast of China illustrates that even in this mission, which promised to revolutionize gendered mission roles, women continued to assist in, rather than lead, the theological activities."⁷⁴

Focusing on four French Roman Catholic orders (*les Francisains, les Jésuits, les Lazaristes and les Missions Etrangères de Paris*) in China, Elizabeth Poujoulat's dissertation deals with one mission and one field because, unlike Semple, she does not compare the differences between the four missions and moreover ignores the regional differences in such a vast country as China. This oversight is the major shortcoming in her study which focuses on the acculturation, or Sinification, of Roman Catholic marriage rituals and regulations in China from 1860-1940. Nevertheless, her study of the regulations of the missions on divorce, polygyny, and remarriage does contribute to a better understanding of the situation in Chaozhou region, which was under the jurisdiction of *les Missions Etrangères de Paris* from 1860-1952.

Sill's recent book (2010) analyses how in the mid-nineteenth century, the women of the Basel Mission intended to disseminate what they saw as Christian femininity among the women in Gold Coast, in contrast to what the local women considered to be "proper" womanhood.⁷⁵ Indeed, her book is more about the missionary-local interaction than about the mission-missionary interaction.

70 Semple, *Missionary Women*, p.69.

71 Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*.

72 Ibid., p.4.

73 Semple, *Missionary Women*.

74 Ibid., p.13.

75 Sill, *Encounters*, p.379.

c. Local Christian women in the field

Lutz's emphasis on the personal histories of local Christians is well embedded in her recently edited book *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women*.⁷⁶ The themes of the Sinification of Christianity and the empowerment of women are relevant to all sections of this work, which contributes to a more complete understanding of Chinese Christianity, Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, and Chinese Christian women as well as their interaction with Chinese national history. This study also demonstrates the crucial role of women in the spread and survival of Christianity in China.⁷⁷

Although Lutz and the other contributors to her book succeed in weaving Chinese Christian women into the fabric of history of the Chinese Christian church, in my view their aim of bringing them into the modern history of China has not yet been completed, for the simple reason that they locate the Chinese women in various Christian institutes, confraternities, or congregations, such as school and college, hospital and nursing school and so forth, but not in local society. Murre-van den Berg has pointed out the same omission in recent gender-oriented studies in the Middle East: "In many of these gender-oriented studies, discussions of the social, medical and educational institutions occupy a key role."⁷⁸ This discovery comes as no surprise, as Lutz says, because "Christian missions and Christian schools provided avenues of social and economic mobility for women."⁷⁹ Education in general has received a good deal of attention from Gael Graham to Ulrike Sill.⁸⁰ Although the women missionaries were also engaged with adult women, the main emphasis was put on the education of girls in order to inculcate in them the ideal of Christian femininity.⁸¹ In Sill's work, the Basel Mission's girls' boarding schools are the focal spaces for the encounters and are also central to negotiations about Christian womanhood.⁸² The tendency to locate the local Christian women in these Christian institutions can be retraced to the Western archives, which function as the scholars' main sources. In recent years, the emphasis has been shifted to anthropological investigation in order to fill in the lacuna about women missionaries' impact on adult women who were not educated in girls' boarding schools.

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee rightly points out that "the Christian households closely identified themselves with the denomination and also with their particular lineages."⁸³ To understand a Chinese Christian woman better in the modern history of China, she should first be located in a specific locus, her family background, the relationship with her husband. With these preconditions in mind, it is possible to move on to probe why she became a Christian. Did this new belief transform her daily life situation? Did the transformation of her daily life have an impact on the local society she lived in? Indeed, a

76 Her contribution to this book also includes two papers, the general introduction and postscript, and four introductions to sections. The other scholars are: Gail King, R. G. Tiedemann, Eugenio Menegon, Robert Entemann, Peter Chen-Main Wang, Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, Margo S. Gewurtz, Claudia von Collani, Ling Oi Ki, John R. Stanley, Ryan Dunch, M. Cristina Zaccarini, Dong Wang. Lutz ed., *Pioneer*.

77 Lutz, "Introduction", *ibid.*, p.22.

78 Murre-van den Berg, "The Study of Western Missions in the Middle East (1820-1920): An Annotated Bibliography", *The Year 1996-2006*, in press. p.8.

79 Lutz, "Introduction", Lutz ed., *Pioneer*; p.17.

80 Graham's concern is: How did the American missionaries attempt to use the boys' and girls' schools as vehicles for reforming the Chinese gender system? Graham, *Gender*, p.4 and p.5.

81 Sill, *Encounters*, p.379.

82 *Ibid.*, p.383.

83 Lee, "Gospel and Gender", pp.183-184.

distinctive characteristic of my research will be to contextualize these perspectives.

d. Contextualization: local Christian women in a regional society

At this point it is time to go back to the Chaozhou region. Because this is a relatively small region, it is suitable to the carrying out of a contextualization. The first step in the process is to attempt to “discover history in Chaozhou”⁸⁴ in the history of Christianity. The focus will be the Christian women in Chaozhou as members of a local society, not of a mission field. My target groups are the first two generations of Christian women who married. Why choose the first two generations? First of all, because I agree that “the early converts are an important source for a better understanding of Protestant influence.”⁸⁵ In doing so, I shall also be trying to formulate an answer to Lutz’ complaint that “we know relatively little about non elite women (during the imperial era) and are unlikely to learn much detail about their lives.”⁸⁶

My research will focus on married Christian women, because I am interested in how Christianity interacted with existing gender relationships, especially that between husband and wife. The “husband-wife” relationship has been chosen above other possible relationships (such as father-daughter or mother-son) because it is the most crucial gender relationship. As the closest person in a mature woman’s life, her husband exerted great influence; of course the reverse might also be true. I therefore refrained from paying too much attention to girls in the Christian schools. The preference to adult women, however, does not mean that I will skip the examination of the educational work for girls completely, especially because some women who took a leading roles in Chinese Christianity received their education in the girls’ schools, whereas also needlework was taught either in the girls’ schools or in the woman’s schools.

The families and careers of Christian women are two issues which have particularly attracted my attention. In dealing with the first issue, I shall put the “cornerstone” (in Dana L. Robert’s words) of “the Christian Home” to the test. In examining the second issue, I focus on two prevalent professions of the Chaozhou Christian women: Bible-woman and needle-worker. I have not chosen professions like nurse or doctor because these careers were new forms of employment which reached the Chaozhou region much later and also because they required strict training and were therefore only accessible to a very small proportion of women. A close investigation of the profound changes occurring in the lives of the Bible-women and needle-women and of the introduction of Christian *rites de passage* like baptism and marriage regulations which forbade concubinage and polygyny is an excellent way to shed light upon the transformation of China from a traditional to a modern society within the family of the nation. In the late-nineteenth century, these small communities of Christians experienced the advent of modernization probably without even fully realizing what was happening. The “spouts of

84 I borrow this word from Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

85 Murre-van den Berg, “Protestant Missions”, p.111.

86 Lutz, “Women in Imperial China”, p.35.

modernity” germinated in their minds and were reflected in their behaviour and in the new careers which they took up after their conversion.

“Contextualization” has temporal and spatial dimensions. In the Chaozhou region, the temporal dimension is embedded in the modification of Christian marriage regulations to solve new marital problem, as they emerged successively; the spatial refers to the introduction by the missions of new forms of handicrafts and trade.

There were three Protestant missions (American Baptist Mission, the Basel Mission and the English Presbyterian Mission) and one Roman Catholic Mission (Les Missions Étrangères de Paris) operating in the Chaozhou region. I include all of them in this study.⁸⁷ This choice is inspired by Bruce Masters. With “the roots of Sectarianism” as his main concern, he includes the Christians (including the Eastern Christians, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants) and Jews in the Ottoman Arab world, tracing the transformation of their identities in the Islamic Ottoman Empire.⁸⁸ Together the Christians and Jews had to face an overwhelmingly majority Islamic society. In the Chaozhou context, the Protestants and Roman Catholics also stood side by side facing the local society because they shared similar doctrines and a similar modernizing agenda.⁸⁹ Dana L. Robert points out that the Roman Catholic missionary sisters shared the careers of “teacher” and “nurse” with their Protestant contemporaries.⁹⁰

In Chaozhou, the profession of “teacher” was shared by both the local Protestant women (called Bible-women, 女传道) and the local Roman Catholic women (called Virgins, 守贞姑), “like Bible-women, Virgins also evangelized among women in their homes.”⁹¹ Both Protestant and Roman Catholic women in Chaozhou did needlework, a craft introduced among them by the Western women missionaries. They were later joined in this work by the non-Christian women, which made needlework a supporting industry of the economy in this region. There are actually manifold connections between the various Western missions. Although they came from different countries and different churches (Baptist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic), they were not simply rivals who kept a close eye on each other’s work (often copying each other’s successful strategies), they also exchanged practices and people much more often than is generally acknowledged. The comparative method therefore takes an important position in this study, in examining the differences in administrative and educational policies, and in marriage regulations between different Protestant missions and the Roman Catholic mission.

My study begins in 1849, the year in which the first document on Christian marriage was put into circulation, and ends in 1949, when the Republic of China came to the end with the triumph of the

87 Usually scholars engaged in World Christianity history tend to exclude the Roman Catholic mission when studying the Protestant mission, and vice-versa. Gael Graham is one among them. Focusing on the educational Protestant missionaries in China, he does not address American Roman Catholics because “the first American Catholic missionary society to send missionaries to China was not founded until 1911 and they were even slower to become involved in education.” Graham, *Gender*, p.6.

88 Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

89 Murre-van den Berg said the modernizing agenda of Roman Catholic missions was not fundamentally different from that of the Protestants. Murre-van den Berg, “Protestant Missions”, p.111.

90 Robert, *American Women*, p.329, p.330.

91 Lutz, “Introduction”, p.20.

Communists. I exclude the impact of the Nationalist movement in 1920s. As Jacques Gernet has said: “It was admitted that the great historical events have a direct influence on the daily life of the people. However, the great catastrophes in history do not touch most of the people even though they were personally involved in.”⁹² Jessie Lutz agrees that changes which occurred during the New Culture Movement, the Nationalist, Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Christian movements of the 1920s might have impacted the young Chinese women in the cities, but they were not quite of the same magnitude in the cultural and political shift in the countryside.⁹³ I think Gernet’s assertion is applicable to the Chaozhou context because, even though Nationalism made some impact on the Christian girl students in the treaty port Swatow, it exerted very little influence on those living in district towns and rural areas.⁹⁴

Sources

Chinese Sources:

The present work distinguishes itself from other studies on the subject because of its emphasis on the use of Chinese sources.

a. Oral history:

For the English Presbyterian Church, there are four oral accounts given by four graduates from the *Shude* Girls’ School of the Swatow Presbyterian Church, which have been recorded by Du Shimin (杜式敏) and are included as appendix to her master’s thesis *Christianism Mission Feminine School in 1920s—Taking Shantou Shude Feminine School as an Example*.⁹⁵ For the French Roman Catholic Church, I interviewed Li Xuzhen (李绪珍), a sister of the Ursuline Society in Swatow twice (1 November, 2009; 27 May, 2010).

b. Written sources:

The English Presbyterian Church has preserved intact Chinese synod records from 1881 to the 1940s, in which the routine of the Hoklo village churches in the Chaozhou and Huizhou prefectures are recorded. These records were confiscated by the Communist Military Committee in 1952 and transferred to the Shantou Municipal Archives in the 1980s. The works of specific church leaders such as Hou Yichu (侯乙初) and Zhang Guchun (张固纯), both leaders of the Swatow Needlework guild

92 “Ce serait admettre que les grands événements historiques ont une répercussion directe sur la vie de tous les jours. Or, les grandes catastrophes de l’histoire ne touchent la plupart des hommes que lorsqu’ils y sont eux-mêmes impliqués.” Jacques Gernet, *La Vie Quotidienne en Chine: À La Veille de L’Invasion Mongole, 1250-1276*, Hachette: 1959. Introduction, p.14.

93 Lutz, “Introduction”, p.15. Duara also argues that Chinese women, deprived of direct political agency, were set up in the Republican period as the embodiment of “timeless” Chinese values—in other words, that the construction of femininity as the repository of “traditional” Chinese virtues was the necessary converse of the nationalist imagining of a linear history of progress. Prasenjit Duara, “The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China”, *History and Theory*, Vol.3, Issue 3, October 1998. pp.287-308.

94 Du Shimin’s research has made this point clear, see *The Christian Girls School*, pp.43-54.

95 Zeng Derong 曾德容, born in 1904 in Jieyang, interviewed: Aug. 2002, Apr. 18, 2004; Female pastor Xie Xuezhong 谢雪璋牧师, born in 1912 in Jieyang, interviewed on Nov. 6 and Dec. 5, 2004; Aunt Laughing 笑姨, born in Mianhu, Jieyang, interviewed on Dec. 11, 12 and 19, 2004; Lady Lin, born in Qiaolin, Jieyang (揭阳乔林乡) in 1920, her father was a pastor, interviewed on Jan. 26, Feb. 2, 2005. See Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, appendix.

and at the same time the pastor or elder respectively of the Swatow Presbyterian Church, are traceable in these records. The Synodal records of the Hakka churches were destroyed by the church members to avoid trouble. This was also true for the Chinese records of the American Baptist Mission and *Les Missions Étrangères de Paris*. The regulations of the English Presbyterian Church in different periods (1907, 1934 and 1948), mostly in Chinese, have also been used in this study.

For the American Baptist Mission, I have used the Chinese journals by three Hoklo evangelists (Chen Sun 陈孙, Li Yuan 李员 and Chen Dui 陈兑) dated April and May 1852,⁹⁶ which I discovered in the Gützlaff holdings at Leiden University. They all deal with itinerant preaching on the small island of Changzhou (长洲, Cheung Chau in Cantonese) near Hong Kong. These sources are quite unique because information produced by the local evangelists themselves is very rare. Not only are sources on Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century (between two Opium Wars, 1840-1856) lacking but the same goes for information on a small midway station along the “invisible maritime highway”⁹⁷ across the South China Sea. The journals provide important information on the encounter of Western missionaries and Hoklo emigrant workers in the emigrant network, the “supervisor-deputy” relationship between them, the local evangelists’ preaching strategies and the reactions (either positive or negative) from their audiences. These records reveal the active role played by the local evangelists, which has received little attention so far, and they are also very significant in understanding the missionary endeavour in its initial stages before it switched from Hong Kong to Swatow.

Two Chinese tracts published by the American Baptist Church, which are also in the Sinological Institute, Leiden University, are *First Steps in the True Doctrine* (真道入门, 1849), and *Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth* (辟邪规正论, 1895). Furthermore, one Chinese Hymnbook, *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* (拜真活神的诗), probably printed in the second half of the nineteenth century, has been used. Two anniversary journals of the American Baptist Church published in the 1930s were also frequently consulted.⁹⁸

In the case of the Basel Mission, I have been able to make use of a tract with the title *Mirror for Female Christians* (女徒镜, 1916) and the regulations of the Basel Church (巴色会条规, 1874), as well as two jubilee journals published in 1997 and 2007.⁹⁹ Very few Chinese sources exist on the French

96 Gützlaff collection in the Institute of Sinology, Leiden University:

Chen Sun’s journal (Gutz 109 I)

Li Yuan’s journal (Gutz 109 II)

Chen Dui’s journal (Gutz 109 III)

See also Ellen Xiang-yu Cai 蔡香玉, “The Itinerant Preaching of Three Hoklo Evangelists in Mid-nineteenth-century Hong Kong”, published in *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*, 2009 (3), pp.113-134.

97 This term is coined by Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, “The Overseas Chinese Networks and Early Baptist Missionary Movement across the South China Sea”, *Historian*, 63 (Summer 2001), pp.753-768.

98 *Lingdong jinbui qishi zhounian jinian daibui tekan* 《岭东浸信会七十周年纪念大会特刊》 [A Special Issue on the 70th anniversary of Lingdong Baptist Mission], Shantou: Lingdong Baptist Church, June 1932.

Lingdong jiaoyin: Lingdong jinbui lishi tekan 《岭东嘉音: 岭东浸信会历史特刊》 [The Good News of Lingdong: A Special Issue on the History of the Lingdong Baptist Church], Shantou: Lingdong Baptist Church, 1936.

99 *Jidujiao xianggang chongzhenhui yibainushi zhounian jinian tekan* 《基督教香港崇真会 150周年纪念特刊: 1947-1997》 [150th Anniversary of Tsung Tsin Mission in Hong Kong: 1947-1997]

Jidujiao xianggang chongzhenhui yibailiushi zhounian tekan 《基督教香港崇真会 160周年特刊: 1947-2007》 [160th Anniversary of Tsung Tsin Mission in Hong Kong: 1947-2007]

I received these two journals from Huang Zhiren, the Chairman of the Three Self Patriarchal Committee in Shantou, 27 May, 2010.

Roman Catholic Church in Swatow, only a recent manual on marriage ritual (January, 2001) is available so far.

Other Chinese sources on the Christians in this region are: a. The official history of Christianity (both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism) compiled from district gazetteers, which have been consulted but are treated with great caution;¹⁰⁰ b. The archives on the needlework industry in Swatow;¹⁰¹ and c. Biographies of the Christians who were engaged in this industry.¹⁰² In order to gain a better understanding of the social customs and customary law of the Chaozhou region in Imperial era, the *Family Regulations of Zhu Zi* (朱子治家格言, 1617-1689) and two traditional Chinese primers, namely: *San Zi Jing* (三字经, the 13th century) and *Qian Zi Wen* (千字文, 502-549 AD) and *Da Qing Li Li* (大清律例, the Code of the Qing Empire, 1880s) have been consulted.

Western Sources:

For the French Roman Catholic Church, the lack of Chinese sources is complemented by large volumes of French mission archives: annual reports of from 1872 to 1939 and biographies of the French missionaries who worked in East Guangdong. They are available on the website of Les Sociétés des Missions Étrangères de Paris.¹⁰³

Thanks to the pioneering work by Jacob Speicher (师雅各, 1895-1930), Lida Scott Ashmore (耶琳夫人, 1880-1927) and Emanuel H. Giedt (纪德, 1919-1951), who worked as missionaries in Chaozhou in different periods, the history of ABM in the Chaozhou region is quite well known.¹⁰⁴

I agree with Lutz's words that "recovering the lives and thoughts of pioneer Chinese Christian women is not easy. In reports and correspondence, missionaries hardly mention their assistants, and if

100 There are many mistakes regarding the names of the French missionaries and the time when Roman Catholicism was preached at a certain place. However, they are still useful for tracing the local people involved.

101 *Chaoshan chousha shougongye zhi jinxi gaishu* 《潮汕抽纱手工业之今昔概述》 [Introduction to the Past and Present of the Handicraft Industry of Needlework in Chaoshan], etc.

102 Hou Yichu (侯乙初) and his wife Yang Jingde (杨锦德)
Huang Hao (黄浩) and his wife Wang Peizhi (王佩芝)

Fang Lang (方朗)、Su Hui (苏惠), *Beijing chaoren renwu zhi* 《北京潮人人物志》 [Biographies of the Chaozhou People in Beijing], Beijing: Zhongguo wuzi chubanshe, 1996.

103 <http://www.mepasie.org/>, 2010-2-23.

104 Jacob Speicher, *The Conquest of the Cross in China: American Baptist Mission*, Kityang, South China, New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, London and Edinburgh, 1907; Lida Scott Ashmore, *The South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society: A historical Sketch of its First Cycle of Sixty Years*, Shanghai: printed by Methodist Publishing House, 1920; Emanuel H. Giedt, "Early Mission History of the Swatow region through down to the present for the American Baptist Mission", unpublished manuscript, 1946. Jacob Speicher worked in the South China mission for 35 years. The third part of his book traces the development of churches and outstations under his supervision on the Jieyang field, where he worked for 18 years. Ashmore gives a concise account of the American Baptist Church until 1920, a roll of the missionaries (short biographies are also provided) is attached at the end of this book, which is comparable to Chen Zelin's list. Giedt was a member of the Swatow field for twenty-five years. His article covered all the four missions, i.e. the Roman Catholics, the German Basel Mission, the English Presbyterian Mission and the American Baptist Mission which worked in the Swatow field until 1945. This article is very informative about the history of the ABM from 1920 to 1945. His short account on the Basel Mission is based mainly on W. Schlatter's biography on Rudolf Lechler. The principal source for the history on the English Presbyterian Mission is Islay Berns' *Memoires of William C. Burns* and Johnston's book mentioned above. When describing the Roman Catholics, he uses Kenneth Scott Latourette's research and traces the history of Roman Catholic Mission from 1579 to 1848, the year when the "Propaganda" placed the Kwangtung mission entirely under the supervision of Les Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, but not a word is said about the French Roman Catholic Mission which was very active in Chaozhou in his time. Despite this shortcoming, Giedt's research begins to show the trend of trans-denomination, and the intention to include Roman Catholicism in the Chaozhou Christianity history.

they do, they rarely provide their full Chinese names.”¹⁰⁵ I have also perused the autobiographies of the first group of Bible-women¹⁰⁶ recorded in Adela M. Fielde (斐姑娘, or 旨先生娘)’s *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*¹⁰⁷ in order to reconstruct their life stories.¹⁰⁸ Thanks to her knowledge of the Hoklo (Swatow) dialect and an opportunity to make a close observation of their social customs, Fielde has been able to make exact translations of the autobiographies of sixteen Bible-women who spoke to her in their own dialect between 1876 and 1882.¹⁰⁹ I have been able to trace the Chinese names and places of birth of this group of Bible-women by looking them up into the membership roll of the Swatow American Baptist congregation.¹¹⁰

For the English Presbyterian Church, the mission histories by James Johnston, Edward Band (班爱华), Chen Zelin (陈泽霖) and George A. Hood (胡得) have been consulted.¹¹¹ Furthermore, fourteen maps drawn by Dr William Riddell (烈伟廉, EPM) with the help of John Campbell Gibson (汲约翰, EPM) and William Ashmore Sr. (耶士摩, ABM) have also been used.¹¹²

105 Lutz, “Introduction”, p.15.

106 Adele M. Fielde was in charge of their training from 1873 to 1882.

107 The first edition was published in Boston in 1883. This book was very popular in America, so in 1886 the fifth edition was put into circulation. In 1887, it was published in London.

108 Miss Fielde took a furlough to America in 1883, hence her first period in Swatow lasted 10 years, during which she collected the material for *Pagoda Shadows*. In 1879, her focus switched to the compilation of a great volume of a Swatow dialect dictionary, a work which took her four years, from 1879 to 1883. Leonard Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde: Feminist, Social Activist, Scientist* (short for “Fielde”), London: Routledge, 2002. p.78.

109 Preface to the fifth edition, written in Boston, September, 1884. Adele Marion Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows: Studies From Life in China*, fifth edition, Boston: W. G. Corthell, 1886.

110 See the appendix of *The Good News of Lingdong*.

111 James Johnston, *China and Formosa: The Story of the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England*, London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld. 1, Creed Lane, Ludgate Hill, 1897.

Edward Band, *Working His Purpose Out: The History of the English Presbyterian Mission, 1847-1847*, London: Publishing office of the Presbyterian Church of English, 1948. Reprint, Taipei: Ch’eng-wen Publishing Company, 1972.

Chen Zelin 陈泽霖, “Jidujiao zhanglaohui zai Chaoshan—Yingguo zhanglaohui chuanjiao ru chaoshan de qingxing” 《基督教长老会在潮汕——英国长老会传教入潮汕的情况》 [The Presbyterian Mission in Chaoshan—How the English Presbyterian Mission entered Chaoshan], *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao Jingbian* 《广东文史资料精编》, Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, December 2008.

George A. Hood, *Mission Accomplished? The Presbyterian Mission in Lingtung, South China*, New York: Lang, 1986.

Johnston’s book well demonstrated three fields in the Southeast China (Amoy, Swatow and Formosa) that the English Presbyterian Mission engaged in until 1895. Part three and four of Edward Band’s book are about the history of mission fields Swatow, Amoy and Hakka from 1867 to 1947. Chen Zelin was a local leader of the Swatow Presbyterian church and also the principal of the Yuhuai (聿怀) Christian Boys’ School. As an insider, he narrated the development of the English Presbyterian Church in the form of chronicle from 1844 to 1937; He based on Edward Band’s view in *Working His Purpose Out* to divide this period into several stages. He provided three lists: the foreign missionaries (with the Chinese names they adopted) who came to the Swatow mission up till 1922; the native churches until 1951; and the native pastors until 1951, which are very useful. Under the influence of the anti-imperialism discourse, his article also included a section on the anti-Christianity in Chaozhou from 1847 to 1937. Hood’s book is the first to get rid of the paradigm of missiology. The methodologies of archives research and personal interview strengthen the weight of this dissertation. He is the first to include Gützlaff’s evangelism among the Hoklo in the early nineteenth century.

112 Collected in KIILV in Leiden, these maps are with the side of 1.5 m x 1 m, place names are written in Romanized form. They are very useful in identifying some of the places mentioned by the missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century but do not exist any longer.

CHAPTER TWO: PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Introduction

From the mid-nineteenth century, four missions—the Basel Mission, the English Presbyterian Mission (EPM), the American Baptist Mission (ABM) and Les Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP)—had a foothold in the Chaozhou region but were eventually expelled from mainland China in 1952. Since 1895, a dozen scholars have published about the history of their activities. In the first hundred years after 1895, nearly all of them were former missionaries or local church leaders.¹¹³ From the mid-1990s, historians who had no immediate connection with the missions such as Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, Hu Weiqing, and Lee Kam Keung (李金强) have stepped into this field.¹¹⁴ Joseph Tse-Hei Lee used the archives of the EPM and ABM as well as the British and American diplomatic sources and Chinese municipal archives to reconstruct the expansion of Protestantism into Chaozhou region in the second half of nineteenth century. He describes the transmission of Christianity in Chaozhou, a highly dynamic world with frequent migration and collective violence, which was totally different from more static, agrarian North China¹¹⁵. Hu Weiqing pioneered using the Chinese records of the English Presbyterian Synods at the Shantou Municipal Archives.¹¹⁶ His main interest was in the indigenization of Protestant Churches in Chaozhou. Lee Kam Keung has focused on the Swatow Protestant Churches in Hong Kong. In 2002 and 2009 he published two centennial histories, the Swatow Baptist and the Presbyterian Churches in Hong Kong respectively. While these publications indicate that plenty of work has been done on the history of Protestant missions in Chaozhou so far, the history of Roman Catholicism, which had already set foot in Chaozhou in the seventeenth century, has been neglected.

113 For the history of the English Presbyterian Mission, see: Johnston, *China and Formosa*, Band, *Working His Purpose Out*, Chen Zelin, “The Presbyterian Mission in Chaoshan”; Hood, *Mission Accomplished?* For the history of the American Baptist Mission, see: Speicher, *The Conquest of the Cross*; Ashmore, *The South China Mission*; Giedt, “Early Mission History”, unpublished. For the history of the Basel Mission, see: Tong Wing-sze 汤泳诗, *Yig buanan kejia jiaobui de yanjiu—Cong Basebui dao Xianggang Chongzhenhui*《一个华南客家教会的研究——从巴色会到香港崇真会》 [A Study of the Hakka Church in South China—From the Basel Mission to the Tsung Tsin Mission of Hong Kong], Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2002. *150th Anniversary of Tsung Tsin Mission, 160th Anniversary of Tsung Tsin Mission*. For Les Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris: Chen Peiheng 陈佩衡, “Qingmo Jiaolingxian jiao’an shimo” 《清末蕉岭县教案始末》 [The Whole process of the Case of Christian Persecution in the Jiaoling District in the Late Qing Dynasty], *Guangdong wenshi ziliao jingbian*《广东文史资料精编》, Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, December 2008. Li Degang 李德纲, “Jianguo qianhou Shantou shi weiyi de nüzi xuexiao—sili Chenxing nüzi zhongxue” 《建国前后汕头市唯一的女子学校——私立晨星女子中学》 [The Unique Girls’ School in Shantou around the Founding of Communist China—Private Chenxing Schools’ Middle School], *Chaoshan jiaoyu shunang*《潮汕教育述往》, Shantou wenshi《汕头文史》, vol.9, January 1991. Irene Mahorney, *Swatow: Ursulines in China*, New York: Graphics/Print Production, 1996.

114 Hu, “The Transmission of Christianity in Chaoshan”; Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*.

Lee Kam Keung 李金强, *Zili yu guanhuai—Xianggang jinxin jiaobui bainianshi*《自立与关怀——香港浸信教会百年史 1901-2001》 [A Centennial History of the Baptist Church in Hong Kong 1901-2001], Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002.

Lee Kam Keung 李金强, Chen Jieguang 陈洁光, Yang Yusheng 杨昱升, *Fu yuan chaoshan ze xiangjiang: Jidujiao chao ren shengming tang bainianshi shu 1909-2009*《福源潮汕泽香江：基督教潮人生命堂百年史述 1909—2009》 [A Centennial History of Swatow Christian Churches in Hong Kong 1909-2009], Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2009.

115 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*.

116 Since the ABM archives were not accessible to him, he drew on the publications by the missionaries of ABM, such as those by Adele Marion Fielde, a female missionary of the ABM.

Two topics concerning the early history of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions will be treated in this chapter. The first of these is the transmission of Christianity through the overseas Hoklo people. Building upon Lee's work on the transmission of Protestantism along the "invisible maritime highway" across the South China Sea, I shall discuss the transmission of Roman Catholicism along the same route. For Protestantism, the journals of three Hoklo Baptist evangelists add some interesting details on the encounter between Western missionaries and Hoklo sojourners in a small midway station, Changzhou near Hong Kong. The second topic tackled in this chapter is the relationship between the four missions in Chaozhou. The conflict and co-operation between them will be discussed first, followed by their distribution in the region. On the basis of his study of the Protestant movement, Lee argues that in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, "the Rong and Lian River zones appeared to be more receptive to Christianity than the Han River zone".¹¹⁷ By including the Roman Catholic movement in the equation, it is possible to test this hypothesis. Many sources on the French Roman Catholic mission have never before been referred to. Here I cite the *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong* (1876-1914), the *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow* (1915-1939) and the *Notice biographique* and *Notice nécrologique* of the French missionaries worked in Chaozhou, which were compiled by the archivists of *Les Missions Etrangères de Paris*.¹¹⁸ Also of interest are the articles by French priests which were published in *Les Missions Catholiques: Bulletin Hebdomadaire Illustré de L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* in the 1910s.¹¹⁹ For the Protestant missions, other sources include four publications about the American Baptist missionary John W. Johnson and his Dutch wife, Lumina Wakker, which appeared in the Dutch missionary journal, *China: Verzameling van stukken betreffende de prediking van het evangelie in China en omliggende landen*¹²⁰. All these include data from three Chinese Christian journals, *Lingdong Good News: A Special Issue on the History of the Lingdong Baptist Church*, *A Special Issue on the 70th anniversary of Lingdong Baptist Mission* of the Chaozhou Baptist Church, and *Roman Catholicism in Chenghai* by Chen Wanxu (陈万序).¹²¹

The Early Phases of Mission: from the Seventeenth Century to 1860

Roman Catholicism entered the Chaozhou region two centuries before Protestantism. Up to the present, the people in Chaozhou call the former the "old religion" (旧教); the latter, the "new religion" (新教). When the *Propaganda Fide* placed the "Guangdong and Guangxi Mission" (两广教区) under the supervision of *Les Sociétés des Missions Étrangères de Paris* in 1848, the French Roman Catholic missionaries founded their headquarters in Canton and took the overland route to penetrate eastwards.

117 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.38.

118 These sources are available on the website of les Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris: <http://www.mepasie.org/rubriques/haut/archives-mep>. Last consulted in December 2008.

119 This journal published in Lyon (Bureaux des Missions Catholiques), Paris (Victor Lecoffre, Libraire-Éditeur) and Bruxelles (Société Belge de Librairie). They are collected in the Archives of MEP, Seminaire des Missions Etrangères de Paris, 128 Rue du Bac, 75007 Paris

120 This journal has nine volumes, published in Nijmegen from 1852 to 1860.

121 *A Special Issue, The Good News of Lingdong*, Chen Wanxu 陈万序, *Chenghai tianzhujiao*《澄海天主教》[Roman Catholicism in Chenghai], December, 2006.

In contrast, both the ABM and EPM took the sea route to Swatow first and then penetrated westwards to the border of Chaozhou and Huizhou prefectures and their hinterland (Jiayingzhou). This division means that the French Roman Catholic mission was the pioneer in the mountainous Hakka region in Huizhou and Jiayingzhou, while the BM, EPM and ABM opened up the littoral Hoklo region for the Protestant mission. Not everything was as clear-cut and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions both included Hoklo and Hakka areas. Baileng (百冷, Huilai district, Hoklo linguistic group) and Luotianba (洛田坝, west Jieyang, Hakka) were two ancient and well-established stations of the French Roman Catholic Mission. Their significance is comparable to that of Yanzao (盐灶, Chenghai, Hoklo) and Wujingfu (五经富, Jiexi, Hakka) for the English Presbyterian Mission. As the chapter will show, in all these missions local converts played a crucial role in the transmission of Christianity in its initial stages.

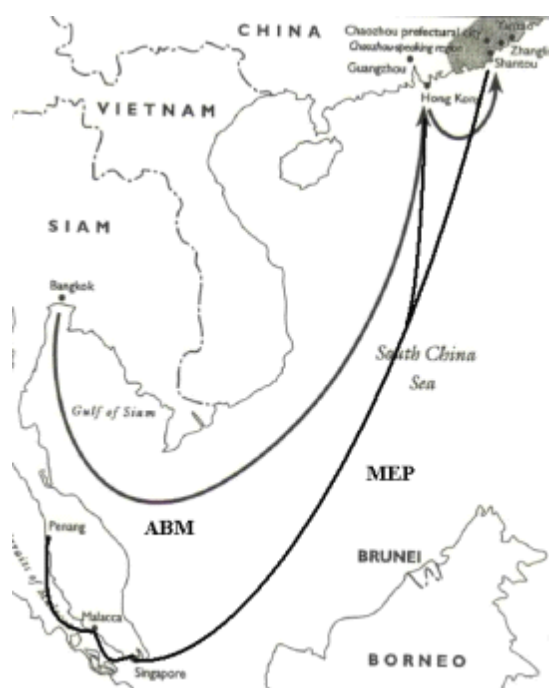


Figure 4: Bangkok and Hong Kong fields
 (From Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, 2003)

In the seventeenth century, Guangdong was a prosperous church province under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church.¹²² In the Chaozhou prefecture, Roman Catholic evangelism made steady

122 Antoine Douspis, “Pour une Ecole de Catéchistes à Swatow”, *Les Missions Catholiques* (1911), p.457.

progress after 1669, especially when people of the littoral region could return to their homes after the abolition of the Qing policy of coastal evacuation.¹²³ The village of Baileng (百冷) in Huilai district (惠来) housed a Roman Catholic parish as early as in the seventeenth century.¹²⁴ After Roman Catholicism was banned in China in 1732, European Roman Catholic priests could live only in Macao and the supervision of inland congregations was taken over by Chinese priests. From the Chaozhou region came Dai Jingguan (戴金冠), Dai Deguan (戴德冠) and Dai Wulüe (戴勿略, Xavier Dai). A stele in Huilai district records their achievement as priests. They were scions of the same lineage in Shimen (石门) village in Huilai district, had received their education in a seminary in Naples, Italy, and were ordained there in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹²⁵ In the early 1760s, Dai Jingguan and Dai Deguan, who were brothers, returned to Macao and were sent from there to preach in their hometown. Not long afterwards, they were captured by the magistrate and Dai Jingguan was exiled to Henan (河南) province, while his younger brother was sent back to Macao.¹²⁶ Further eastwards, at the end of the twentieth century a tomb marked with a cross and dated to 1736 was unearthed in Haimen (海门), a village in Chaoyang district. Three priests who were natives of the prefectural city of Chaozhou, Thomas Huang (黄多玛), Gary Wang (王加禄), Joseph Zhang (章儒瑟), were fellow students of the Dai brothers in Naples.¹²⁷ In the mountainous Hakka region, a Roman Catholic tomb dated 1808 has been found in Hepo (河婆), in the western part of Jieyang (揭阳) district. These scant remains are all that is left of the transmission of Roman Catholicism in Chaozhou before the first Opium War (1840). Although the sources are scant, it is possible to sketch a few lines of the transmission of Roman Catholicism in its initial stages. Christianity was banned by the Qing government in 1732, but Roman Catholicism had already won converts in both the littoral Hoklo and mountainous Hakka regions of the Chaozhou prefecture. This expansion was supported by the policy

123 Chen Liming, "The Penetration of the Foreign Culture", "Shantou kaibu ji kaibu qianhou sheqing ziliao" 《汕头开埠及开埠前后社情资料》 [Sources on the Social Situation around the opening of Shantou], *Chaoshan lishi ziliao congbian* 《潮汕历史资料丛编》, vol. 7, 潮汕历史文化研究中心 [Chao-Shan History and Culture Research Centre], 汕头市文化局 [Shantou Cultural Bureau] and 汕头市图书馆 [Shantou Municipal Library], November 2003. p.298. In order to ban commercial interaction between the people living in the coastal regions (from Shandong province in the north to Guangdong province in the south) and the army of Zheng Chenggong (郑成功), a general loyal to the Ming dynasty who set up his headquarters in the island of Taiwan, the Qing emperor Kangxi (康熙) introduced the coastal evacuation policy in 1662. The areas within 50 li (about 25 km.) of the coastline were evacuated; people were no longer allowed to trade with the South-East Asia. All the commercial activities, such as the fishing and salt industries, were suspended; the houses were burnt and left ruined, leaving many people homeless. Located in the littoral region, Chenghai district was abolished as an administrative unit in 1666, but was restored in 1669, when the coastal evacuation policy was abolished.

124 "En 1898, il s'installa et construisit une église dans la paroisse de Peh-Né, vieille chrétienté fondée au XVIIème siècle." See François Becmeur (明济各), *Notice biographique*, archives of MEP. Baileng was called "Pe-né" in the French archives.

125 According to Fang Hao, a Roman Catholic scholar, the student from Guangdong province who studied in Naples, Italy, are:

姓名	字号	籍贯	生年	出国年	求学地	回国年	卒年	卒地
戴金冠	则明	惠来	1735	1756	那不勒斯	1761		不详
戴德冠	则仁	惠来	1737	1756	同上	1764	1785	广东
黄多玛		潮州	1741	同上	同上	1771	1772	Cadibus
王加禄		潮州	1739	1761	同上	1766		
章儒瑟		潮州	1742	1770	同上	1774	1778	
戴勿略		惠来	1772	1789	同上		1832	那不勒斯

see Fang Hao 方豪, *Fang Hao wenji* 《方豪文集》, Beijing (Beijing): 上智编译馆 [Sapientia Press House], 1948.

126 Roman Catholicism 天主教, in *Huilai xianzhi* 《惠来县志》 [Gazetteer of the Huilai District], Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 新华出版社, 2002. p.771.

127 See footnote 126.

of training Chinese priests in Italy and sending them back to their birthplaces to tend and supervise the Roman Catholic believers. Besides the ban on Roman Catholicism in 1732, the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1773 exacerbated the situation of the Chinese Roman Catholics, because the jurisdiction of this church province fell into the hands of the bishop of Macao, who did not have enough priests.¹²⁸ Under such difficult conditions, the Roman Catholic parishes in China (including Guangdong and Chaozhou) inevitably experienced a slow and steady decline.

It was only after 1840 that the French Roman Catholic Church found a new foothold in Guangdong province.¹²⁹ In 1844, the Treaty of Huangpu (黄埔条约) granted Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries the right to preach and to purchase land to construct churches in all of the five treaty ports, namely: Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningpo and Shanghai. In view of the fact that Swatow was not officially opened till 1860, the activities of French priests in the eastern part of Guangdong province were illegal and hence their activities were more restricted. This limitation was rudely underlined when Father Charles Jacquemin, the second priest sent by the MEP to work in eastern Guangdong, was thrown into prison for five months in 1855 after he had preached in Lufeng (陆丰) district.¹³⁰

After the first Opium War, Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain and Guangzhou was formally opened as a treaty port. On September 30, 1848, the *Propaganda Fide* placed Guangdong province entirely under the supervision of *Les Sociétés des Missions Étrangères de Paris*.¹³¹ The French Roman Catholic missionaries settled down in Guangzhou and this city became the headquarters of the *Vicariat Apostolique de Kwangtong et de Kouangsi* of the MEP. Commencing in 1866, a series of Roman Catholic establishments, including a cathedral, a seminary, and an orphanage, was constructed.¹³² Several auxiliary institutes were founded in Hong Kong, among them the *Sanatorium de Béthanie*, *La Maison de Nazareth* (a press, including a chapel, now the Emmanuel Church),¹³³ which became the recuperation centre for the MEP in the Far East. When the Sino-French War broke out in 1885 and anti-French rage reached a boiling point, the Sanatorium became the refuge for all French missionaries in South China.

From the 1840s to 1860s the transmission of Roman Catholicism in Chaozhou depended predominantly on Hoklo and Hakka Roman Catholics returning from Siam, Singapore and Pinang.¹³⁴ In 1844, Wu Dong (吴东), who converted to Roman Catholicism in Malaysia, introduced this religion

128 Douspis, "Pour une Ecole", p.457.

129 Giedt also said that "all [Roman Catholic] missionaries were expelled in 1732 and, except a few in disguise, did not again enter Kwangtung till 1844." See Giedt, "Early Mission History", p.4.

130 "Il fut, en 1854, envoyé dans le Lok-fung, et, l'année suivante, arrêté et retenu prisonnier pendant cinq mois." See Charles-Jean-Baptiste Jacquemin, *Notice biographique*, archives of MEP.

131 Although *Propaganda Fide* placed Guangdong province under the supervision of the French Roman Catholic mission, it did not remove all jurisdiction from the bishop of Macao (Portuguese Roman Catholic Mission), see Giedt, "Early Mission History", p.5.

132 *La cathédrale de Canton*, and *le séminaire de Canton* located on Yide Road (一德路), Guangzhou.

133 Both institutes until today can be found in Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong; numbers 139 and 144 respectively.

134 Both Wu Dong and Agathe Lo returned from Pinang. For Wu Dong, "当时嘉应州的书坑, 有一位青年吴东, 远渡暹罗, 再由暹罗转往槟榔屿 (Pinang) 谋生, 在那里听到了基督福音, 因此领受了洗礼, 进了天主教, 成为虔诚的教徒。" Ouyang Ying 欧阳英, "Jianguoqian meizhou de sanda zongjiao jiqi huodong" 《建国前梅州的三大宗教及其活动》 [The First Three Religions and Their Activities in Meizhou before the Founding of P. R. China], *Meizhou wenshi* 《梅州文史》, Vol.3, June 1990. p.169. For Agathe Lo, "Originaire de Pinang, elle y fit son éducation chez les Soeurs et profitait de leurs excellents leçons", see Régis Gervais, "Pour le Prix Montyon", *Les Missions Catholiques* (1916). p.135.

into his hometown Shukeng (书坑) in Jiayingzhou.¹³⁵ At Wu Dong's request, André Bernon, the pioneer of the MEP in East Guangdong, was sent to Shukeng and constructed a chapel there in about 1861.¹³⁶ In 1856, Yang Xi (杨息), born in Shangdong (上洞) village, Yunluo (云落) town in Puning (普宁) district, returned from Malaysia to preach Roman Catholicism in his birthplace. Huang Jiyong (黄继英) of Donghu (东湖) village, Cai Shi (蔡柿) of Lingting (岭亭) village, Wu Dalong (吴大龙) of Wucuo (吴厝) village in West Gate, three natives of Chenghai (澄海), all converted to Roman Catholicism in Singapore. They proselytized among friends and relatives when they returned. André Bernon had contacted them and was invited to preach in Chenghai at the end of the 1860s. At the end of the 1840s, the MEP also began to send French priests to the East Guangdong region. André Bernon arrived at Canton in 1850. He was embroiled in a conflict with the Portuguese priests,¹³⁷ who denied the jurisdiction of the French priests in this province. Later he worked in the hinterland of Lufeng (陆丰) district. In charge of the Seminary of Saint-François in Hong Kong for a short period in 1854, he switched to preaching in the mountain areas in the interior of the Chaozhou prefecture,¹³⁸ including Dayang, Liangtian (良田), Anyang (岸洋) and Buzhai (埔寨).¹³⁹ It has just been mentioned that another French priest, Charles Jacquemin, was thrown into prison for five months in 1855 when he preached in Lufeng. He regained his freedom through the intervention of Wong A Tong (王阿东, or 王东), who later converted.¹⁴⁰ Jacquemin continued his preaching and settled down in the ancient Roman Catholic village Baileng from 1856 to 1860.¹⁴¹

In comparison with the casual evangelization by the Roman Catholic Hoklo and Hakka returnees, the Protestant missionaries had a much more organized plan for evangelization among the Chaozhou Hoklo in the South-East Asia. The four most important men who preached among the Chaozhou Hoklos in Bangkok were Karl Gützlaff (郭实腊, or 郭士立) of the Netherlands Society for the Advancement of Christianity among the Chinese,¹⁴² Jacob Tomlin of the London Missionary

135 Ouyang Ying, "The First Three Religions", p.169.

136 "Il fonda plusieurs chrétientés, construisit, en 1861 ou 1862, une chapelle à Tchou-hang (书坑), et y baptisa cinq chrétiens qui furent les premiers du district de Kiaing tcheou où il se fixa." See André Bernon, *Notice biographique*. See also Ouyang Ying, "The First Three Religions": "1850 年汕头教区应吴东要求派一位法国李神父 (Bernon, André, 1849 入华) 来到梅县城东书坑村建立了第一个祈祷公所", p.169.

137 Who they were is not clear so far.

138 "Partit le 6 octobre suivant (1849) pour la mission du Kouang-tong et Kouang-si. Il parcourut d'abord l'est de la mission, où il eut des difficultés avec les prêtres portugais, qui déniaient aux ouvriers apostoliques français toute juridiction dans le Kouang-tong, et travailla surtout dans le Loc-foung central. En 1854, il devint supérieur du séminaire Saint-François, à Hong-kong. En 1855, il fut chargé de la partie montagneuse de la préfecture de Tchao-tcheou. Il fonda plusieurs chrétientés, construisit, en 1861 ou 1862, une chapelle à Tchou-hang, et y baptisa cinq chrétiens qui furent les premiers du district de Kiaing tcheou où il se fixa. En 1863, il établit un poste avec un presbytère à Liou-fou-pa..." André Bernon, *Notice biographique*, archives of MEP.

139 *Jieyang Xianzhi* said a French priest surnamed Peng (彭) preached in Liangtian, Anyang in 1857, I doubted this priest is Bernon.

140 Wang A-dong's identity and career is not certain so far. He might have been a rich merchant and was therefore in a position to help Jacquemin.

141 "Il (Charles-Jean-Baptiste Jacquemi) partit le 27 février 1851 pour la mission du Kouang-tong et Kouang-si. En 1852, il accepta d'aller au Kouang-si, où le préfet apostolique, Libois, désirait l'envoyer. La révolte des Taïpings l'empêcha de tenter cette expédition. En 1853, il fut supérieur du séminaire Saint-François-Xavier, que la mission du Kouang-tong avait installé à Hong-kong. Il fut, en 1854, envoyé dans le Lok-fung, et, l'année suivante, arrêté et retenu prisonnier pendant cinq mois. Grâce à l'intervention d'un païen, Wong A Tong, qui plus tard embrassa le Roman Catholicisme, il ne fut pas massacré. Il retourna ensuite dans son poste. De 1856 à 1860, nous le trouvons fixé dans la chrétienté de Pe-né. Mgr Guillemain lui ayant, en 1867, proposé d'aller au Kouang-si, il ne crut pas pouvoir accepter; de 1869 à 1871, il est encore à Pe-né..." Charles-Jean-Baptiste Jacquemin, *Notice biographique*, archives of MEP.

142 In Dutch: Vereeniging ter bevordering des Christendoms onder de Chinezen, see R.G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Missionary Societies in China: from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2009. pp. 187-188. According to Alexander Wylie, Karl

Society¹⁴³ and John Taylor Jones (约安西) and William Dean (憐为仁)¹⁴⁴ of the American Baptist Mission. Gützlaff preached for a couple of months in 1828, when he converted a Chaozhou man named Pang Tai (庞太). His work was then taken over by John Taylor Jones, who arrived in Bangkok at Gützlaff's request in March 1833. That same September, Jones made three converts, including Pang Tai, who was re-baptized.¹⁴⁵ Two close associates of Gützlaff were William Dean and his wife, Theodosia Ann Barker (为仁者之女).¹⁴⁶ Barker had been appointed a missionary to China by the Society of the Promotion of Female Education in the East. She reached Macao at the end of 1837 and found a home with Gützlaff's family. She continued to study Chinese with him. Early 1838, William Dean visited Gützlaff in Macao and fell in love with Barker.¹⁴⁷ After they married, the Deans returned to Bangkok to continue the work among the Chaozhou Hoklo. Before the Deans were transferred to Hong Kong in 1842, they had four converts from Chaozhou recorded on the membership roll: Gao Rong (高容) from Shitoukeng (石头坑) of Raoping (饶平) district, Zheng Dai (郑戴) and Zheng Xing (郑兴) from Zhanglin (樟林) of Chenghai (澄海) district, and Chen Pi (陈疋) from Guilin Zhai (桂林寨) of Chao'an (潮安) district.¹⁴⁸

After Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain in 1842, the missionaries who wished to venture into the Chinese interior were transferred to Hong Kong from Malacca, Singapore, Batavia and Bangkok. Gützlaff too came to Hong Kong, where in 1844 he set up the Chinese Union, a society whose purpose was to train local evangelists and entrust them, rather than Western missionaries, with the evangelization of the Chinese Empire. Gützlaff hoped that henceforth, Western missionaries would serve only as instructors and supervisors. The success of this union inspired many missionary

Gützlaff left the service of the Netherlands Society in 1829 and went to Singapore at the invitation of the Rev. Mr Smith, and from there to Malacca, where he took charge of the London Mission Society station, during the absence of the resident missionary. See the introduction on Karl Gützlaff in Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant missionaries to the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1867. p.54.

143 Gützlaff and Tomlin preached for a short period of several months. Tomlin preached in Bangkok from 4th August, 1828, to the middle of May 1829. See Wylie, *Memorials*, p.50.

144 William Dean was also called "Pastor Lian" (怜牧师) by Li Yuan, in his journal on the 24th of the fifth month. "Lian" means "pity" or "sympathy" in Chinese. Mr Kuiper suggests that "Lian" in the South Hokkien dialect (闽南话) is almost pronounced "Din", therefore it was a suitable Chinese transcription of his surname "Dean". This suggestion is instructive since the Hoklo dialect is a branch of the South Hokkien dialect. He had another name "为仁者", which was printed on the tracts and Bible published in Hong Kong, such as *Zhendao rumen* 《真道入门》 [First Steps in the True Doctrine, 1849], *Fengquan zhenjia renwu lun* 《奉劝真假人物论》 [True and Error, 1849] and *Chuangshizhuan zhushi* 《创世传注释》 [Genesis, with Explanatory Notes, 1850].

145 Lee Kam Keung, *A Centennial History*, p.28, and p.45, Note 161.

146 For a biography of Theodosia Barker, see Wylie, *Memorials*, p.87, and Pharcellus Church, *Theodosia Dean, Wife of Rev. William Dean, Missionary to China*, Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1850. The name "为仁者之女" appeared in a tract *Yilai zhe yanxing jilue* 《以来者言行纪略》 [History of Elijah, reprinted in 1849] compiled by Barker. "女" means "女人" (woman, wife), not "女儿" (daughter).

147 William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America*, Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1849. p.193; see also Wylie, *Memorials*, p.85.

148 *Lingdong Good News*, p. 29. They came back to Chaozhou later and were of enormous help to the ABM when it moved to Swatow in 1860. The name Lin Kezhen (林克贞) can also be found in a tract published by the Lixia Shuyuan (理夏书院), a school run by the ABM in Bangkok. Lin tried to denounce some of the prevailing ideas among the non-converts that "It is useless to worship God" and "Those who worship God discard their parents". He wrote the tract in classical Chinese, but the character "wu" (勿) he used (which means "discard" in Chaozhou dialect) betrays his identity as a Chaozhou Hoklo. As a literate man who defended Christianity, Lin must have occupied an important position in the Baptist Church in Bangkok. Xu Songshi (徐松石) mentioned the other two Hoklo Christians Wenzhi (文智) and Uncle Ping (平叔); and Carl Smith mentioned in addition Peng (Pong) and Sang Seah. See Lee Kam Keung, *A Centennial History*, p.45, Note 161. Their Chinese names have not been identified so far. But I wonder whether Pang Tai (which can also be Pang Da (庞太), the eldest son of the Pang family) and Uncle Ping and Peng (Pong) refer to the same person. The various spellings of Pang, Ping, Peng and Pong might have been caused by carelessness in the process of transcription or else have been influenced by the writer's own dialect.

societies in Europe. They sent out missionaries to work for Gützlaff's Chinese Union, among them Rudolf Lechler and Theodore Hamberg (March 19, 1847, Basel Mission) and Carl Vogel (March 2, 1850, Cassel Missionary Society).¹⁴⁹ They all preached among the Hoklo, who became influential evangelists in this Union (see the table below). Xiao Daoming, a Chaozhou Hoklo, served as president of the Union. Noticing the opportunities for evangelism among the Hoklo, Gützlaff assigned Lechler to learn the Chaozhou dialect and sent him to preach in Chaozhou with three Hoklo evangelists on May 17, 1848.¹⁵⁰

Name	Place of birth
Xiao Daoming, Ming (萧道明)	Chaozhou prefecture
He Ba (何八)	Chaozhou
Hong Jin (洪进)	Chaoyang
Wu Ai (吴矮)	Jieyang
He Jingguang (何镜光)	Dabu
Xu Yan (许砚)	Puning
Chen Kaitai, Ch'en K'ai-t'ai (陈开泰)	Chaozhou
Zhang Shichang (张世昌)	Chaozhou prefecture
Huang Zhengji (黄正基)	Chaozhou prefecture
Chen San (陈三)	Chaozhou prefecture
Cai Rongguang (蔡荣光)	Chaozhou prefecture
Luo Yuanbiao (罗元标)	Preach in Jieyang

Table 5: List of Hoklo evangelists in the Chinese Union, mid-1840s

(based on George A. Hood and Luo Jiahui¹⁵¹)

The Hoklo evangelists were sent to preach independently in Chaozhou prefecture for a couple of months in the mid-1840s, before the arrival of Lechler. He Ba used to be a merchant in Guangzhou; he had travelled to Hong Kong and was acquainted with Gützlaff and William Dean. He had been baptized by Gützlaff and preached in Hong Kong and in Xin'an district with Rudolf Lechler, Heinrich Koester (柯士德) and Carl Vogel (鸟牧师). He also preached independently in Guilin (桂林) in

149 Rev. Carl Vogel, Ph D, was sent to China by the Cassel Missionary Society, and arrived at Hongkong on March 2nd, 1850. He left for Europe in 1852, and has not since returned to the service. Wylie, *Memorial*, p.198.

150 Hood, *Mission Accomplished?* p.22.

151 Ibid.

Appendix I (a), The testimony of a Chao-chow man, Ch'en K'ai-t'ai, one of the members of the Union.

Appendix I (b), An extract from the list of "Preachers and their assistants sent out by the Chinese Union from the 1st of January to 31st of August, 1849".

Luo Jiahui 罗家辉, *Jidujiao zaoqi zaibua chuanbo moshi—Guo shili yu hanhui zai yanjiu* 《基督教早期在华传播模式——郭士立与汉会再研究(1844-1851)》 [The Preaching Strategy of Protestant Christianity in Early Nineteenth Century China——Further Study of Karl Gützlaff and the Chinese Union (1844-1851)], M.A. Thesis, April 27, 2008.

Appendix I: 1849 年汉会派遣传道员情况 [The Dispatch of the Evangelists of the Chinese Union in 1849]

Guangxi province in the mid-1840s.¹⁵² The example of Chen Kaitai's (陈开泰) conversion shows that Gützlaff's evangelist policy was effective. According to his testimony, in Chaozhou in 1848 he met a member of the Chinese Union, who was "going everywhere to spread the Gospel, to distribute holy books, and preach the heavenly truth."¹⁵³ As an educated man, Chen Kaitai "saw the truth of God's kingdom, and wanted his sins to be forgiven and his soul saved." He therefore travelled to Hong Kong to visit Pastor Kuo (Gützlaff's Chinese surname) and be his disciple. He heard Gützlaff preach the Gospel and accompanied him in his itinerant evangelism after his conversion. On May 18, 1849, Chen Kaitai was sent by Gützlaff to preach in Chaozhou, from where he returned to Hong Kong on August 28, to report the outcome of his preaching.¹⁵⁴ During the investigation of the damaging rumours about the Chinese Union,¹⁵⁵ Chen Kaitai still continued to preach with Vogel in the vicinity of Hong Kong.¹⁵⁶

In 1843, the American Baptist Board of Foreign Mission Society transferred the Deans from Bangkok to Hong Kong where they were to open a new station for the Chaozhou Hoklo. They lived across the street from Gützlaff's house. On May 28 of that year, William Dean organized a new Chinese church in Qundai Road (群带路).¹⁵⁷ He had to manage this church alone, for Mrs Dean had died of smallpox on March 29. He copied Gützlaff's evangelistic policy and among the twelve Hoklo he baptized in this period, Chen Dui (陈兑), Chen Sun (陈孙), Li Yuan (李员) stood out as prominent evangelists.¹⁵⁸ Chen Dui came from the village of Guangnan (光南) in Puning district and was baptized in 1843 when he was thirty-seven years old. Chen Sun came from the village of Nanyang (南洋, also called Lianyang, 莲阳), and was baptized in 1844 at the age of thirty.¹⁵⁹ Li Yuan was baptized in 1844 aged thirty-two and, ten years later, his wife Xu Yuefeng (徐月凤) was baptized at the age of twenty-one.¹⁶⁰ William Dean sent Chen Dui assisted by Li Yuan to preach in Cheung Chau (长洲), a small island 10 miles to the south-west of Hong Kong, which was not yet accessible to foreign missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century. Chen Sun was sent to Da Tan (大潭), a village at the southern most point of Hong Kong island, mainly populated by the Chaozhou Hoklo fishermen.

On January 5, 1848, Dean was joined by John W. Johnson (约翰生)¹⁶¹ and his wife, who died on

152 Luo Jiahui, *The Preaching Strategy of Protestant Christianity in Early Nineteenth Century China*, Appendix I.

153 Hood, *Mission Accomplished?* p.317.

154 Ibid.

155 Ever since the founding of the Chinese Union in 1844, other missionaries had accused Gützlaff of exaggeration about its booming membership and its achievements in evangelizing among the Chinese. It was Gützlaff's absence from Hong Kong which gave the other missionaries, such as Theodor Hamberg (1819-1854) of the Basel Mission, Gützlaff's colleague, the opportunity to investigate the functioning of the Chinese Union. The investigation revealed that not a few Chinese evangelists did not fulfil their duties as evangelists but spent the money given them by Gützlaff on gambling and smoking opium. Some of them sold the Bibles and tracts back to the publisher, who sold them again to the Western missionaries. This scandal eventually caused the dissolution of the Chinese Union from 1852 to 1853.

156 Hood, *Mission Accomplished?* p.317.

157 Wylie, *Memorials*, p.85.

158 See Cai, "The Itinerant Preaching", pp.113-134.

159 His wife, Zhang Jin (张金), and daughter, Chen Suixin (陈遂心), also became Christians several years later; the former in 1848 at the age of 30, the latter in 1859 at the age of 18. Chen Sun's mother-in-law, named Tan Gui (谭桂), was also baptized, in 1854 at the age of 25. She was 11 years younger than her "daughter", Zhang Jin, which suggested that she might have been Zhang Jin's step-mother.

160 *Lingdong Good News*, p.29.

161 He was also called 赞算约翰, 约翰圣差, the former in Wylie, *Memorials*, p.176, the latter in the journal by Li Yuan, on the 24th of the fifth month.

June 9 that same year after a brief illness.¹⁶² Three years later, John Johnson married Lumina Wakker who had just arrived in Hong Kong in February 1851. Wakker had been sent by the Rotterdam Ladies' Association for the Mission to support of Gützlaff's Chinese Union as a result of his whirl-wind tour across Europe in 1850.¹⁶³ After her marriage, Wakker's membership switched from the Rotterdam Ladies' Association to the Amsterdam section of the Dutch Foreign Mission¹⁶⁴ and she continued to receive donations from the Netherlands. Teamwork was formed with Dean, the Johnsons and the foreign missionaries on one hand and with the local evangelists, Chen Dui, Chen Sun and Li Yuan, on the other. Dean and Mr Johnson managed the church affairs and supervised Chen Dui, Chen Sun and Li Yuan's evangelism around Hong Kong, while Lumina Johnson managed a Girls' School.¹⁶⁵ In 1858, they were joined by William Ashmore who had been engaged in the Bangkok station for eight years.¹⁶⁶

In Chaozhou, Lechler remained intermittently in Nan'ao (南澳) and Yanzao (盐灶) from 1848 to 1852. After he was driven out by the magistrate of Chenghai district, he switched to preaching among the Hakka in Hong Kong.¹⁶⁷ Despite the opposition he had to face, during these years he baptized thirteen people in Yanzao village. Lin Qi (Lim-kee, 林旗) was one of them. He was baptized on October 9, 1850, and became the leader of this small congregation after Lechler left.

Lechler was not the only Protestant missionary who worked in Chaozhou before the opening of Swatow as a treaty port in 1860. William Burns (宾为邻, EPM) and James Hudson Taylor (戴德生, Chinese Evangelization Society, London) had also gone to Swatow in 1856. They arrived on Double Island (孖屿, or 妈屿) in the estuary of the Han River (韩江) on March 12. On June 5, they were joined by Chen Sun and Li Yuan, who had been sent to assist them by Mr Johnson (ABM).¹⁶⁸ In July, Taylor left for Shanghai in search of medical supplies for the planned opening of a dispensary in Swatow. In the meantime, with Chen Sun and Li Yuan Burns travelled to the prefectural city Chaozhou via Donglong (东陇, or Tang-leng, 东里), a market town near Chen Sun's place of birth Nanyang (南洋). On their way back to Swatow, they were arrested by the Chenghai magistrate. Chen Sun and Li Yuan were thrown into prison, while William Burns was sent back to Canton. Meanwhile Taylor had arrived in Shanghai and discovered that the medical provisions and Bibles which had been collected by the London Missionary Society had been burned. This setback meant that he had to forgo his plans for medical evangelism. By then he had also received Burns' message warning him not return to Swatow. This ended Taylor's work in this region and ushered in the beginning of his work in Ningpo (Ningbo, 宁波) and Shanghai.¹⁶⁹

Burns returned to Swatow early in 1857 to obtain the release of Chen Sun and Li Yuan, who had

162 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.178.

163 The Dutch name is *Nederlandsch Vrouwen-Hulpgezelschap ten behoeve der Zending in China te Rotterdam*, according to R. G. Tiedemann.

164 *China: Verzameling van stukken betreffende de prediking van het evangelie in China en omliggende landen* [China: Collection of the pieces about the preaching of the Gospel in China and surrounding/neighbouring countries], vol.1, 1852, pp.51-52.

165 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 1854. pp.238-240.

166 *The Good News of Lingdong*, p.2.

167 For Rudolf Lechler's activities in Chaozhou, see Lee, *A Centennial History*, pp.11-13.

168 *Ibid.*, p.15, p.33.

169 Wylie, *Memorials*, p.223.

been in prison for four months by then. These two Hoklo evangelists continued to work for Burns and George Smith (施饶理), the second English Presbyterian missionary sent to Swatow in 1857.¹⁷⁰

With the help of Dr William de la Porte (博德医生),¹⁷¹ a Methodist doctor working among the Westerners on Double Island, Burns opened a dispensary there, in another attempt to carry out his plan to undertake medical evangelism.¹⁷² In the first half of 1861, he stayed in the village of Yanzaoyao, where he lived in Lechler's house and reorganized the former Christians he had baptized. The first Protestant church was founded in 1862.¹⁷³

When Swatow was formally opened to Westerners in 1860, the ABM moved from Hong Kong to Swatow. Initially the Johnsons and William Ashmore settled on Double Island where they joined a group of converts from Hong Kong. Among them were Chen Dui, Chen Sun, Li Yuan and their families.¹⁷⁴ Chen Dui continued his preaching on Changzhou Island near Hong Kong. He also travelled to Bangkok from time to time to take care of the Baptist congregation there, working in tandem with his son Chen Shizhen (陈时珍).¹⁷⁵ Chen Dui returned to his place of birth, Guangnan in Puning district, in 1868 and introduced Christianity there. However, it was only in the 1880s that Chen Shizhen settled down in Guangnan to convert his family and clan members.

Examining the initial stages of the transmission of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the Chaozhou region, it is possible to conclude that, although a late-comer, Protestantism achieved more success than Roman Catholicism. A group of Protestant missionaries, backed by donations from Europe, the United States and Great Britain, all contributed to the success of the Protestant missions. Karl Gützlaff, a charismatic figure, stimulated the interest of the Western missionaries in China and provided them with the evangelical method for converting the Chinese through local evangelists. He has not escaped criticism and Lutz in particular is quite critical about his achievements. She notes that “his grandiloquence had simply added an extra note of unreality to the crusade. His very success in stimulating interest in China missions contributed to overreaction when images of conversions, trade, and a friendly reception proved to be mirages,”¹⁷⁶ and “Gützlaff's dream of evangelizing all China by employing Chinese catechists collapsed in shambles. He died in disgrace, his missionary career

170 According to Chen Zelin, George Smith had six Chinese assistants; two of them had formerly worked for Burns and were arrested with him. He was undoubtedly referring to Chen Sun and Li Yuan. See Chen Zelin, “The Presbyterian Mission”, p.434.

171 I thank Timothy C. F. Stunt for providing me with the following information on William de la Porte, a missionary “in connexion with the Free Church of Scotland” who wrote “The Chinese Slave Trade” in the *Baptist Magazine* (January 1860), pp. 23-25. In the *Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' friend* (1859) he is described as “the Rev. William de la Porte of Swatow” p.156.

172 Lee, *A Centennial History*, p.16.

173 Ibid.

174 “1860年，约翰牧师和他的夫人，和四位传道者及一位教员，暨数位教友，就是陈兑（队），胡得，陈孙，陈都，李员（恩），张金，李兰，徐凤，陈向荣（逢源），谭桂，吴龙卵，陈遂心等，从香港迁到马屿，在这两年间，得有陈泰泉（长霖），张群贤，陈永泉（府），陈大川，陆财气等的帮助。因此福音能得传道内地各处。那时，还有四位潮州人，在廿年前，最先在暹罗受浸的老信徒回国帮助，就是高容伯，郑戴伯，陈正伯，郑兴伯等，这数人很热心事主，不少的为主作证，而常受向人的逼迫。”见《岭东浸会史略》，*Good News of Lingdong*, p.2.

175 *Shantoushi jidujiaozhi* 《汕头市基督教志（征询稿）》 [History of Protestantism in Shantou], Shantoushi jidujiaozhi bianxiezu 汕头市基督教志编写组 [Compiling Committee of the History of Protestantism in Shantou], 1988. p.65.

176 Jessie G. Lutz, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gützlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827-1852*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007. p.331.

considered a failure.”¹⁷⁷ By clarifying the relationship between Gützlaff and the various Protestant missions which worked among the Hoklo people in the mid-nineteenth century, it is possible to see that the situation was not quite as black as she has painted it. Gützlaff’s legacy in Siam, Hong Kong and Chaozhou was taken over by the ABM, the Basel Mission and the EPM and his policy of evangelizing all China by employing Chinese catechists was put into practice by the missionaries of all these missions; not just by the Hakka Christian church of the Basel Mission which inherited his legacy.¹⁷⁸ This was mostly a matter of personal relationships, which can be visualized as a circle with Gützlaff at the centre (see Figure 6).

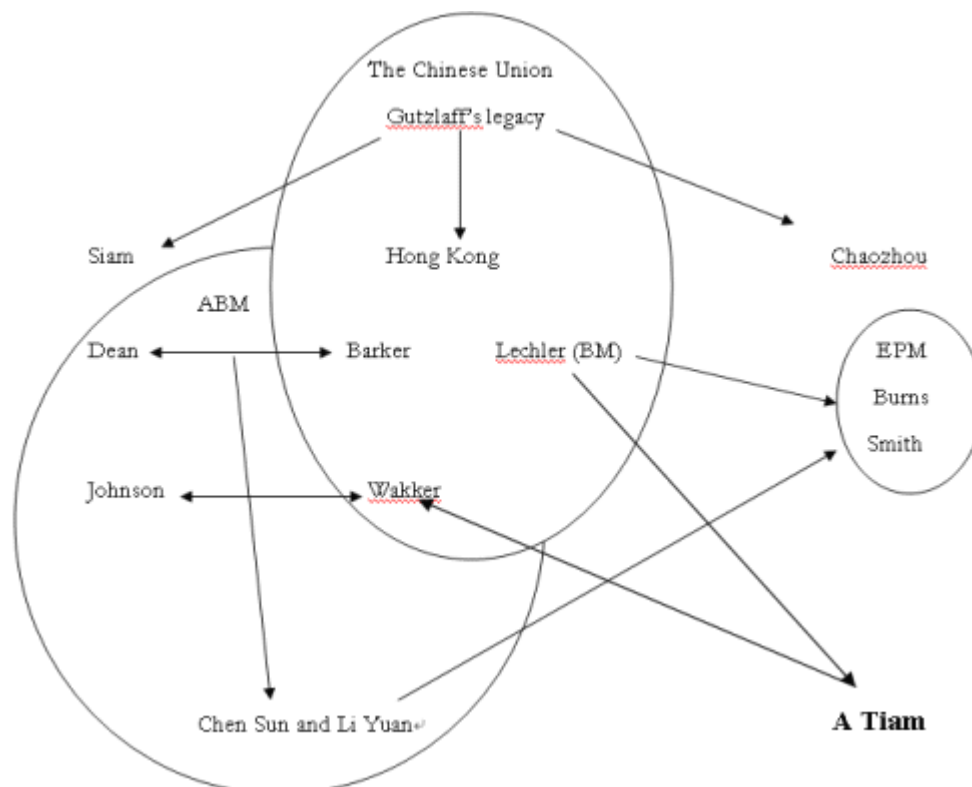


Figure 6: Personnel network of the ABM, Basel Mission and EPM missionaries in Siam, Hong Kong and Chaozhou, with Gützlaff as a charismatic figure at the centre, before 1860

All of this indicates that the missions were linked in many intricate ways. In the first of these, the exploration of the mission field, the American Baptist Mission inherited Karl Gützlaff’s (the Netherlands Chinese Evangelization Society) legacy in Siam (Thailand): Pang Tai who was baptized by Karl Gützlaff became a member of the American Baptist Church; in Hong Kong, Lechler brought a little girl, A Tiam (阿珍), from Chaozhou and put her under Lumina Johnson’s supervision; in Chaozhou, the English Presbyterian Mission continued the work begun by Rudolf Lechler (the Basel Missionary Society), and Lin Qi and the other twelve Christians converted by Lechler became the “Thirteen Columns” of the English Presbyterian Church in Chaozhou.

177 Ibid., Preface, p.xv.

178 Ibid., Preface, p.xvi.

Secondly, the Western missionaries who came via different societies (Basel Mission, Cassel Mission, and those in the Netherlands) worked together among the Chaozhou Hoklo in Siam, Hong Kong and Swatow. Among them were Theodosia Ann Barker (the Society of the Promotion of Female Education in the East, London), Rudolf Lechler (Basel Mission), Carl Vogel (Cassel Missionary Society) and Lumina Wakker (Rotterdam Ladies' Association for the Mission). They came to China in response to Karl Gützlaff's appeal and worked as his assistants. As just indicated, Gützlaff's indigenous evangelistic policy also had a great influence on William Dean and John W. Johnson.¹⁷⁹

The marriages between members of different missions were another characteristic type of co-operation. The marriages of William Dean to Theodosia Ann Barker, John W. Johnson to Lumina Wakker, and that of Alexander Lyall to Sophia Norwood speak for themselves. The first two ladies came to China in response to Gützlaff's appeal (the former in 1837; the latter came in 1850 and married soon after her arrival). The Deans and the Johnsons had good relationships with Gützlaff and adopted his indigenous evangelistic policy. The marriages between members of the different missions also engendered a re-configuration of the resources. Although Lumina Johnson became part of the American Baptist Mission, she still kept in touch with her original mission and continued to receive donations from the churches in the Netherlands.¹⁸⁰ The journals of Chen Sun, Chen Dui and Li Yuan were sent back to benefactors in the Netherlands to show that their donations had been used wisely in the mission work. Joseph Tse-Hei Lee says that Chen Sun was paid by the Bristo Street Baptist Church in Edinburgh, Scotland.¹⁸¹ Sophia Norwood was an important assistant to Adele Fielde (ABM) in women's work. Since she had experience in training Bible-women and in needlework, her participation in the EPM strengthened the work for the Christian women and girls of this congregation.

Besides the relationships between the various Western missionaries, different missions shared the same local personnel. Chen Sun and Li Yuan, the local evangelists of the ABM, provided valuable assistance to William Burns and George Smith of the EPM. There were also switches of membership from the Basel Mission to the EPM, as a result of the division of the mission fields in 1870s. Peng Qifeng (彭启峰) and Pengsong (彭松), who were originally members of the Basel Church, later played significant roles in the EP Church.

The other important co-operation between the Basel Mission, the EPM and the ABM was in the publication of a Swatow vernacular dictionary and Bible translation: the former in 1877; the latter from 1888 and thereafter. If the co-operation and the exchange of personnel in the initial stages was caused by the limited resources of the Protestant enterprise in China, namely: foreign and local personnel, donations and so forth, it seems logical to conclude that their co-operation in publications might have been aimed at avoiding any waste of evangelistic resources and energy.

179 Cai, "The Itinerant Preaching", pp.113-134.

180 *China: Verzameling*, vol.2, 1852, p.169.

181 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.29.

Relationships between the Missions after 1860

After 1860, the EPM and the ABM successfully took root in Chaozhou prefecture. Their co-operation in the initial stages laid the foundations for their collaboration from 1860 to 1949. As they occupied the same mission field and experienced similar developments, friction between these two missions was inevitable. One noticeable example was the competition which flared up in developing membership in the Jieyang and Raoping districts. Despite occasional abrasions, co-operation was the main theme in the relationship between both missions. William Riddel (EPM) and William Ashmore Sr. (ABM) co-operated in drawing fourteen maps of Chaozhou and its vicinity. The two maps below show the distribution of three Protestant missions in East Guangdong: with the Lotus Mountains as the watershed: the Basel Mission took charge of the region to the north-west; the EPM and ABM to the north-east and their mission fields overlapped in the prefectural city of Meizhou.

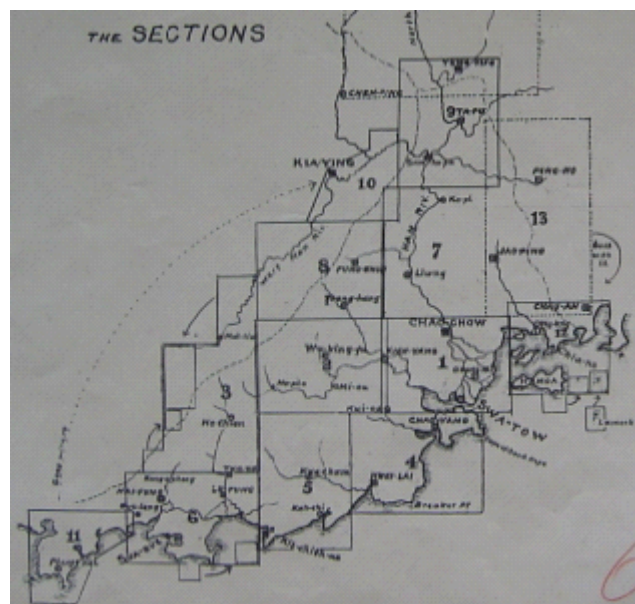


Figure 7: EPM & ABM field: 1899



Figure 8: Basel Mission field: 1904-1920

In the Roman Catholic camp, other factors influenced the forms of rivalry and co-operation. When the *Propaganda Fide* placed Guangdong province under the supervision of the MEP in 1848, conflicts arose between the Portuguese and French missionaries because the *Propaganda Fide* had not removed all jurisdiction from the bishop of Macao.¹⁸² However, as among the Protestant missions, the MEP and the Foreign Mission of Milan did consult each other about their mission fields. The latter took charge of the *Vicariat Apostolique de Hong-Kong* from 1874. Its extension covered Hong Kong (the crown colony of Britain) and Xin'an (新安), Guishang (归善), and Haifeng (海丰) districts.¹⁸³ The first three districts, Hong Kong, Xin'an and Guishan, were the responsibility of the Basel Mission, while the EPM took charge of the last district, Haifeng. The mission field of the MEP covered the other part of Guangdong province and all of Guangxi (广西) province. In 1875, the *Vicariat Apostolique de Kwangtong et de Kouangsi* was divided into two, corresponding to the border between these two provinces. Chaozhou prefecture was attached to the *Vicaire apostolique de Kwangtong*. All the French missionaries who worked in Chaozhou prefecture had received their education in the Seminary in the rue du Bac in Paris and initially came to the headquarters, the Sacred Heart Cathedral, in Guangzhou. From there they were sent to work in the other parts of Guangdong province, including the Chaozhou region.

It was not until 1914 that Chaozhou formally became an Apostolic Vicariate (*Vicariat apostolique*).¹⁸⁴ The mission field of the *Vicariat Apostolique de Swatow* covered all of Chaozhou and Jiayingzhou prefectures and parts of Huizhou prefecture, namely: the districts of Lufeng, Longchuan (龙川), Heping (和平), Lianping (连平) and Changning (长宁).¹⁸⁵ Owing to the vast extension of the *Vicariat Apostolique de Swatow*, the American Maryknoll Mission entered the Hakka field to the north of the Lotus Mountains in 1918,¹⁸⁶ in answer to the appeal of Bishop Adolphe Rayssac. In 1925, with the permission of the *Propaganda Fide*, the American Maryknoll Mission took over missions in the whole of Jiayingzhou, the Dabu district in Chaozhou prefecture, Longchuan, Heping and Lianping districts in Huizhou prefecture.¹⁸⁷

Although undeniably there was a great deal of internal co-operation in the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions the picture was entirely different. In Jiayingzhou, especially in Changle district, the biggest rival of the MEP was the Basel

182 Giedt, 'Early Mission History', p.5.

183 J.-M. Planchet (Missionnaire Lazariste), *Les missions de Chine et du Japon*, Pékin: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1917. p.249.

184 The original document is "Erection du vicariat apost. de Tchao-tcheou, 6 Avril 1914", Planchet, *Les missions de Chine et du Japon*, 1916, p.351. It is incorrect for Ouyang Ying to say that the "vicaire apostolique de Swatow" existed from 1850. See Ouyang Ying, "The First Three Religions", p.170. Many practical preparations had to be made before the "vicaire apostolique de Chaozhou" was founded, "A cette époque, on parlait déjà de diviser la Mission de Canton en deux vicariats: Swatow devait naturellement devenir le centre de l'un d'eux. Faisons d'abord, conseilla notre confrère, la division en pratique avant de la faire en théorie. Ayons notre procure, notre église, notre Sainte-Enfance, notre école et notre Séminaire; après cela la division se réalisera sans peine." Antoine Douspis, *Notice nécrologique*, archives of MEP.

185 Prefectures de Tchaotchow 潮州府, de Kiyang 嘉应州 et de Houitchow 惠州:

1. Tchangning 长宁县 2. Lufeng 陆丰 3. Lungchün 龙川 4. Liénping 连平 5. Heping 和平
Planchet, *Les missions*, 1917, p.244.

186 Giedt, 'Early Mission History', p.5.

187 Ouyang Ying, "The First Three Religions", p.170.

Mission. Competition between the MEP and the EPM was fierce in Huilai district. Take the competition between the ABM and MEP in the Chaoyang district as an example: from its compound (in Queshi, 巽石) located in Chaoyang district, the ABM developed more stations in this district. The MEP had a very old station in this district in Haimen, as has been mentioned in the first section of this chapter, but it was not until 1884 that the French priest Joseph Gérardin (丁热力) was sent to supervise the work in Swatow and from there transmitted Roman Catholicism to Chaoyang district.¹⁸⁸ From that moment, Chaoyang district formed a battlefield between the MEP and the ABM. The rivalry between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism also became enmeshed in intra-lineage conflicts. Joseph Lee describes how the people involved in an intra-lineage conflict in the village of Guxi (古溪) resorted either to Baptism and Roman Catholicism to strengthen themselves. This situation brought about the collective conversion of the Junior Li branch to Protestantism, and the Senior Li branch to Roman Catholicism.¹⁸⁹ The conflict of MEP and ABM in Chaoyang district continued. In 1916, the French missionary Alphonse Werner (韦希圣) reported that he had spent that year in just fighting the American Protestants,¹⁹⁰ and that the conflict in Guxi was the fiercest.¹⁹¹ It was only during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 that the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries stood firmly together so as to protect each other from the Chinese rebels.

The competition between the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions might also have been a factor in the lack of success of the latter in the Han River Zone. In fact, the strong presence of Roman Catholic missionaries might have been the most important reason for the slowness of the Protestant expansion in the Han River Zone, especially in Chaozhou prefectural city and Chenghai district city. This seems a better explanation than the “popular hostility of the Confucian gentry elite and scholars towards the Christian missionary presence”, which has been assumed to be the main reason in the past.¹⁹²

One of the interesting differences between the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions is the fact that the French priests preferred to travel on horseback in the mountainous Hakka regions, whereas the Protestant missionaries travelled by boat along the littoral Hoklo region in the plains. The difference in their choice of transport was chiefly influenced by the different types of topography (see Figure 2 in Chapter One). The western part of Jieyang district, the central Lufeng district and Jiayingzhou prefecture were mountainous inland regions which were first broached by the MEP. The mission fields

188 According to Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, a villager from Guxi called Li Zhiye often visited Baileng of the Huilai district (a stronghold of Roman Catholicism), his mother's natal village, to sell Chinese herbal medicine, and converted in 1885. At the same time Roman Catholicism was transmitted from Swatow to Chaoyang. See Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.125. Hence the transmission of Roman Catholicism in Chaoyang came from two directions (westwards and eastwards) and from both the local people and French missionary.

189 Ibid., pp.119-136.

190 “Jamais, m'écrit de Tchaoyang, M. Werner, je n'ai eu autant que cette année à lutter contre les protestants américains.” *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1916.

191 “C'est à Khokoi, résidence du missionnaire, que la lutte a été la plus vive. Sentant venir l'orage, le Père fit l'impossible pour l'éviter: appel aux autorités chinoises, au ministre protestant, au consul de France. Ce dernier fit même un voyage pour bien apprécier la situation. Tout fut inutile. Les protestants voulaient la guerre et la commencèrent. Elle dura un mois, au bout duquel les autorités chinoises se décidèrent à intervenir. Ce ne fut pas à l'honneur des protestants. Aujourd'hui ils cherchent à recommencer, et pour réussir, ils ont fait alliance avec un chef de société secrète d'un village voisin.” *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1916.

192 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.70.

in these regions were too far-flung for each of the French priests in charge to visit on foot. Therefore the Roman Catholic missionaries, for instance, Father Henri Michel (in central Lufeng), Charles Rey (Jiayingzhou) and François Becmeur (in Baileng) rode horse while carrying out their evangelical works.¹⁹³ In the littoral region, Lida Scott Ashmore, one of the later AB woman missionaries, said: “The Tie-chiu (Chaozhou) field is favored in the fact that its numerous waterways make communication by water an easy matter.”¹⁹⁴ Both the EPM and ABM built the *Fuyin Chuan* (福音船, Gospel Boat) to facilitate their proselytizing in this vast area in the 1870s. The story of this itinerant preaching as told by John Campbell Gibson (汲约翰, EPM) and his colleagues in early 1876 also illustrates the importance of the river systems for evangelical journeys. Gibson and his colleagues began by sailing across the Shantou (Swatow) harbour to Chaoyang district city, from where they travelled along the coast to Yanzao and Huanggang (黄冈) villages on the Chenghai-Raoping district border. After walking inland, they sailed along the Han River to the prefectural city and to Jieyang district city. From Jieyang, they sailed up the Rong River to Mianhu market and returned to Shantou.¹⁹⁵ As Lee suggests, this trip also reveals that the initial priority of the English Presbyterians was to evangelize the more sophisticated populations in urban areas. Although this might indeed have been the plan, this mission policy did not work out as the missionaries expected, partly because of the resistance of the Confucian gentry; partly on account of the strong presence of the Roman Catholic congregation in the prefectural and district cities, as will be discussed below.

The prefectural city Chaozhou was the political and cultural centre of the region: it was “the seat of the circuit intendant of Huizhou-Chaozhou-Jiaying (Huichaojia Daotai)”, and also “the seats of the prefect (Zhifu, 知府) of Chaozhou and district magistrate (zhixian, 知县) of Haiyang.”¹⁹⁶ The Roman Catholic congregation in this city was under the direction of Joseph Gérardin from 1868 to 1870. According to the annual report of MEP, a “decent” residence and a chapel were constructed. The latter was replaced by the cathedral founded by François Roudière (罗神甫) in 1906.¹⁹⁷ From 1880 to 1894, Father Jules Boussac (布塞克) was transferred from Baileng to Chaozhou city, where he opened an orphanage and constructed a residence and a school.

The Protestant missions only gained a foothold in this city much later and their churches were built outside the city, unlike the Roman Catholic cathedral which was located in the city centre; hinting at its ambition to occupy politically the centre stage. George Smith tried to preach for the EPM in Chaozhou in 1865, but it was only two years later that he succeeded in renting a house inside the walled

193 In 1892: “Le P. Michel venait de remplacer le P. Teurtre au Lok-fung...Il fouette son cheval qui s’dance ventre à terre et met vite notre confrère hors de la portée de ses agresseurs.” In the same year in Jiayingzhou, “M. Rey ne dut son salut qu’à son sang-froid et à la vitesse de son cheval.” In Peh-Né, 1904, “Parfois, je (M. Becmeur) trouve que le travail est au-dessus de mes forces. Ce sont surtout les longues courses à cheval, sous le soleil brûlant de l’été, qui épuisent mon tempérament.” All in *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*.

194 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.84.

195 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.47.

196 Ibid., p.3.

197 “L’église fut inaugurée en 1908, et l’année d’après, M. Roudière célébrait ses noces d’argent”. François Roudière, *Notice nécrologique*.

city because of the resistance from the local gentry and the French Roman Catholic priests.¹⁹⁸ In 1868, Dr William Gauld (吴威廉, or 吴威凛) was invited to this city to treat the *Daotai* when the latter fell ill. His successful treatment of the disease (dysentery) earned him the respect of the governor.¹⁹⁹ It facilitated the medical evangelism of the EPM in Swatow,²⁰⁰ even though they were not allowed to build inside the walls of Chaozhou. It was not until 1889 that Dr Philip B. Cousland (高似兰) of the EPM founded a permanent mission station which was located near the East Gate outside the city.²⁰¹ In the same city, William K. McKibben (目为霖, or 目为林) of the ABM received a donation of US \$1,000 from the United States in 1878. He planned to build a residence for his family, a chapel with rooms for preachers and Bible-women and a baptistery outside the city. This plan collapsed as a consequence of a dispute about land between the Chinese literati and the missionary.²⁰² It was not until 1894 that H.A. Kemp (金士督) of the ABM, with the help of the Chinese pastor (中教士) Hong Daozong (洪道宗), rented a house in the city. Only in 1906 was the ABM allowed to build a church, which was in fact located quite a distance outside the East Gate of the city.²⁰³

All this gave the Roman Catholics a big advantage in Chaozhou and this was reflected in the number of converts. In 1897, the number of Roman Catholics in this city came to 1,300 and another 350 adults were baptized in the following year.²⁰⁴ The English Presbyterian Church had only fifteen baptisms before 1884, about 1 per cent of its entire church membership. The American Baptist Church was slightly more successful; it had 174 baptisms in total before 1897, equivalent to 8 per cent of its church members.²⁰⁵

198 The EPM rented an old teahouse located in Huwei Xiang (虎尾巷, Tiger Tail Alley). The house had two rooms, one was used as its hall of worship and a waiting room for patients; the other as the bedroom and dispensary for Dr Gauld and Dr Cousland. See Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.438.

199 Johnston, *China and Formosa*, pp.157-158.

200 It was not until 1878 that the Fuyin (福音, Evangelistic) Hospital was completed in Swatow, on a the plot of land which was given by Daotai. See Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.436.

201 Ibid., p.438.

202 This case is well demonstrated by Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, pp. 52-53.

203 《潮安城中堂》, *A Special Issue*, p.46.

204 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1897 and 1898.

205 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.70.

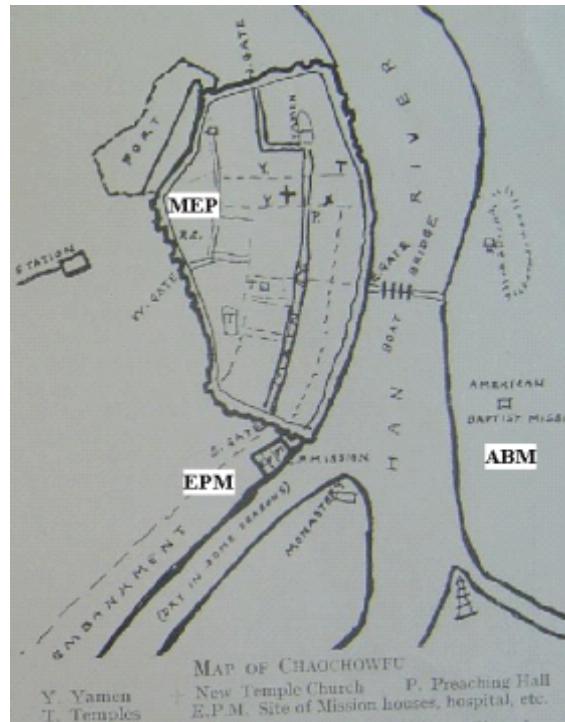


Figure 9: Distribution of the Catholic and Protestant missions in the Chaozhou city

As in the prefectural city Chaozhou, the district city Chenghai also showed a strong French Roman Catholic influence. During his stay in Chaozhou city between 1868 and 1870,²⁰⁶ the French missionary Gérardin followed three Hoklo men, Cai Shi (蔡柿), Wu Dalong (吴大龙) and Huang Jiying (黄继英) who had been converted in Singapore, to the district city of Chenghai. Wu Dalong provided his own house in Wucuo (吴厝) village near the West Gate of this city as a hall of worship. In 1870, he bought a plot of land nearby to found a chapel which was dedicated to St Luke, a saint who was believed to be able to protect people from the plague which had broken out in Chenghai at that time.²⁰⁷ Huang Jiying also offered the big hall of his privately owned post office, *Piguan* (批馆),²⁰⁸ as a hall of worship for the Roman Catholics around Donghu (东湖) village. This building was located in the north-east outside the city wall.²⁰⁹ It was not until 1904 that Jacob Speicher (师雅各) of the ABM founded a church in the district city of Chenghai. The EPM followed almost two years later in 1922. With a Seminary attached to the Roman Catholic Church, from 1915 to 1924 the district city of Chenghai became the centre of the MEP in training local priests.²¹⁰ The district city remained the stronghold of the MEP throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the French Roman Catholics not only had established themselves in Chenghai, they had also penetrated Zhanglin and Yanzaao. These two villages were the

206 Notice biographique of Joseph Gérardin.

207 “Chenghai tianzhujiao shilue”《澄海天主教史略》[History of Roman Catholicism in Chenghai], Chen Wanxu, *Roman Catholicism*, p.1.

208 Formerly this was a kind of privately owned post office, dealing with the mail and capital exchanges between the sojourner families and their relatives in the South-East Asia.

209 《澄海天主教东湖堂》, Chen Wanxu, *Roman Catholicism*, p.8.

210 《澄海天主教禄格堂》, *ibid.*, p.3.

strongholds of the ABM and EPM respectively. In 1895, the Roman Catholic priest Father Boussac²¹¹ founded a chapel in Zhanglin (樟林)²¹² with the help of the parents of Yi Xingji (蚁兴记) and Zhu Tianfu (朱天福), scions of two important Roman Catholic families in this town. Yi Wusheng (蚁吴盛) also dedicated his study to the Zhanglin Roman Catholic church. At the end of 1897, some of the Roman Catholics in Zhanglin moved to take up residence in Yanzaosha village, bringing their Roman Catholicism into this village with them.²¹³ At first, the Roman Catholics in Yanzaosha travelled to Zhanglin, even to the district city of Chenghai, for worship. With the increase in Roman Catholics in Yanzaosha, in 1902 they rented a house as place of worship and founded a church in Shangshe (上社, upper community) of Yanzaosha.²¹⁴ In 1908, there were about 2,000 Roman Catholics in Chenghai district.²¹⁵ After the social unrest in the mid-1920s and the 1930s, the number of Roman Catholics in Chenghai district dropped to 1,000 in 1940, but still remained the biggest Christian congregation in this district.²¹⁶

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee ignored the existence of Roman Catholicism in the Han River Zone by saying that “the Rong and Lian river zones appeared to be more receptive to Christianity than the Han River zone.”²¹⁷ Lee also argued that “the urban power holders perceived Christianity as a threat to their authority, and sought to obstruct any attempt by the missionaries to build churches in the cities. ...Faced with these antagonistic power holders, the Baptist and Presbyterian missions decided to shift the focus of evangelization towards the interior, the further away from the prefectural and district cities, the better.”²¹⁸ Yet from the French archives of the MEP and the Chinese sources on the history of Roman Catholicism in Chenghai, it is obvious that the prefectural and district cities in the Han River Zone were the strongholds of the Roman Catholicism, which was actually much more successful than Protestantism in this particular region.

Compared with the Protestant missions, the French Roman Catholic Mission was a late-comer to the treaty port of Swatow and the Rong River Zone. Both Protestant missions set up their headquarters in the treaty port of Swatow in the 1860s when they settled in the Chaozhou region. Twenty years later the French Roman Catholic Mission sent Antoine Douspis (杜士比) to work as “pro-préfet” in Swatow from 1884 to 1895. It was not until 1893 that he constructed the first chapel and a residence in

211 Jules Boussac supervised the Chenghai district between 1894 and 1908. See his *notice biographique*, archives of MEP.

212 Chen Xuehua (陈雪花, Snow Flower), the first Christian woman and Bible-woman of the AB congregation, came from this village. The Zhanglin church was founded in 1872, see 《会史之部》, *A Special Issue*, p.7.

213 The first group of Roman Catholics in Yanzaosha were Roman Catholics from Zhanglin, and several natives of Yanzaosha: Lin Jinlai (林近来), Lin Longxing (林隆兴), Lin Ruo (林若), Ding Ju (丁居), Lin Jiasheng (林加生), etc. see 《澄海天主教盐灶堂》, Chen Wanxu, *Roman Catholicism*, p.10. See also *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1897: “Jusqu’à l’an passé, il avait aussi à s’occuper d’une petite station située sur les bords de la mer, dans la sous-préfecture de Djiao-peng, en face de Formose.” The place referred to was Yanzaosha.

214 Lin Longxing (林隆兴), Lin Ruo (林若), Ding Ju (丁居), Lin Jiasheng (林加生) provided money to found this church, with a size of 644 m². See 《澄海天主教盐灶堂》, Chen Wanxu, *Roman Catholicism*, p.10.

215 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1908: “M. Étienne, qui a près de 2.000 chrétiens, a entendu 3.478 confessions et distribué 2.709 communions. Il a 11 écoles, dont deux pour les filles.”

216 *Chenghai xianzhi* 《澄海县志》 (Gazetteer of the Chenghai District), Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1992. p.648.

217 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.38.

218 Ibid., p.53.

this treaty port.²¹⁹ The delay might have been caused by the presence of the Protestant missions there, but the strategy of the French Roman Catholic mission cannot be discounted. The Roman Catholic missionaries preferred to occupy the political centres of prefectural and district cities. Being a comparatively new town, Swatow had only about 25,000 inhabitants in 1899. It was not until 1930s that it surpassed the other district cities as the economic centre of Chaozhou prefecture.

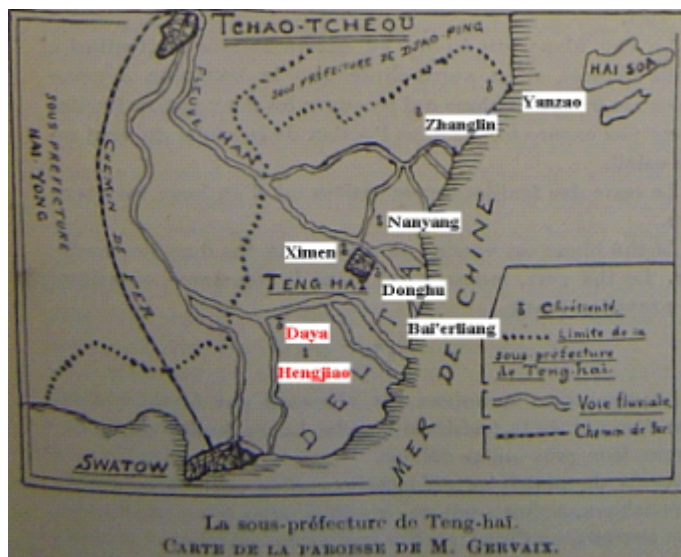


Figure 10: Roman Catholicism in Chenghai District, Han River Zone

Conclusion

Roman Catholicism was introduced into the Chaozhou region in the seventeenth century, two hundred years before Protestantism, but did not gain a permanent foothold. Before 1860, the overseas Hoklo and Hakka people played an important role in the transmission of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism to their hometowns in the eastern part of Guangdong province. The difference between the Catholics and the Protestants was that Protestant missions (ABM, the Basel Mission) had an applicable feasible, well-thought-out plan for evangelizing China: they would begin their evangelism among the Hoklo and Hakka sojourners in the South-East Asia, after which they would train some converts to be evangelists and carry out the evangelism among their own people. This efficient and relatively successful method was put into practice by Gützlaff, who was followed by Lechler, Dean, Johnson. Their final step was to move their mission fields from the Chinese communities abroad to mainland China. They carried out this plan step by step. The French Roman Catholic Mission did not organize the converts to preach. The overseas Roman Catholic Hoklo and Hakka also brought back their new beliefs when they came home and transmitted Roman Catholicism among their families, relatives and friends, but they were not actively engaged or trained by the missionaries to spread the Christian message. The French Roman Catholics mostly left them to their own devices. The French

219 Antoine Douspis, *Notice nécrologique*.

priests were only later called in to supervise the new congregations perhaps because Roman Catholicism requires ordained priests to give the sacrament.

With the legalization of Christian evangelism in China after 1860, three Protestant missions (Basel Mission, EPM, ABM) and one Roman Catholic mission (MEP) successfully settled in the Chaozhou region. The French Roman Catholic mission was the pioneer in the mountainous Hakka regions in Huizhou and Jiayingzhou, while the EPM and ABM were pioneers in the littoral Hoklo region. Although the EPM was a late-comer in the littoral Hoklo region, it applied an urban-based mission strategy and was rewarded by fast growth in the political centres of this region. Both Protestant missions (ABM, EPM) shared the same urban-based mission strategy, but they had to adapt it when confronted by the strong presence of the MEP in the political centres, namely: district and prefectural cities. In the Han River Zone, a combination of the opposition of the local Confucian literati and the strong presence of the MEP in Chaozhou prefectural city and Chenghai district city hindered the development of Protestantism in the Han River Zone. As the MEP dominated in district and prefectural cities, the ABM and EPM adapted their urban-based mission strategy to preach in the Chenghai-Raoping district border area and settled in the inland rivers and coastal market towns.

CHAPTER THREE: WOMEN'S WORK

Introduction

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century missions often undertook a wide range of activities especially geared towards women. These included preaching in private, informal settings, separate educational tracts for girls and women, and various kinds of health care which were specifically focused on women, especially in the field of childbearing and child raising. These practices were the vehicle through which the missionaries' ideas about gender were transmitted, explicitly and implicitly. Commenting on the Chinese context, Ryan Dunch notes that the "importance of missionary institutions for Chinese women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has not always been acknowledged in the historiography of Chinese women in the twentieth century," because "it has been systematically downplayed or excised altogether from the standard modernist narrative of Chinese women's liberation as embodied in post-May Fourth nationalist/Communist historiography".²²⁰ Focusing mainly on the Protestant movement around Fuzhou, his article "Mothers to our country" shows how the Protestant missions undertook educational work among women and girls at different levels of schooling. In the context of the Roman Catholic missions, Jean-Paul Wiest has described the Roman Catholic School education for boys and girls over the past 150 years in China²²¹ and R.G. Tiedemann has worked mainly on the training of Chinese Virgins in the late Qing period.²²² Both Dunch and Wiest's research reveals some of the ideology behind Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in this respect. Concentrating on educational work directed towards women, Dunch points out that "individual piety (the need for the converts to understand the Scriptures) and the demands of Christian domesticity (educated wives for the preachers, educated mothers to nurture the young in their faith)" were the impetus behind Protestant female education.²²³ He describes how missionaries took up residence in more remote rural locations and that the mission education systems for girls and women became more formalized after 1880, "with three distinct components: elementary-level 'day schools', boarding schools in the county seats and higher boarding schools and ultimately colleges in major centers, and schools for adult women."²²⁴ Was this also true of the situation in Chaozhou?

220 Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country", p.328.

221 Jean-Paul Wiest, "From Past Contributions to Present Opportunities: The Catholic Church and Education in Chinese Mainland during the Last 150 years", Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu editors, *China and Christianity: Burdened Past, Hopeful Future*, Armonk, New York; London, England: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

222 Tiedemann, R. G., "Controlling the Virgins", in Gaitskell and Urban-Mead, *Transnational Biblewomen*, pp.501-520.

—, "A Necessary Evil: The Contribution of Chinese 'Virgins' to the Growth of the Catholic Church in Late Qing China", Lutz ed., *Pioneer*, pp.87-107.

223 Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country", p.341. Wiest's view is more general, applicable to Roman Catholic education for both males and female. He says: "In pre-1949 China, the educational work of the Catholic Church served two purposes, each representing a different current in the understanding of what it meant to preach the good news of Jesus Christ. The first trend, especially noticeable at the lowest levels of the missionary educational enterprise, stressed the preservation and nurture of faith among Catholic believers. The second characteristic, more prevalent at the higher echelons of education from 1920s on, reflected a commitment to train China's elite and provide modern Chinese society with a profound and lasting Christian influence." See Wiest, "From Past", p.252.

224 Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country", p.334.

It is on the basis of Dunch, Wiest and Tiedemann's research that I shall investigate the Protestant and Roman Catholic mission work for women in the Chaozhou region.²²⁵ Missionary Christianity was indeed the pioneer in promoting education for the female gender in Chaozhou in the late Qing period. The first non-Christian school for girls was established in Chaozhou only in 1904.²²⁶ In this chapter, I single out three types of educational institutions for women established by the missions in the second half of the nineteenth century and follow their development in the first half of the twentieth century. These are the so-called "Little Girls' School", the "Old Women's School" and the orphanages. The first two types of institution were run by both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, but with women of different ages as their target group, providing a closed environment for a thorough training inspired by the twin aims of conversion and exerting a civilizing influence. The third, described as "œuvres de charité (charitable works)"²²⁷ in Roman Catholic sources, enjoyed a significant position in the Roman Catholic enterprise in China. Following suit, in the 1920s the EPM also established an orphanage. The educational work for women carried out in these institutions would not have been possible without the publication of the Bible, hymnbooks and tracts in the Chaozhou dialect. Although only a small proportion of publications were specifically produced for women and girls, women's education profited from the general interest in publishing and translating. In this chapter, medical work for women (in hospitals and dispensaries) is left aside, because it did not contribute to their systematic, long-term training, even though it played a significant role in attracting potential converts.

Many sources are available. For the ABM, information can be gleaned from the journals of three male Baptist evangelists Chen Sun, Li Yuan and Chen Dui, and a Dutch letter from Lumina Johnson published in *China: Verzameling van stukken betreffende de prediking van het evangelie in China en omliggende landen*. Besides these, two Chinese Baptist journals *Good News of Lingdong* and *A Special Issue on the 70th anniversary of Lingdong Baptist Mission*, the mission history written by Lida Scott Ashmore, Emmanuel Giedt have been consulted.²²⁸ For the EPM, Catherine Maria Ricketts's biography by C. Mann,²²⁹ and the records of the Swatow Women's Missionaries Association Council,²³⁰ and a Chinese journal *A Centennial Anniversary of the Yanzao Presbyterian Congregation* provide excellent material.²³¹ For information about the MEP, *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong* (1876-1914), *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow* (1915-1939), the *Notice biographique* and *Notice nécrologique* of the French missionaries worked in Chaozhou were consulted, plus the articles written by various French priests in *Les Missions*

225 This inclusive perspective is inspired by Murre-Van den Berg who states that "One of the most characteristic aspects of both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission work in the 19th century is the enormous amount of time, energy and money that was channeled into activities directed towards women." See Murre-van den Berg, "Protestant Missions", p.103.

226 However, it was soon obstructed by the local gentries. See 《岭东日报》, "潮嘉新闻", 光绪三十年正月十九日 (1904): "女学堂改聘教习: 潮郡创办女学堂, 聘阮君润之为教习, 已纪前报。现闻阮君被一二腐败士绅所抑, 以避嫌辞退, 另聘定林口某掌教云。"

227 Gérvaix, "Pour le Prix Montyon", p.135.

228 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, Giedt, 'Early Mission History'.

229 C. Mann, *Catherine Maria Ricketts of Brighton and China* (short for "Ricketts"), Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1924.

230 In the form of microfilm, Archives of the EPM, in the special collection in the library of the Baptist University of Hong Kong.

231 Yanzao tanghui bainian jiniankan 《盐灶堂会百年纪念刊》 [A Centennial Anniversary of the Yanzao Congregation], published by Yanzao Congregation, the Church of Christ in China, 1949.

The Little Girls' Schools

All missions at some time or another established schools for young girls, the so-called Little Girls' Schools (小女学). The first girls' school was run by the American Baptist Mission in Hong Kong. No sooner had she married John W. Johnson in 1851, than Lumina Wakker Johnson set about organizing a Girls' School in the bottom storey of her home. The aim of this school, in Johnson's own words, was "to lead these [girls] in the right way".²³³ Her husband and the Hoklo evangelist Chen Dui would recruit young girls for this school during their itinerant preaching. For instance, during his itinerant preaching in Changzhou (长洲), John Johnson found that A-Lak (徐六, 阿六), the wife of a Christian, still worshiped "false gods". Thereupon he planned to bring A-Lak's daughter, then twelve years old, to attend the Girls' School to get her away from her mother's "evil" influence.²³⁴ On another occasion, Chen Dui told the wife of Chen Kuizhong (陈魁中): "If your daughter wants to study in Mrs Johnson's place, please come with me," with apparent success.²³⁵

One of the reasons that the ABM Girls' School was able to attract so many students was the fact that it did not charge any tuition fees in the early years. Another attractive feature was that the students were also offered a daily food ration. Understandably, some parents were happy to send their daughters to study there, leaving them one less daughter to support.²³⁶ In the initial years, the ages of the students covered a wide range, the youngest girl was eight years old²³⁷ while the eldest girl, Xu Yuefeng (徐月凤), was aged 20. Xu Yuefeng was already the wife of the Hoklo evangelist Li Yuan (李员) when she began to study at the school. Another girl married Chuan Xiansheng (川先生, i.e. Chen Da Chuan 陈大川), a teacher working for the Johnsons in Swatow; this marriage was arranged by Lumina.²³⁸ These facts suggest that, as in Protestant missions elsewhere in the world, one of the aims of the girls' school was to train wives for the male evangelists.

What was a day in Lumina Johnson's Girls' School like? What was the school curriculum? Unfortunately, a lack of sources has prevented my finding a detailed answer to these questions. One of

232 This journal published in Lyon (Bureaux des Missions Catholiques), Paris (Victor Lecoffre, Libraire-Éditeur) and Bruxelles (Société Belge de Librairie). They are collected in the Archives of MEP, Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris, 128 Rue du Bac, 75007 Paris

233 "Om ze (deze meisjes) in den regten weg te leiden", cf. *China: Verzameling*, vol. 4, 1854, p.239.

234 *Ibid.*, vol.1, 1852, pp.162-163.

235 "到陈魁中之屋，谓其妇曰：'尔女欲到先生娘处读书，十五六日可与吾同去。'旁有数海丰人。" See Chen Dui's journal, the thirteen day of the fifth month. Collected in the Institute of Sinology, Leiden University, Gutz 109 III.

236 As in the case of the mother of Sinhi, see Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.109.

237 The following are some of the girls who studied in Girls' School run by Lumina Johnson:

A Hakka girl from a family living in Hongkong; A Tiam, eight years old, from Iam-tsau, was an unwelcome daughter and had been given to Mr Lechler, who brought her to Hong Kong; A Hi (Sienhi) whose family drifted to Hong Kong, the father going on to California. The mother heard of the school and brought her daughter to study, no doubt influenced by the fact that she would have one less child to support. She was the brightest girl in school, and could learn anything. Chuan Sin-se-nie (川先生娘, 即吴龙卵) still living in Penang, A Sui Che (陈遂心) still living in Kakchieh, were pupils in this school. These two were from Christian families and have proved to be very useful women in our mission. See Ashmore, *The South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, p.110; Gue-Hong (徐月凤); Atjen; 读书女子亚华, see Chen Sun's journal, the thirteen day of the fifth month.

238 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.109.

the letters Johnson sent back to the Netherlands, dated September 1854, sheds some light on the educational methods she employed. According to her notes, Johnson, read the first sixteen verses of John Chapter 11 aloud to the girls, during a Bible-reading class held from 8 to 9 p. m. at night. She dwelt on the sentence: “Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus” (*Jesus had Martha en hare zuster en Lazarus lief*), and she asked them a series of questions:

Why did Jesus love them?

Does Jesus love all people?

How has He shown this and how does He still show it every day?

Does He love both the good and the evil?

What should we learn from this?²³⁹

She went on to explain that Jesus showed His love primarily to sinners. She then expounded on the miracle of His incarnation, His suffering and His death as an atonement for sinners.²⁴⁰ Johnson was convinced that the girls were all very much impressed by these stories. The one-hour lesson was concluded with a prayer led by Xu Yuefeng. Johnson also noted that she was happy to see that Xu’s prayer came from her heart, not from a book nor following someone else’s words.²⁴¹ Besides the Christian instruction, a Chinese male teacher was employed to teach the girls to read and write Chinese characters. He was a non-Christian and was paid a salary of \$8 a month.²⁴²

When the ABM moved to Double Island in 1860, the school transferred with the mission. The new teacher, Chuan Xiansheng, was a young Christian man. His wife, Wu Longluan (吴龙卵), who had studied in the Girls’ School in Hong Kong helped with the teaching. One of the girls under Lumina Johnson’s supervision at this time was Lu Kuai (陆快, Adele Fielde called her “Speed”), who later became an efficient teacher first at the Mingdao Women’s School and afterwards in the hospital.²⁴³ The school moved to Queshi (礮石), known as Rocky Corner in the missionary literature, in 1864. Lumina Johnson continued teaching in the bottom storey of her house until her departure in 1874.²⁴⁴

It is known that the English Presbyterian Mission commenced education for girls in Yanzao village in the early 1860s, but the sources were insufficient to carry out any further investigation. Mrs Mackenzie²⁴⁵ of the EPM opened Shude (淑德) Girls’ School in Swatow in 1873, taking Mrs Johnson’s Girls’ School as her prototype, that is: the wife of the missionary took charge of the administration of the school and the doctrinal instruction of the students; a local male teacher taught the girls Chinese characters, with a local female teacher as assistant; a matron looked after the daily welfare of the girls.

239 Waarom had Jezus hen lief? Heeft Jezus alle menschen lief? Waarin heeft hij dat getoond en toont hij het nog dagelijks? Heeft Hij goeden en boozen lief? Wat moeten wij daaruit leeren? *China: Verzameling*, vol. 4, 1854, p.239.

240 Ibid.

241 Ibid., “daarna hebben wij gezongen en Gue-Hong eindigde met gebed: niet uit een boek of een van buiten geleerd gebed, maar uit haar eigen hart.”

242 Ashmore, *The South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, p.110.

243 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.109.

244 Giedt, ‘Early Mission History’, p.17.

245 Her first name is not known so far.

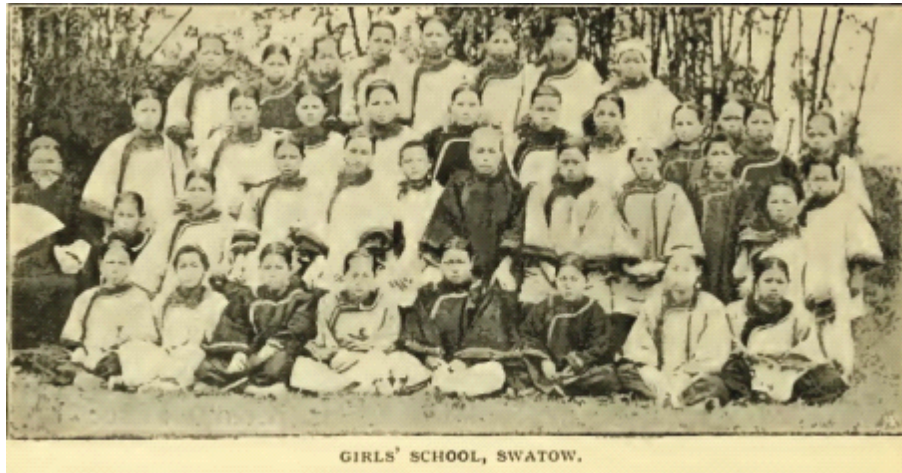


Figure 11: Shude Girls' School (From James Johnston, *China and Formosa*, 1897)

When the number of girl students increased, they were divided into several classes or different grades. In the 1880s, more woman missionaries and local female teachers were employed. In the early twentieth century, the staff were classified according to the following categories: resident teacher, daily teacher, head teacher, second teacher, assistant teacher.²⁴⁶ Only one male teacher was employed. Xie Xuezhang (谢雪璋), an ex-student of Shude Girls' School, recalled that in the 1920s the male teacher—who was called “*Guo wen lao*” (国文佬)—was not a member of the Christian congregation but that the female teachers were all Christians: some of them native; some from the other provinces and some were single, some married.²⁴⁷ The policy of employing a male teacher to teach the girl students was also adopted by the French Roman Catholic Mission. For instance, Chen Eryun (陈二云), a male teacher, taught Chinese in the Chenxing Girls' School (晨星女中),²⁴⁸ a Roman Catholic Middle School founded in the late 1940s.²⁴⁹

The regulations of Johnson's Girls' School also underwent changes. In the initial stage, the Girls' School did everything for the girls: “food was provided and prepared by a cook. Their clothes were also furnished and a laundress kept them clean, and the girls had no responsibility except to follow their lessons.” When Mrs Henrietta Partridge (巴智玺夫人), an American woman missionary, re-opened the school again in the autumn of 1874—now under the name “Zhengguang Girls' School” (正光女学)²⁵¹—she “allowed \$1.30 a month for the board of each girl, but they had to do the cooking, cleaning and washing themselves, as well as keeping the whole place in order.”²⁵² Such an arrangement might possibly have taken Mt Holyoke Seminary, which was founded by Mary Lyon in 1837 with the idea that women's education relied on training the “head, heart, and hand” of the girl students, as its

246 Records of the WMA Council, the 5th Meeting, 24th April, 1906; the 8th Meeting, Chaochowfu; the 7th October, 1907; and 10th Meeting, Swatow, 23rd Sept. 1908.

247 Oral account of Xie Xuezhang (谢雪璋), Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.79.

248 “Chen Xing” means “Morning Star” in Chinese; its formal name in Latin was “Stella Matutina”.

249 Li Degang, “The Unique Girls' School”, p.141.

251 Called Kak-chieh Girls' School officially, see Giedt, “Early Mission History”, p.17.

252 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.111.

prototype.²⁵² Lida Scott Ashmore—principal of Zhengguang Girls’ School from 1885 to 1904—pointed out that the new rules were the first step towards making the girls self-sufficient. The Shude Girls’ School of the English Presbyterian Mission also shared the same idea: “Here are the mothers of the future generation learning, with other useful things, lessons of order, of self-control, of self-denial and of self-respect—learning too, in many cases, the ‘love of Christ which passeth knowledge’.”²⁵³ In the first half of the twentieth century, training self-supporting Christian women to become the wives of evangelists and teachers was still an important part of the female missionaries’ work, according to James Johnston (EPM) and Chen Zelin (陈泽霖), a Chinese Presbyterian educator.²⁵⁴ The Roman Catholic Chenxing Girls’ School also embraced a similar idea. A course in house-keeping was prescribed for the students in high school: the Ursuline sisters taught them cooking and other domestic skills.

Let us now turn to the Western woman missionaries who worked as teachers in the Girls’ Schools. In the case of the ABM, in the fifty years after Lumina Johnson first organized the school for girls in Hong Kong, the teachers at this school were the wives of the male missionaries.²⁵⁵ In the EPM, initially the wives of the missionaries also devoted great efforts to the education of girls and women,²⁵⁶ but in 1877 the Synod approved of the employment of unmarried woman missionaries. In the spring of 1878, Catherine Maria Ricketts was the first unmarried woman missionary sent to Swatow; she was also the first member of the Women’s Missionary Association, an organization founded in London to promote women’s work in China.²⁵⁷ From that date, single woman missionaries were sent by the WMA to work in the Swatow mission field where they took over the administration of Shude Girls’ School. In the early 1920s, Xie Xuezhang recalled that “the *Guniang* [姑娘, refers to the woman missionaries] teaching at the Girls’ School were unmarried; they did not continue to work once married.”²⁵⁸

The introduction of the unmarried missionary ladies, of whom Ricketts was the able pioneer, expanded the work that the wives of the missionaries had begun.²⁵⁹ Their work included setting up schools for girls, teaching the children themselves or employing local teachers under them. They took care of the classes of the most promising converts and trained them to be Bible-women or catechists to their countrywomen; they visited female patients in the hospitals and the homes of non-Christian women who could not or did not want to come to public worship in the chapels.²⁶⁰ From the 1880s, single women missionaries were the main force in carrying out women’s work. The married woman missionaries retreated into the background, but there were still many lines of service open to them, which lay outside the range of popularly organized WMA work, and could therefore be better left in

252 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.155.

253 *History of the Women’s Missionary Association*, 1899. Archives of EPM collected in Baptist University of Hong Kong, p.6.

254 Johnston, *China and Formosa*, p.211. “1885 年在五经富开办五育女子高级小学，目的同样是要为客属的中国传教士培养‘贤内助’”，see Chen Zelin, “The Presbyterian Mission”, p.437.

255 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.114.

256 Johnston, *China and Formosa*, p.208.

257 *Ibid.*, p.210.

258 Oral account of Xie Xuezhang, see Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.73.

259 Johnston, *China and Formosa*, p.267.

260 *Ibid.*, p.211.

their hands, such as mothers' meetings to instruct in the raising and care of children, visits to the homes of Christians and others, "rescue work"²⁶¹ and visits to the growing number of women and girls in non-Christian schools.²⁶²

During its first fifty years, the Zhengguang and Shude Girls' Schools functioned at the upper primary level only but the latter was raised to secondary school level in October, 1913; the former in 1916. The curriculum covered "enlightened (启蒙)"²⁶³ and religious training. The first category included courses in Chinese, Mathematics, Nature Study, History and Geography. The higher the grade, the more emphasis was put on religious training. The reason for this choice might have been that the students who received higher education in the school were expected to become catechists or to take office in the church.²⁶⁴ The Roman Catholic Chenxing Girls' School also taught the courses in Chinese, English and Mathematics in the junior section and added the course in domestic skills in the senior section.²⁶⁵ In 1926, the Shude Girls' School adopted the curriculum required by the Ministry of Education, which was the same as that of the Boys' School. However, the Roman Catholic Chenxing Girls' School still placed its emphasis on religious instruction; in Li Degang's words, "religious propagation was the main mission of this school".²⁶⁶ In 1928, the Zhengguang Girls' School merged with the Swatow Academy (Boys' School). The Shude Girls' School was closed upon the invasion of Japanese troops in 1937 and the Chenxing Girls' School met the same fate with the founding of P.R. China in 1949.

The Zhengguang (ABM), Shude (EPM) and Chenxing (MEP) Girls' Schools were boarding schools located in Swatow. At the inland stations, both Protestant missions and the French Roman Catholic mission established schools for girls. In the case of the ABM, a well-defined school policy was adopted at the Mission Conference held at Kaying in 1906, which called for a lower primary school in each country chapel, an upper primary and junior middle school in each residence station, a senior middle school or academy for the Chaozhou field at Queshi (礮石) and a similar school for the Hakka field at Kaying.²⁶⁷ There were boarding schools in Ungkung (黄冈), Kityang (揭阳), Hopo (河婆) and Kaying (嘉应), and a day school at Chaozhou (潮州) of grammar grade. There were also numerous primary day schools among the outstations.²⁶⁸ For fifty or more years, the wives of resident missionaries in these stations superintended these girls' schools.²⁶⁹ The EPM had upper primary schools in the outstations Shanwei (汕尾), Chaozhou (潮州), Jieyang (揭阳), Yanzaio (盐灶), Wujingfu

261 What kind of work this word refers to is not clear so far. Probably saving girls from servitude, prostitution and concubinage, as suggested by Rosemary Robson.

262 Records of the Swatow Women's Missionary Association Council, 27th Meeting, Far East House, 30th Sept., 1915, Married ladies Archives of EPM.

263 The word "enlightened" is similar to "scientific" in the Chinese context, and "secular" in the context of the Western world.

264 Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.446.

265 Li Degang, "The Unique Girls' School", p.142.

266 Ibid.

267 Giedt, "Early Mission History", p.17: General Educational Work.

268 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.119.

269 Ibid., p.114. They were Mrs McKibben, Mrs Carlin, Mrs Kemp, Mrs Anne K. Speicher, Mrs Groesbeck, etc. See membership roll of the American Baptist missionaries at the end of this book.

(五经富), Sanheba (三河坝) and Shanghang (上杭).²⁷⁰ Most of the village chapels had their own junior primary schools.

At first, whenever a chapel wanted to open a girls' school, the elder had to hand the application over to the WMA, which would investigate the matter and then make the decision.²⁷¹ In September 22, 1925, the Western Missionary Council (西教士会议) decided to put the little girls' schools of all the chapels under the management of the Intermediate Synod.²⁷² Chen Zelin says that there were more than one hundred chapel primary schools at the time; one-third of them girls' schools.²⁷³

The MEP priests also opened girls' schools in their stations in the countryside. In 1907, the school established by Father Léonard Canac (简神甫) in Zhenping (镇平) district had thirty-two girl students against 175 boys.²⁷⁴ Father Louis Étienne (田雷思) in the Chenghai (澄海) district had eleven schools, two for the girls.²⁷⁵ Father François Becmeur had a girls' school in Baileng (百冷), which he put under the supervision of six local Virgins. In Xingning (兴宁) district, central Lufeng (陆河) district, and the Heping (和平) market of Chaoyang (潮阳) district, Fathers Dominique Yuen (袁), Charles Rey (赖嘉禄) and Auguste Pencolé (彭嘉理) also ran girls' schools.²⁷⁶ Usually the girls' school of each Roman Catholic station was financed by the local congregations. Sometimes they were funded by a rich family, such as the Yaps (叶) in central Lufeng, who not only took charge of the school but also provided nourishment for the girls.²⁷⁷ Local Virgins usually worked as teachers in these Girls' Schools, as is reported for Baileng, in 1912. "These good nuns live together on their dowries and their labour. Not satisfied with merely instructing the young girls, on Sundays they gather the women and teach them the catechism. They have contributed significantly to the rising number of communicants: this year the number reached 10,000."²⁷⁸ Not a few girl students became Roman Catholics later.²⁷⁹ In 1938, Father Maurice Rivière (李河清) constructed a kindergarten in his Hakka field and entrusted it to the local Virgins, because the Hakka women had to do the farm-work in daytime and found it difficult to take care of their babies. It is interesting to note that while the Protestant missions set up their boarding Girls' Schools in the treaty port Swatow, to be followed first by the other boarding schools in the outstations, the junior primary girls' schools in the villages; the Roman Catholic mission chose the

270 Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.446.

271 Records of the Women's Missionary Association Council, 5th Meeting, 24th April, 1906; 6th Meeting, 27th Sept., 1906; 7th Meeting, Chaochowfu, 1st March, 1907. Archives of EPM.

272 Synod Records of Swatow Presbyterian Church, September 22:

卅四: 议西教士会议将中会属各堂小女学可归中会统一管辖较便云云。

273 Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.446.

274 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1907: "Les écoles créées par M.Canac dans la ville de Tchang-ping étaient florissantes, atteignant un effectif de 175 élèves garçons et 32 filles en 1907."

275 *Ibid.*, 1908: "M. Étienne, qui a près de 2.000 chrétiens, a entendu 3.478 confessions et distribué 2.709 communions. Il a 11 écoles, dont deux pour les filles"

276 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1920: Dominique Yuen, Rey; 1930, Pencolé.

277 *Ibid.*, 1920: "M. Rey se félicite du progrès de ses écoles et tient à donner une mention honorable à la famille Yap, qui généreusement a pris à sa charge une école de filles, y compris la nourriture de quelques élèves."

278 "Ces bonnes religieuses vivent en communauté, du produit de leur dot et de leur travail. Non contentes d'instruire les petites filles, elles réunissent les femmes, le dimanche, et leur font le catéchisme. Elles ont contribué pour une grande part à l'augmentation du nombre des communions: nous touchons cette année au chiffre de 10.000." *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1912.

279 The previous quote in is already implied the by previous quote. See also *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1930: "M. Pencolé...sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant-Jésus m'a protégé, tout s'est bien passé. L'école de filles de Hua-Pheng (和平) m'a amené quelques catéchumènes qui seront baptisés sous peu."

opposite direction: the priests founded girls' schools in the outstations first and a girls' school at senior level was not founded in Swatow until 1945.

The Old Women's Schools (老妇学)

“Old Women’s School” was the name given to the Bible training school for adult women by the local non-Christians, who regarded this kind of school as a novelty and made a big fuss about it. Though scholars have paid less attention to it than they have to the girls’ schools, these institutes played an important role in the transmission of new ideas about gender.

Besides setting up the first girls’ school in Hong Kong, Lumina Johnson was the first to train Bible-women, even though they were illiterate. The report for 1871 states that “the Woman’s Baptist Mission Society of the East was supporting one of the three or four Bible-women Mrs Johnson had under her oversight.”²⁸⁰ These may have been Xu Yuefeng (徐月凤),²⁸¹ Chen Xuehua (陈雪花, Snow Flower)²⁸² and Tang Feng (唐凤).²⁸³ In 1873, Adele Marion Fielde (斐姑娘, or 旨先生娘) was transferred from the ABM Siam field to Swatow, where she worked for four and a half years. Upon arrival, she set forth a plan for an adult women’s school, for the purpose of training a group of women to be professional evangelists. This was the beginning of the Mingdao Women’s School (明道妇学).



Figure 12: Adele Marion Fielde

(Left: from Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde*, 2002; Right: from Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, 1886)

Lida Ashmore states that in its initial stages, the Woman’s School did not have a continuous training system each year. Later it offered a course for nine months per year, with an average number

280 Giedt, “Early Mission History”, p.11.

281 She studied in Lumina Johnson’s Girls’ School in Hong Kong, wife of evangelist Li Yuan (李员). *China: Verzameling*, vol. 4, 1854, p.238.

282 The first female Christian of ABM in the Chaozhou region.

283 Wife of Hoklo evangelist Lu Caiqi (陆财气), Speed’s mother.

of seven students. Lu Kuai, whose parents were both evangelists (Lu Caiqi and Tang Feng), worked as teacher in this school. Wu Zhenbao (吴真宝, Chin Po, Treasure), a Christian woman who had received training in the Mingdao Women's School, worked from 1880 as matron and assistant teacher at this school. After two or four months' training,²⁸⁴ the students were sent out to practise what they had learned, accompanied Fielde. During the autumn, Fielde travelled up and down the entire Chaozhou field in her houseboat with this group of Bible-women. In the field, Fielde would test the ability of each student and give each of them practical suggestions about speaking to ordinary Chinese women.²⁸⁵ When the Bible-women had learned the Gospel thoroughly, Fielde would send them out, two by two, into the rural areas to teach the Christian or non-Christian women. When the fieldwork, which lasted for two months²⁸⁶ on average, was finished, the women were gathered in the compound in Queshi (畧石) and taught another portion of the doctrines. When they had mastered a thorough grasp of it, then they went out to continue the evangelism. Bible-women became an effective and independent force in carrying the evangelism to the countryside of Chaozhou.²⁸⁷

The success of Fielde's Women's School was extensively discussed during the 1877 Protestant conference in Shanghai and consequently became a model for the work of Bible-women throughout China. In November 18, 1881, Catherine Maria Ricketts (李洁姑娘) of the EPM commenced the training of her first class of Bible-women, which became her life-work. Her colleagues, Eleanor Black and Mary Harkness, continued the work when Ricketts left in 1907.²⁸⁸ Being an English lady and had probably attended Girton College in Cambridge, Ricketts called this school "The Swatow Girton". Its Chinese name was Peide Women's School (培德妇学).²⁸⁹ In fact the Chinese rendered it the "Old Women's School" because the youngest student was forty-seven and the eldest sixty-three.²⁹⁰

284 Fielde's training method will be illustrated in detail in the next chapter about Bible-women.

285 Helen Norton Stevens, *Memorial Biography of Adele M. Fielde*, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Seattle: The Fielde Memorial Committee, 1918. p.117, p.119. Giedt, "Early Mission History of the Swatow region", p.12.

286 They spent nine weeks in each quarter of the year at the outstations to which they were sent; then one week in their own homes. Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.117.

287 *Ibid.*, p.116.

288 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.27.

289 Johnston, *China and Formosa*, p.283.

290 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.27.



Figure 13: Catherine Maria Ricketts, ca. 1878, at the age of 37

Peide Women's School adopted a programme similar to Fielde's Mingdao Women's School, in which Chinese Christian women played important roles. Lin Phoebe (林腓比), a young girl of seventeen, was employed as teacher. She was the daughter of Lin Qi (林旗), one of the first thirteen converts. Her two brothers were also invaluable helpers of the mission—one a pastor, the other a doctor and for many years chief assistant in the hospital. Coming from an all-Christian family, Phoebe's family background was similar to that of Lu Kuai (Speed) of the ABM.²⁹¹ Mrs Peace, or "Our Little Sunbeam", was Ricketts' first pupil (after three months) in China. Never strong enough to be a Bible-woman, for many years she was a teacher and matron of the Withington Day School (that is, Shude Girls' School) in the Compound.²⁹²

In the field of pedagogy, both Peide and Mingdao developed a four-month term of training. In the first class, Ricketts taught the pupils to read the Gospel of Mark twice in Chinese characters and had it translated into the Chaozhou vernacular. At the end of the first term, the pupils could all translate the first fifty hymns into the vernacular.²⁹³ Besides these preparations, they were all prepared to answer simple questions on Chapters 1 to 36 of the first book of the Bible, Genesis. After finishing the courses, the women were sent to the country stations to help the preachers, visiting the Church members and talking to non-Christians.²⁹⁴ During the first summer holiday in 1881, they visited seventy villages, where they communicated with 120 families.²⁹⁵ Those who were not competent enough to do this work would go back to do what they could in their own homes and villages.²⁹⁶ In the

291 Ibid.

292 Ibid., p.30.

293 Ibid., p.27.

294 Ibid., p.29.

295 Lee, *A Centennial History*, p.21.

296 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.30.

third year (namely, 1883), the students came from both the Swatow and Hakka regions. Those who had their names recorded were Phoebe Lin of Yanzaio, Mrs Peace, Thiam-ti-sim (添弟嬭), Mrs Good, Mrs Cake, “The Old Dragoon[sic.]”.²⁹⁷

Fielde was in charge of the Mingdao Woman’s School between 1873 and 1881. In 1877, Sophia A. Norwood came to the mission to assist Fielde, but she resigned in 1885 to marry Dr Alexander Lyall of the EPM. When Lida Scott Ashmore took over Norwood’s work, she began to teach the Bible-women needlework (drawn-thread work) in their spare time, as a means to allow them to support themselves. This handicraft enjoyed a wide popularity in the Chaozhou region in the first half of the twentieth century with hundreds of thousands of Hoklo women engaged in it. It became the most important export product, changing the economic landscape of this region in the twentieth century. At the end of 1880s, to supplement the organization of the churches and the excellent work of the Bible-women, a system of Bible study at central points in the country districts was inaugurated by John M. Foster, in order to reach the members of the churches who were unable to visit Swatow. These Bible classes were held for a month and the most intelligent of the church members were instructed specifically for this purpose. Bible-women were sent to teach the village women to read the Bible and also to do needlework, which was an incentive for not a few women to join the Church. In 1894, Anna Kay Scott reported that the Women’s School in the compound offered a four-year course. With the Bible at the centre of all teaching, courses were offered to the mothers of China including: “Daughters in the Home; The Mother in the Home; Hygiene; First Aid; Sunday School Normal Work; Practice Teaching; Studies in Personal Work; Practical Work; Nature Study; Story Telling; Care and Feeding of Children; Child Study; Social Service; Sociology; Domestic Science; Instrumental and Vocal Music.”²⁹⁸ These courses reflect that the students who attended the Women’s School were younger than the first generation of students, most of whom were widows or grass-widows aged between thirty and seventy. The Women’s School of the EPM experienced the same tendency.²⁹⁹ The names of the courses also reveal that the training of Bible-women had become more systematic and that becoming a Bible-woman was regarded as a suitable career for the young mothers in the Protestant congregations. The training of young women and mothers also reflected the idea of “evangelical motherhood” in which women were portrayed as nurturing, sensitive, pious; more aware than a man of injustice and more capable of providing comfort to those in need,³⁰⁰ and emphasizing that a well-educated Christian mother was crucial to the establishment of a Christian home.

In the Roman Catholic congregation in Chaozhou, the vocations of Roman Catholic lay women and Chinese Virgins were an equivalent to the institution of the Bible-women among the Protestants. The former were usually widows, sometimes concubines who had separated and the latter were a group of religious women founded by the MEP priests. Irene Mahorney, historian of the Canadian Ursuline

297 Picture of this group of Biblewomen in *ibid.*, p.41.

298 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.96.

299 Mann wrote in 1924 that “Today the students (of Peide Women’s School) are younger.” Mann, *Rickatts*, p.30.

300 Anne M. Boylan, “Evangelical Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of Women in Sunday School”, *Feminist Studies*, 4 (1978). p.65.

Order, reports the Virgins took charge of the work of catechizing their own people and assisted the missionaries, especially in rural areas.³⁰¹ In his report in 1893, Father Léandre Serdet in Puning (普宁) reported a female named A Kim-so (阿金嫂), “a Christian widow who gave me remarkable help. For eight months, she travelled between the principal centres in Puning and the work she did on her own was more than that of six catechists. Now I have nearly 80 catechumens, most of which should be attributed to the activities and zeal of this widow.”³⁰²

The priests founded a residence for the Virgins which was called *Zhen Hou Tang* (贞后堂).³⁰³ In the Chaozhou fu, Virgins Marie Vong (surnommée Octavie) and Rite Tsou both came from rich Roman Catholic families.³⁰⁴ This situation fits in with Tiedemann’s findings about the recruitment of Roman Catholic Virgins in North China, namely: that Virgins usually came from the well-to-do families: Virgins’ expected economic independence, they had to rely on their families for material support”.³⁰⁵ Marie Vong began to rear orphans in her house in this prefectural city in 1874. In the early 1900s, the orphanage was taken over by Agathe Lo (罗, see Figure 14), who had been born in Pinang. There she studied with the French Roman Catholic sisters and learned Christian teachings from them.



Figure 14: Agathe Lo

(From Géraix, “Pour le Prix Montyon”, *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1916)

In 1908, Father Joseph Le Corre (娄若望) employed five catechists to run his chapel schools, three of

301 Mahorney, *Synoton*, p.30.

302 “Une veuve chrétienne [qui] m’a rendu des services signalés. Huit mois durant, elle a parcouru les principaux centres du Pou-neng (Puning), et a travaillé à elle seule plus que six catéchistes. J’ai actuellement près de 80 catéchumènes, et c’est en grande partie à l’activité et au zèle de cette veuve que je les dois.” *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1893.

303 “光绪二十六年 (1900) 梅神父调任榕城本堂神父后不久, 又创办贞后堂 (女修院)、道原小学各一所。” *Catholicism in Jieyang xianzhi* 《揭阳县志》 [Gazetteer of the Jieyang District], Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993. pp.737-738.

304 Géraix, “Pour le Prix Montyon”, pp.135-136.

305 Tiedemann, “Controlling the Virgins”, p.508.

whom were women.³⁰⁶ Like the Bible-women in the Protestant congregations, Roman Catholic lay women and Virgins were an important force in evangelism. The Western priests needed the help of the Virgins. In Bishop Charles Vogel's (和敬谦) words, the Virgins were something "keenly desired by our brothers for many years".³⁰⁷ Tiedemann reveals the fact that, despite the importance of local Virgins, tensions between them and the authority of the male Western priests might easily flare up in Shandong province. Although unflatteringly perceived as "a necessary evil" by these nineteenth-century priests, they were of crucial importance to the Chinese missions, at least until the arrival of Western Roman Catholic sisters in 1910.³⁰⁸ The lack of sources prevents me from testing this viewpoint in the Chaozhou context.

When these Western Roman Catholic sisters did arrive, their most important work was to train local Virgins as catechists. In 1910, two French sisters from the order of St Paul des Chartres were sent to Swatow, where they opened an orphanage and a school. Owing to a lack of funding, they left in 1913.³⁰⁹ It was not until 1922 that the first three sisters from the Canadian Ursuline Order (吴苏辣会), Marie du Rosaire (玫瑰姑娘), Marie de l'Incarnation (葛玛利) and Marie de Ste. Croix (十字架姑娘), were sent to Swatow. They commenced thirty years of work (1922-1952) and opened stations in Swatow (1922), Chaozhou (1924) and Hepo (*Regina Cordium*, 1926) successively.

They took the administration of schools, orphanages and training institutions over from the Virgins.³¹⁰ The first three Virgins who joined the Ursuline order in 1927 were Helena Lau (刘玉枝),³¹¹ Anna Tsai (蔡亚纳),³¹² Augustin Zing (秦爱莲), and, in the mid 1950s, they were joined by Li Xuzhen (李绪珍).³¹³ In 1934, Father Auguste Veaux (华美傅) built a convent for the Ursuline sisters in Luotianba (洛田坝, near Hepo), where they began the formation of "a local congregation of catechists and school mistresses" (une congrégation indigène de catéchistes et de maîtresses d'école): hence the dream of the priests finally came true.³¹⁴ In January 27, 1938, *l'Association des Vierges-catéchistes de Marie Reine des Cœurs* was founded, "a provisional regulation was drawn up and the first members of this association made their promises, which later would become their vows".³¹⁵ There were more than thirty young girls preparing for their future career under the supervision of Marie de l'Incarnation.³¹⁶

306 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1908.

307 "Vivement désirée par nos confrères depuis de longues années", *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1938.

308 Tiedemann, "A Necessary Evil".

309 Douspis "Pour la Mission de Swatow", p.232.

310 Ste. Croix wrote to Mother Winefride in Canada: "In Chao-Chow-Fu there is a good deal of work cut out for us—Chinese Virgins, orphans, Holy Childhood, etc." Rosaire wrote an impassioned letter to Mother Marie de Chantel, one of the Assistants General in Rome: "Monsignor is determined that this year we undertake the direction of the orphanage and also of the Chinese Virgins at Chao-Chow-Fu..." See Mahorney, *Swatow: Ursulines*, pp.43-44.

311 Born in 1902, from Aotou (澳头) near Swatow, religious profession in 1927, died in 1992 in Swatow. See Appendix of *ibid.*

312 Born in 1894, from Hepo, religious profession in 1927, died in 1990 in Hepo. *Ibid.*

313 Born in 1905, Shanghai, first profession in 1934, Beaugency, France; left China in 1956, arrived in Taiwan in 1958, died in 1984, Hualian, Taiwan. *Ibid.*

314 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1934.

315 "Un règlement provisoire a été élaboré et les premiers membres de cette Association ont émis leurs promesses, qui plus tard pourront devenir des vœux." *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1938.

316 *Ibid.*, 1938.



Figure 15: Marie de l'Incarnation and Marie du Rosaire with a group of the Chinese Virgins
(From Mahorney, *Swatow*)

Orphanage

If educational and medical work was typical of the Protestant missions, the work of “Sainte-Enfance”, that is, the orphanage, was the prerogative of the Roman Catholic mission—as Régis Géraix (邨神甫) says “among the works of civilization and charity, in first place shone the Holy Childhood” (parmi des oeuvres de civilization et de charité, brillent au premier rang la Sainte-Enfance).³¹⁷ As mentioned above, the first orphanage in the Chaozhou region was opened by the Hoklo Virgin Marie Vong (Octavie) in her house in the prefectural city Chaozhou in 1874. In 1887, Father Boussac converted it into a formal orphanage alongside the chapel. At the turn of the century, it was under the supervision of Agathe Lo. The Virgins who worked as her assistants were Rite Tsou (who took charge of financial affairs and admitted and checked the health of babies), Bernadette Lu (who took care of the babies) and Anne Lim (who taught the girls domestic duties).³¹⁸ The priests of MEP opened orphanages in other stations too, among them Paotai (炮台, Le Corre, 1904, rebuilt in 1935), Jieyang (Le Corre, 1907), Swatow (two nuns of St. Paul de Chartres, 1910), Baileng (百冷, Becmeur, 1910). The boys and girls were separated; the priests took charge of the boys’ orphanage and the girls’ orphanages were entrusted to the local Virgins, and later, to the Western Roman Catholic sisters (St. Paul de Chartres, 1910; Ursulines, 1922). In order to maintain the independence of this charitable institute, the priests rejected any help from non-Roman Catholics.³¹⁹

317 Géraix, “Pour le Prix Montyon”, p.135.

318 Ibid.

319 “Les païens voient avec plaisir sa construction et m’ont proposé d’y concourir, à condition que j’y reçoive tous les enfants qu’ils m’offriront; mais j’ai refusé leurs offres, afin de conserver toute mon indépendance.” *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1910, Becmeur, in Baileng.

The orphans came from three sources: some were brought by their parents who were unable to rear a baby because of their poverty or because they did not want the baby (most of them were girls); priests and sisters also encouraged non-Roman Catholic families to bring their babies to orphanage instead of abandoning them, some of them even paid a handful of money (10 sous) for each baby;³²⁰ the civil orphanage (养生堂, or 育婴堂) also brought dying babies to the Roman Catholic orphanage for baptism.³²¹ The inferior appreciation of female offspring meant that there was a high percentage of baby girls against the baby boys in the Roman Catholic orphanages. Father Antoine Douspis' report in 1910 states that "each year orphanage of Chaozhou fu collected hundreds of abandoned little girls."³²² The death rate of babies in the orphanage was very high, Le Corre reported in 1909 that "in Paotai, our Holy Childhood collected 57 babies this year, nearly all of whom departed for Heaven after having spent some time (long or short) under our roof."³²³ The situation was the same under the care of the Canadian sisters in the 1920s.³²⁴



Figure 16: Sisters of St. Paul des Chartres in Swatow, ca. 1910

Since baby girls were in the majority in the orphanage, the Chinese Virgins who took charge taught them a variety of handicrafts. Régis Gërvaix, priest of MEP who was sent to Chenghai in 1916, describes how: "The orphan girls learn sewing, weaving cloths, and dyeing of cloths, and the making of the artificial flowers, embroidery, etc. Besides, they also learn gardening, laundry, the preparation of

320 "Je me suis contenté de recevoir les enfants qu'on m'apportait." *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1907, le Corre. Also "encouragent les familles païennes à nous apporter leurs enfants plutôt que de les exposer à la mort sur les remparts de la ville", *ibid.*, 1909, le Corre.

321 "Grâce aux bonnes dispositions des directeurs de l'orphelinat païen, il a pu faire baptiser en cet asile 326 enfants" *Ibid.*, 1908, le Corre; Also "Dans cette ville, nos bonnes relations avec les directrices de l'orphelinat païen nous ont permis d'y baptiser 345 petits moribonds." *Ibid.*, 1909, le Corre.

322 "L'orphelinat de Chao-Chow accueille chaque année des centaines de petites filles abandonnées." Douspis, "Pour une Ecole", p.457.

323 "A Pao-tai, notre Sainte-Enfance a recueilli cette année 57 enfants qui, presque tous, sont partis pour le ciel après avoir passé un temps plus ou moins long sous notre toit." *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1909, le Corre.

324 "They had baptized babies and then for the most part buried them." Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.48.

food, the production of candles and the Host (bread or wafer of the Eucharist).³²⁵ At fixed times, Anne Lim instructed different classes in reading and writing Chinese characters and also in the doctrine in the books of religion. Furthermore, “every year for four months she is charged with preparing for the sacrament all the young pupils in the house, in an outbuilding of the convent.”³²⁶



Figure 17: The Workshop in Chaozhou—the group of orphan boys and girls
(From Géraix, “Pour le Prix Montyon”, *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1916)

Finally, when these orphan girls grew up, they would “form a Christian family or serve as catechists in the villages, and in this way add, considerably, to the chances of reaching those female elements who rebel against evangelism.”³²⁷

The Protestants also tried to rescue abandoned babies. A photograph taken by Lena E. Johnston (EPM) in 1911 also shows how the woman missionaries left a note on a basket saying “Place your babies here. Do not throw them into the pond (see Figure 18)”.³²⁸

325 “Les orphelines apprennent la couture, le tissage des toiles, la teinture des tissus, la fabrication des fleurs artificielles, la broderie, etc. A ces travaux s’ajoutent la culture du jardin, la lessive, la préparation des aliments, la fabrication des cierges et des hosties, etc.” Géraix, “Pour le Prix Montyon”, p.136.

326 “Elle en montre la manoeuvre aux grandes filles de la maison, tandis qu’elle apprend aux plus petites toutes sortes de travaux d’aiguille. A heures fixes, elle enseigne aux différentes classes, la lecture et l’écriture des caractères chinois, ainsi que la doctrine des livres de religion. Au surplus, pendant quatre mois de l’année, c’est elle qui est chargée, dans une annexe du couvent, de la préparation aux sacrements de toutes les jeunes pupilles de la maison.” Ibid. [She shows the big girls how to keep house and she also teaches the little one all sorts of needlework].

327 “Formèrent des foyers chrétiens ou servirent de catéchistes dans les villages, et augmentèrent ainsi, dans une proportion considérable, les chances d’aborder l’élément féminin si rebelle à l’évangélisation.” Ibid., p.135.

328 <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/impac/controller/view/impac-m7830.html?x=1285013109172>, September 20, 2010.



Figure 18: “Place your babies here. Do not throw them into the pond”, 1911

I have not been able to find out how these abandoned children were reared in this congregation. Sometimes the senior single woman missionaries would adopt them. For instance, Ricketts adopted the daughter of Tit-I (得姨), a little girl who was redeemed from slavery.³²⁹ Indeed, initially orphanages were not part of the activities of either of the Protestant missions in the Chaozhou region. However, a catastrophic tsunami in August 1922 changed the minds of the decision makers of the EPM. Fifty thousand people died in this disaster and more than 400,000 were left homeless.³³⁰ The merchants in Swatow and Hong Kong donated generously and put the money at the disposal of the English Presbyterian Church in Swatow. Lin Zhangchong (林章宠) set forth a plan to establish an orphanage in Yanzao (盐灶), one of the most prosperous mission stations in Chaozhou. The orphanage was closed in 1940, as a consequence of lack of funds during the Japanese invasion. The hardships caused by the war, aggravated by a serious drought in 1943, led to large-scale starvation and many children were abandoned by their parents. In order to rescue these children, Pastor Lin Zhichun (林之纯) proposed re-opening the orphanage. Rev. G. Waddell (卫戴良) and Miss Gwen Burt (麦端仁) helped to collect alms from abroad and in November 1943 a committee was founded which appointed Miss Lin Yuexi (林悦禧) as principal of the orphanage. In 1947, at the appeal of Lin Zhichun, Gwen Burt and George A. Hood (胡德), the Chinese American Children's Welfare Association (美华儿童福利会) agreed to provide most of the financial support for the orphanage.³³¹ In 1949, there were sixty-nine boys and thirty-three girls who had been abandoned by their parents in the serious drought six years ago in the

329 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.53.

330 “潮汕沿海三百余里居民，压溺毙命者五万余人，伤者倍之，乏栖息衣食者四十余万”，见陈梅湖：《潮汕东南沿海飓风灾纪略》，<http://bbs.csrlm.com/thread-39893-1-1.html>, last consulted on September 20, 2010.

331 林之纯：《中华基督教会盐灶孤儿院史略》，*A Centennial Anniversary of the Yanzao Congregation*, p.17.

Yanzao orphanage. The staff included the principal, five teachers, and three workers. The children were divided into five family groups, led by a teacher as head of the house. The children were also divided into five grades, as in a primary school. In the morning, they learned the curriculum required by the government and studied with other children at the Presbyterian-run primary school; in the afternoon, both the boy and girl students learned domestic duties and other important job skills, such as gardening, sewing, crocheting, plaiting grass and so forth. They also did the cleaning work in the church and at the manse. The religious instruction of the children included regular attendance at Bible reading class; morning, evening and Sunday worship; choir and other such activities. In 1949, during the ceremony of the centennial anniversary of the English Presbyterian Church in Yanzao Church, twenty-three orphans were baptized.³³²

Publications

The education carried out in the three institutes mentioned above would never have succeeded without the publications of textbooks. The Zhengguang and Shude Girls' Schools functioned at the upper primary level in the first fifty years and the Bible was in the centre of their curriculum, because "outside of the Chinese Classics there was little else except the Bible to study". Women missionaries like Lumina Johnson and Catherine Ricketts adopted a similar pedagogy: teaching the girls to read the Bible and then providing an explanation. Reading the Bible was required of each Presbyterian Christian. To make this possible, the EPM developed a romanized transcription system in Amoy, Swatow, and Taiwan from 1880; replicating what was doing in Amoy and Fuzhou.³³³ Between 1881 and 1924, most of the books of the Bible were published in the Hoklo and Hakka dialects in romanized script (see Figure 19).³³⁴ This kind of text can be quickly mastered by a broad reading public, from seven- and eight-year-old children to people in their seventies.³³⁵ Joseph Tse-Hei Lee has discussed the effect of this transcription policy, which led to the improvement of women's literacy in Chaozhou.³³⁶ In the meantime, the ABM had also begun to translate the Bible into the Swatow vernacular, but printed in Chinese characters. From the Swatow vernacular Bible listed in Hubert Spillett's book, it seems that all the books of the Bible which were translated by the ABM were printed in Chinese characters (see Text

332 黄维一：《本院概况》，《中华基督教会盐灶孤儿院史略》附录，in *Yanzao tanghui bainian jiniankan* 《盐灶堂会百年纪念刊》[A Centennial Anniversary of the Yanzao Congregation], *ibid.*, pp.17-18.

333 Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country", p.333.

334 Romanized Bibles in Chaozhou dialect in the collection of the Institute of Sinology of Leiden University:

St. Mark's Gospel, 1877 (William Duffus, on the basis of Rudolf Lechler); Genesis (romanized dialect, EPM, by William Duffus and John Gibson, 1888, 1896); Jonah, 1888; James, 1888; Matthew (Romanized dialect, 1889); Mark, 1890; John, 1891; KIU-TSU IA-SOU KI-TOK KAI SIN-IEH TSHUAN-TSU CHIEN-KNG (MA-THAI KAU SAI-THU) [Saviour Jesus Christ's New Testament, First part of the complete volume, from Matthew to Acts], 1st ed. 1892, 2nd ed. 1924. Swatow: English Presbyterian Mission Press, 1924; Luke, 1893; Philippians, Colossians, 1893; Thessalonians, 1893; Timothy 1,2; Titus, Philemon, 1894; Psalms, 1894; John 1, 2, 3; Jude, 1894; Peter 1,2, 1895; Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, 1895; Galatians, Ephesians, 1896; 2 Samuel, 1898.

335 Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.437.

336 Lee, "Gospel and Gender", pp.182-198.

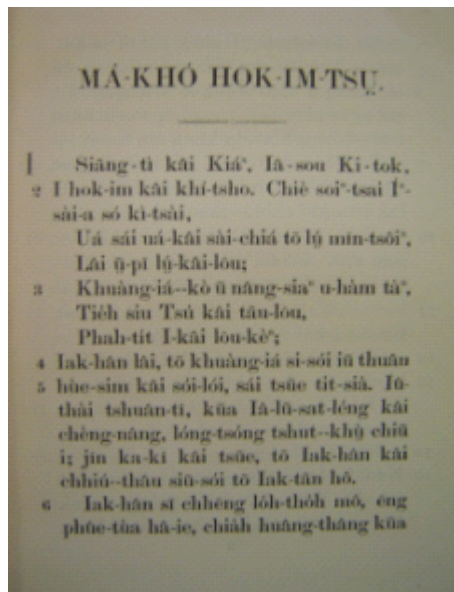


Figure 19: Bible in Chaozhou dialect translated by the EPM: Mark I: 1-6, Romanized, printed in the Praying Hall Hongxue Xuan (鸿雪轩) in Swatow, 1890.

一神个予耶稣基督个福音个起头。二照所记在先知以赛亚咀、看呀、我使我个使者在汝面前、伊欲修汝个路、三在旷野有人声呼喊咀、预备主个路、修直伊个路径呀。四约翰来、就是许在旷野行浸个人、传悔改个浸礼、致到罪得赦。五通犹太个地方、以及耶路撒冷个人、拢总出来就近伊、认伊自己个罪、就由约翰受浸在约旦河。六约翰身所穿是驼毛衫、腰所缚是皮带、所食个是蝗虫、及野蜜。

Text 20: Bible in Chaozhou dialect translated by the ABM:

Mark I: 1-6, printed in Chinese Character, 1898³³⁸

Therefore I agree with Daniel K.T. Choi (蔡锦图) that the ABM never adopted the romanized transcription policy. The explanation for this choice given by Choi is that the ABM was more conservative in its attitude towards the romanized transcription policy. Interestingly, the EPM and the ABM seem to have paid attention to not translating the same book of the Bible at the same time. William Ashmore, Sr., with the help of Adele Fielde, had translated Genesis (1878), Romans (1879), Hebrews (1880) and 1 Corinthians (1880) into Chaozhou dialect that were printed in Chinese characters.³³⁹ It was not until 1888 and 1904 that the EPM published the romanized version of

337 Quotation from Choi, Daniel K. T. (蔡锦图), *Zai yuanshi jiu you dao: Shantouhua shengjing de fanyi he liuchuan 在元始就有道: 汕头话圣经的翻译和流传* [The Doctrine in Genesis: The Translation and Circulation of the Bible in Swatow Dialect], submitted at the international symposium of “Chao-shan society and Christianity: history and reality—the 150th anniversary of Christianity in Chaozhou” 潮汕社会与基督教: 入潮 150 年的历史与现况国际学术研讨会, co-organized by the Centre for Christian Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大学崇基学院, and The Center for Christian Studies, College of Liberal Arts, Shantou University 汕头大学文学院基督教研究中心, December 3-4, 2010.

338 Ibid., p.7.

339 The Bible in Swatow dialect translated by the ABM and the EPM were collected in the British and Foreign Bible Society and American Bible Society. For the translation and circulation of Bible in the Chaozhou region, see Choi, “The Translation”.

Genesis and 1 Corinthians respectively, perhaps based on the ABM Chinese character version. As had Fielde, Ricketts became proficient in the Chaozhou dialect. She romanized the Gospel of Luke with her Chinese teacher, Professor Plumtree,³⁴⁰ which was corrected by William Duffus and published under his name. Ricketts also prepared forty-two simple questions and answers on the text, which were also corrected by Duffus.³⁴¹ The EPM never translated Romans and Hebrews into a romanized version, but they probably used the ABM Chinese character versions to avoid squandering energy. But in 1875, when S.B. Partridge (巴智玺) of the ABM took charge of the Bible translation, he based himself on the EPM romanized vernacular Bible and translated it into Chinese characters, as indicated by ABM historian Giedt, “Partridge added the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the Acts, and several Epistles and made a first draft of Revelation, Ruth, II Samuel, a few of the minor prophets, and about fifty Psalms were adopted, with but few modifications, from the English Presbyterian translation.”³⁴² It was not until the 1930s that the English Presbyterian Church in Chaozhou stopped using this romanized transcription system.³⁴³

Besides the Bible, other textbooks were published and introduced into the schools.³⁴⁴ Among these hymn books played an important role in the education of girls and women. Vanessa Wood speculates that part of the training for Bible-women “must have involved hymn singing—almost every Christians letter has a reference to the Bible-women carol singing. This seems to be an area that was particularly effective for evangelizing amongst an illiterate population.”³⁴⁵ The Protestant missions in Chaozhou also published hymns for women. The ABM published *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* (拜真活神的诗),³⁴⁶ the Basel Mission published *Hymns for the Little Girls of the Church* (教会小女歌),³⁴⁷ and the EPM published hymn books in a romanized text. Ricketts wrote down the fourteen most frequently sung hymns in “romanized” script.³⁴⁸ She recorded in her diary that one night, as they were retiring, a Chinese translation of “Peace, Perfect Peace” flashed into her mind. Within fifteen minutes the whole hymn had been written out and sung.³⁴⁹

In these hymn books, Christian doctrines were expounded in the form of Chinese traditional folksongs. The rhymed hymns must have been welcomed by the local people, especially by the women whose only entertainment was listening to one of their peers singing folktales in a rhymed and melodic way as they sat together working on cottage industries (such as embroidery and needlework). Until 1936,

340 “Professor Plumtree, Miss Ricketts’s teacher for so many years, had his home in the Hu City. He was of a gentle, timid nature; and while she hoped that he was a Christian in heart, he gave no outward sign until just before his death, and he passed away trusting in the Lord Jesus. His first appearance in church was 25 years after he began to teach Miss Ricketts.” Mann, *Ricketts*, p.41.

341 Ibid., p.17.

342 Giedt, “Early Mission History”, p.16.

343 Synod Records of Swatow Presbyterian Church, October 24, 1922:

丙：小学改用语体文，五经富中会复改用语体文，汕头中会复未便举行。……

344 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.115.

345 Vanessa Wood, “The Part Played by Chinese Women in the Formation of an Indigenous Church in China: insights from the archives of Myfanwy Wood, LMS missionary”, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 17, Nov. 4, September 2008, p.600.

346 Published between 1850-1895. I was able to see this book, thanks to Chen Jingxi (陈景熙).

347 Collected in the Sinological Library, Leiden University.

348 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.17.

349 Ibid., p.25.

the Swatow Presbyterian Church used the hymn book *Pu Tian Song Zan* (普天颂赞) as textbook for the Sunday School for women.³⁵⁰ In the MEP, Jean-Claude Delorme, one of the French priests in Jiayingzhou, mentions “les quatre parties du catéchisme”. What was meant with “the four parts of the catechism” is not clear.³⁵¹ The Ursuline sister Marie du Rosaire opened a primary school in Swatow in 1922. Every morning the twenty-one children were brought to the church and divided into two choirs for the recitation of the rosary. This was their introduction to the English language, according to Sister Du Rosaire.³⁵²

Tracts or leaflets constituted an important category of publication. Fielde translated and compiled “Gospel Lessons” in Chinese as textbooks for her students; each lesson dealing with one principle of Christianity, such as “The True God” (论真神), “After Death”, “The Christ”, with explanations given to each clause. Fielde believed these sheet tracts, written in colloquial language in Chinese characters, to be the best primers.³⁵³ The first two leaflets were in constant use by the Baptists and Presbyterians throughout her stay (1873-1895) in Chaozhou. Sophie Lyall (née Norwood, 娜姑娘, or 莱爱力夫人), Fielde’s old colleague, wrote to Adele Fielde in 1914 saying that a great many of the leaflets were being used. With Ashmore Sr.’s help, she wrote a synopsis of the Gospel (also called *Compendium of the Four Gospels*) in the local dialect for the benefit of the students. Ricketts also wrote and translated many little books and tracts. These were employed in the countryside as well and were sold to the frequent callers in Swatow and Chaozhou fu.³⁵⁴ The stories of the Old Testament were taught in simple and easily understood language as were short fables attributed to Aesop, which were considered good examples for the student in the art of speaking clearly and to the point. Raised in the Chinese tradition of memorizing and story-telling, the Bible-women proved to be good students. Within a few days, a Chinese woman could learn to stand and in a resonant voice tell a short story so as to bring out its salient points.³⁵⁵ Other textbooks were published, as among them John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which the English Presbyterian missionary William C. Burns had translated into Chinese in 1852, under the title *Tian Lu Li Cheng* (天路历程). Later it was transcribed into romanized script in 1880 and published as a serial in *Shantou Gonghui Zalu* (汕头公会杂录, Swatow Church News). Other textbooks for the primary schools were “Jesus My Saviour” (耶稣我救主) for the first grade and the “History of Gospels” (福音史记) for the second grade.³⁵⁶

350 Synod Records of the Swatow Presbyterian Church, May 10, 1936.

351 Delorme said: “Il avait remarqué que jeunes gens et jeunes filles en trop grand nombre ignoraient leur catéchisme: ils durent l’apprendre. Nul n’était admis au baptême s’il ne savait très bien les quatre parties du catéchisme.” *Rapport annuel des évêques de Kouang-Tong*, 1899. It also does not indicate which catechism they used – many different ones were available.

352 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.41.

353 A. M. Fielde, “The training and work of local female evangelists”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878. p.244

354 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.25.

355 See a paper presented by C. M. Ricketts, “Best Methods of Reaching the Women”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890. p.245.

356 Synod Records of the General (Lingdong) Presbyterian Church, October 24, 1922.

Conclusion

All the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in Chaozhou spent an enormous amount of time, energy and money on educational work for women. The missions in Chaozhou opened such institutions as the Little Girls' School, Old Women's School and orphanages, providing the girls and women with a protected environment for a thorough training which embodied both conversionist and civilizational aims. Most of the work for women done by the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in Chaozhou began in the year 1874, but the missions had different emphases: the Protestant missions focused mainly on the education of girls and women; the Roman Catholic mission stressed the necessity of orphanages. As time went by, the EPM also founded an orphanage following the tsunami in August 1922 and the MEP opened a school in Hepo to train the Chinese catechists. The year 1922 was also significant for the French Roman Catholic Church and the English Presbyterian Church. In that year, the former introduced Western Roman Catholic sisters to work as missionaries while the latter began to open orphanages. It is interesting to note that the Protestant missions set up their boarding schools for girls first in the treaty port Swatow, to be followed by other boarding schools in the large market towns and the junior primary girls schools in the villages, a phenomenon which was also noticed by Jean-Paul Wiest.³⁵⁷ The Roman Catholic mission took the other way around: since Swatow did not become the headquarters of the French Roman Catholic mission until 1915, the priests founded girls' schools in the outstations first. The Roman Catholic Chenxing Girls' School (晨星女中) was not founded in Swatow until 1945. Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions sponsored a wide variety of publications, which included the Bible, hymns and tracts in the Chaozhou dialect. Women's education profited from the general interest in publishing and translating, so that the above three institutes worked extremely well. How these works for women changed the daily life of the local Christian women will be looked into in the next chapter.

357 The Protestants "differed (from the Roman Catholics) by choosing to establish their schools mostly in cities and large market towns.... Protestants developed an extensive system of secondary schools and universities much faster than (the Roman) Catholics." Wiest, "From Past", p.255.

CHAPTER FOUR: BIBLE-WOMEN

Introduction

The topic of Bible-women (the local female evangelists) has acted as a magnet for the attention of those who study the history of women and Christianity. In the special issue on “Transnational Bible-women” of the *Women’s History Review*, a number of articles pay attention to this subject in the Chinese context.³⁵⁸ R.G. Tiedemann discusses the institution of the Virgins, a group of Chinese Roman Catholic laywomen activists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. He explores the crucial role of these unmarried laywomen in the expansion of the Chinese church and the preservation of the Christian faith.³⁵⁹ In the same journal, Valerie Griffiths analyses the schooling of Bible-women through the activities of the Baptist and the China Inland Mission women in both North and South China. She demonstrates that Ellen Ranyard’s Bible-women project established in London in 1857 was also appropriated in China.³⁶⁰ Vanessa Wood uses the personal letters of Myfanwy Wood, a woman missionary of the London Missionary Society, to illustrate the role played by Bible-women, mission teachers and YWCA workers in China in the period 1908-1939.³⁶¹ Wood and Griffiths reach similar conclusions: there is a transition “from the evangelism of keen but rudimentarily educated Bible-women to the Christian higher education and professionalization of women converts involved in vital outreach and church growth”.³⁶² They agree that “the significant number of women evangelists in the fast-growing church in China today points to the strength of the Christian female educational and evangelistic legacy first embodied in Chinese Bible-women”.³⁶³ Although these scholars do highlight important aspects of local female agency in the context of the Christian mission in China, the periods on which they have focused are relatively late, mostly the early-twentieth century. Another hindrance is that their research is based mainly on the mission archives and the personal letters of female missionaries, reflecting the missionary perspective.

In this chapter, I shall revisit the topic of Bible-women in the early stages of Christianity in south-east China, by concentrating on the first generation of Bible-women trained by Adela M. Fielde of the ABM from 1873 to 1882,³⁶⁴ supplemented by those trained by Catherine Maria Ricketts of the EPM between 1881 and 1915. Much of it is based on Fielde’s material because she had learned the Chaozhou dialect and lived with these Bible-women. She published several books on the daily lives of

358 Deborah Gaitskell and Wendy Urban-Mead eds, *Transnational Biblewomen: Asian and African Women in Christian Mission*, 2008.

359 Tiedemann, “Controlling the Virgins”, *ibid.*, pp. 501-520.

360 Griffiths, “Biblewomen from London to China: the Transnational Appropriation of a Female Mission Idea”, *ibid.*, pp.521-541.

361 Wood, “The Part played by Chinese Women in the Formation of an Indigenous Church in China: Insights from the Archive of Myfanwy Wood, LMS missionary”, *ibid.*, pp.597-610.

362 *Ibid.*, p.597.

363 Griffiths, “Biblewomen”, p.521.

364 Fielde took a furlough in America in 1883; hence her first stint in Swatow lasted ten years. This can be proved by her words: “These studies (which were collected in her book *Pagoda Shadows*) have been made during a residence of ten years in China.” However, her focus switched to the compilation of a great volume of Swatow dialect dictionary in 1879, this work took her 4 years, from 1879 to 1883. Warren, *Fielde*, p.78.

the local women.³⁶⁵ She also transcribed the autobiographies of sixteen Bible-women from their own dialect into English.³⁶⁶ These autobiographies were published in her book *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*, which was so popular in the US and Great Britain it was reprinted several times.³⁶⁷ These autobiographies should be interpreted with caution, a fact which has been pointed out by Lutz in her research on the autobiographies of eight Hakka evangelists: “In most cases we are looking at them through two lenses: the editing of the missionary translator and the retrospective memory of the evangelist.”³⁶⁸ Although in the preface to her book Fielde declares that the autobiographies “...are exact translations of verbal narrations given to the author in the Swatow dialect”,³⁶⁹ even here editing by the translator would have been unavoidable. For instance, Hu says that the word “China”, which appears frequently in these autobiographies, could be a mode of discourse which the Bible-women adopted after receiving Fielde’s training.³⁷⁰ Another possibility is that this was not the original word employed by these illiterate Bible-women, but is instead an example of Fielde’s editing in transcribing the Bible-women’s term for “China” into English. What they used could have been *Tangshan* (唐山)³⁷¹ or some other metaphor. The uncertainties resulting from the translator’s editing can be compensated at least partially by contrasting the information with data from the Chinese archives of the American Baptist Church, using the dictionary of the Chaozhou dialect compiled by Fielde as an indication of how she translated.

Commenting on a lecture on the training of Bible-women Fielde gave at the 1877 Protestant Conference (Shanghai), Griffiths states that, “...the concept of Bible-women reached China before Adele Fielde did, but China is a large country and she was probably the first to organize their systematic training in South China”.³⁷² Many missions in China borrowed this effective evangelistic method from Fielde, among them the EPM, the Church Mission Society, the China Inland Mission, the American Methodist Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission. Curiously, Griffiths does not refer to the chapter in *Pagoda Shadows* in which Fielde discusses her ideas about the training of Bible-women.³⁷³ Hu Weiqing was actually the first to use the autobiographies of Bible-women in Fielde’s book to analyse the conversion experiences of these women and reveal their marginal position in the administration of the Church.³⁷⁴ Lutz and Ling Oi Ki (凌爱基) also quote from these autobiographies in their articles.³⁷⁵

365 Adele Marion Fielde, *Dictionary of Swatow Dialect*, Swatow: 1875; *First Lessons in the Swatow Dialect*, Swatow: Swatow Printing Office, 1878; *Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1883; *Pagoda Shadows*, London: T. Ogilvie Smith, 1887; *Chinese Nights’ Entertainment: Forty Stories Told by Almond-eyed Folk Actors in the Romance of “The Strayed Arrow”*, New York: 1893; *A Corner of Cathay: Studies from Life among the Chinese*, New York, London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. *Chinese Fairy Tales*, New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912. (re-issue of *Chinese Nights’ Entertainment*)

366 Preface of the fifth edition, written in Boston, September, 1884. Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, 1886.

367 The first edition was published in Boston in 1883, several more editions followed not much later, up to the fifth edition of 1886. In 1887, another edition was published in London.

368 Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900*. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998. p.10.

369 See the prefaces to two editions of *Pagoda Shadows*: the fifth edition (Boston, 1886), and a new edition published in London in 1887.

370 Hu, “The Mode of Misery”, p.301.

371 As shown in the journal of Chen Dui, a Hoklo evangelist who preached in Changzhou island of Hong Kong in May, 1852.

372 Griffiths, “Biblewomen”, p.531.

373 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, “Chapter XVII. Native Female Evangelists”, pp.91-99.

374 Hu & Yao, “Between Sanctity and Secularity”; Hu, “The Mode of Misery”.

On the basis of her research, which included the archives of several Protestant denominations³⁷⁶ in China covering the period of the 1860s to 1911, Ling reconstructs who the Bible-women were, why they were needed, what role they played in the Chinese church in the late Qing period and how they overcame their own limitations.³⁷⁷ However, the vast geographical expanse of her research has prevented her from contextualizing the conversion of the Bible-women in the local societies in which they lived, and from paying full attention to the dynamic interpersonal relationships between male and female Christians at the time. As they are unfamiliar with Chaozhou society, Hu, Lutz and Ling have not been able to contextualize the conversion stories of the sixteen Bible-women satisfactorily against the specific social background of their natal region in the 1860s and 1870s. Nor have they attempted to retrace the original personal names and places of birth from their romanized forms and put these into Chinese characters, thereby verifying their authenticity. This will constitute a crucial part of the evidence which forms the basis of this chapter.³⁷⁸

So far there are four sources which record the names of the Bible-women trained by Fielde. The first is her *Pagoda Shadows*, which includes the autobiographies of sixteen Bible-women (see Appendix A). The second source consists of four photos (see Figures 21-24) in the 1886 edition of *Pagoda Shadows*.³⁷⁹ Figure 21 shows Speed standing on the right, on the feet with which she was born. She is standing on the left or eastern side facing the west (a respectful position in traditional Chinese society) of a seated pupil (an old woman, with bound feet). Figure 22 shows nine Bible-women, with their English names recorded at the bottom. Figure 23 is a portrait of Tolerance and her kin. Figure 24 depicts Treasure and Lily as the pillars of the Church at South Spur. These photos provide the visual images of the protagonists in this chapter.

375 Lutz, "Introduction", pp.13-25. Idem, "Women in Imperial China", pp.29-47. Ling, "Bible women", pp.246-264. All in Lutz ed., *Pioneer*.

376 The American Baptist Mission, the Church Mission Society, the China Inland Mission, the American Methodist Mission, and the American Presbyterian Mission.

377 Including physical, mental and intellectual, and psychological limitations, see Ling, "Bible women", p.247.

378 See Appendix B.

379 See Appendix A. Note that the photos were not included in the London edition of 1887.



Figure 21: Speed, with a pupil



Figure 22: A group of Bible-women



Figure 23: Tolerance and her kin



Figure 24: Treasure and Lily³⁸⁰

380 Lily and Treasure were the main benefactors of the chapel in their village of Nanlong, which was erected in 1880. Both of them were regarded by Fielde as “the pillars of the church at South Spur”. See the autobiographies of Lily and Treasure, attached in the same chapter with the title “the pillars of the church at South Spur”, Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, pp.167-178. Lily and her husband gave seven pounds for the establishment of this chapel, while Treasure gave five and it was attached to Treasure’s house. See *ibid.*, p.177. However, in the official history of the American Baptist churches which was compiled in 1932, there was no trace of the important roles they had

(All from the fifth edition of *Pagoda Shadows*, 1886)

The third source is Fielde's "Annual Letter to Helpers in America" (ca 1882).³⁸¹ In this letter, Fielde mentions eighteen Bible-women whom she employed at that time (column 3). The fourth source is an article on the history of the American Baptist Church in Chaozhou, published in *Lingdong Good News* (1936).³⁸² It records the Chinese names of ten Bible-women.³⁸³

It is hoped that an examination of the autobiographies of these Bible-women will shed light on various matters. The first point is that it yields a refined prosopography which allows me to draw much more nuanced conclusions about the socio-cultural backgrounds of these women and their later career lines. Secondly, it should help to clarify the reasons these women converted, as well as providing more details about their training and professionalization as these are reflected in the careers of Bible-women in the ABM and EPM in Chaozhou. Thirdly, it makes it possible to find out more about their work, efficacy and their impact on wider South Chinese Christianity.

The main source, *Pagoda Shadows*, will be supplemented by a variety of archival and published sources, such as the membership roll of the American Baptist Congregation from 1844-1897,³⁸⁴ two more papers by Fielde published in Records of two General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China in 1877 and 1890, and two biographies of Fielde by Helen Norton Stevens and Leonard Warren which were published in 1918 and 2002 respectively.³⁸⁵ For research about the EPM, the most important sources have been the *Congregational Rolls for Use in the Swatow Mission*,³⁸⁶ the records of the Swatow Women's Missionary Association Council from 1904 to 1915, the biography of Catherine Maria Ricketts, the first EP woman missionary to train Bible-women which she did for twenty-six years (1881-1907), and a special issue of a journal *A Centennial Anniversary of the Yanqiao Congregation* (盐灶堂会百年纪念刊).³⁸⁷

Socio-cultural Backgrounds of the Bible-women in Chaozhou

Understanding the institution of the "Bible-women" in the Protestant missions requires an investigation into why women, in the specific context of the southern Chinese region of Chaozhou were attracted to the work of spreading the Gospel. Only the Baptist mission, which was very active in this field, provides the right sources for reconstructing some of the socio-cultural background of these

played in the Nanlong Chapel. *A Special Issue*, p.12. The history of Christian women is inclined to be neglected by the traditional patriarchal historiography. This is a very important point and also says something about the Western women missionaries and why they "escaped" to China.

381 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.118.

382 *The Good News of Lingdong*.

383 "女传道则有陈雪花、陆快等" (p.3.) and "(1885-1890年)女布道又加李美凤、蔡晶、纺惜、宝容、墟埠(林锦平)、顺梅(吴瑞兰)、荳姆、潘奶等二十余人"(p.7), *ibid.* See also Column 4 in the attachment.

384 In the appendix of *The Good News of Lingdong*.

385 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, and Warren, *Fielde*.

386 *Congregational Rolls for use in the Swatow Mission*, Swatow: the English Presbyterian Mission Press, 1885.

387 Mann, *Ricketts*.

women. As indicated, the most important among these sources are the autobiographies collected and translated by Adele Fielde; a rich literary source which allows room for a detailed analysis, despite its confessional and sometimes stereotypical character. Not only can the Chinese and English names of these women be reconstructed but it is also possible to piece together their varied backgrounds (see Appendices A&B). This is a rare opportunity, as Ryan Dunch has pointed out that “many of the Chinese women in missionary accounts were obscure individuals who cannot be identified with any certainty from the dialect or paraphrased name in the English texts.”³⁸⁸

The first Bible-woman, Snow (陈雪花), was trained by Lumina Wakker Johnson. Her story has been discussed by Joseph Tse-Hei Lee and Hu Weiqing.³⁸⁹ Fielde recalls the situation she faced on her arrival: “There were then about one hundred female members in our church, and I resolved that I would teach them, and prepare from among them a class of evangelists who should go out and labor in the villages. Only two of the whole number of female members could read [probably Xu Yuefeng and Chen Xuehua].” She set out with “five old, wrinkled, ignorant women”, who must have been Long (aged 41), Siu Kein (49), Silver Flower (44), Aunt Luck (in her mid-50s) and Keepsake (41). Although the literacy of these female converts was far from satisfactory, Fielde decided to make the best of it.³⁹⁰

After having spent several years training the Bible-women, Fielde reported that she had personally trained about fifty women, of whom about one-third were capable of training others.³⁹¹ Most likely, the sixteen Bible-women recorded in *Pagoda Shadows* were these capable ones. Some years later, Fielde said: “Of a hundred women admitted to my own training-school at Swatow during ten years (1873-1882), about one-third became capable of aptly instructing others.”³⁹² In 1882 and thereafter, Fielde’s supervision of the Bible-women had to be taken over by other woman missionaries because her participation in translating the Bible into the Chaozhou dialect and the compilation of a Swatow dialect dictionary absorbed most of her time.³⁹³

Looking at the list (Appendix A) of almost thirty³⁹⁴ Bible-women, some interesting patterns emerge. First of all the wide variety of regions from which they came. In the late Qing period, the mobility of women was restricted by social custom and by the fact that the Hoklo women had bound feet. The wide regional spread implies that the Gospel must have been transmitted into the various

388 Dunch, “Mothers to Our Country”, p.326.

389 See Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.80, and Hu, “The Mode of Misery”, pp.297-298.

390 Here is what Fielde said: “The women may be old, blind, bound-footed, degraded, stupid, yet if god had stamped them as His, if they show by their lives that they have been called by Him into His church, then take what He has given you and make the best of them, and He will afterward furnish you with better.” Fielde, “The training and work of native female evangelists”, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*, 1877, p.156.

391 Fielde, BMM, 1884, p.144. See Warren, *Fielde*, p.66.

392 Fielde, “Native Female Evangelists”, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.95.

393 The training of Bible women was supervised mainly by Mary Thompson (谭马利亚姑娘) and later, assisted by Sophia A. Norwood (娜姑娘). The former came to Swatow in 1876, the latter in 1877. They were joined by Henrietta Partridge (巴师奶) in 1880. In 1882 and thereafter, Fielde was detached to the American Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai, focusing on the proofreading of her voluminous dictionary—*Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect*, which was published in 1883. During Fielde’s absence, M. A. Buzzell (文姑娘) and Clara Hess (夏女士, 何约翰夫人) came successively to assist the training of Bible-women at the end of 1884 and of 1886. Unfortunately, Partridge died in 1887, her work was taken over by Linda Scott Ashmore (耶琳师奶).

394 Sixteen Bible-women with autobiographies in *Pagoda Shadows*; the stories of two Bible-women, Snow and Siu Kein, were mentioned respectively by Joseph Tse-Hei Lee and Ling Oi Ki. See Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.80; Ling, “Bible Women”, pp.246-247. The names of the other 12 are mentioned by Fielde, but their life stories were not known.

home villages of these women; some of which were located in the littoral areas; some in the hinterland of the Chaozhou region.³⁹⁵ No Bible-women came from the north-eastern part of the Chaozhou region until 1883, when Li Meifeng (李美凤) from Kanxia in Chao'an district (潮安坎下) joined their number. The absence of Bible-women from the American Baptist Church in this region before 1884 is explained by the fact that Chenghai-Raoping district border region in the north-east was mainly occupied by the EPM, which had its stronghold in Yanzaio; not wishing to poach, the ABM had very few stations there.

The second interesting pattern is that most of the Hoklo Bible-women were widows or grass widows, a point most scholars have already picked up on.³⁹⁶ On account of the tradition of migration in the Chaozhou region, a grass widow was a woman whose husband was abroad for long period (a tradition which continued up to the mid-twentieth century) and this type of family was categorized as a “sojourner family” (华侨家庭), hence a grass widow was called a *Qiaojuan* (侨眷, partner of a sojourner). Among the various reasons for husbands or sons to go abroad, the most important was to earn money. They pursued this quest in Siam (暹罗), Singapore (实叻) and Batavia (噶喇吧, the colloquial for *kelapa*),³⁹⁷ the traditional destinations, or in Deli (日里), a new destination where the Sino-Dutch coolie trade in the 1880s offered plenty of job opportunities. Keepsake’s husband, for example, went to Siam with a cargo of goods when she was thirty-four years old. Once there, he became addicted to smoking opium, lost money rapidly and never returned. Keepsake diligently made offerings to the gods, beseeching them to bring her husband back. When her son was eighteen years old, he also went to Siam to search for his father, hoping to induce him to give up opium.³⁹⁸ Similarly, Silver Flower’s second and third sons went to Singapore to earn a living. The elder died soon after his arrival and she did not hear from the younger for years.³⁹⁹ Another reason the young male Hoklo left for South-East Asia was to avoid the official punishments meted out in the wake of General Fang Yao’s (方耀) pacification campaign in the 1870s. Tapestry’s (see Figure 27) husband had been supplying the combatants in clan feuds with powder and shot. He was chosen by his neighbours [why is not known] to be the scapegoat and receive the punishment, which was assigned by this ruthless general to be dealt out to someone in their village. Because he had no money to pay his ransom, he fled to Singapore to avoid the punishment; an exile which lasted for twelve years.⁴⁰⁰ In 1869, General Fang killed Wu Agan

395 Snow, Speed and Keepsake all came from Zhanglin in Chenghai district (澄海樟林), which was located in the estuary of the Han River; Long (Guangtou, Puning district, 普宁光头), Herb (Xunmei, Chaoyang district, 潮阳巡梅), and Cress (Guiyu, Chaoyang district, 潮阳贵屿) came from Lian River Zone; Tolerance (Qiaotou, Chaoyang district, 潮阳桥头), Aunt Luck, Lily and Treasure (Nanlong, Jieyang district, 揭阳南陇), Silver Flower and Love (Kanxia, Jieyang district, 揭阳坎下), Tapestry (Xubu, Jieyang district, 揭阳墟埠) came from the lower Rong River Zone; Gold Getter (Xichang, Jieyang district, 揭阳锡场), Orchid, Minute and Innocence (Baita, Jieyang district, 揭阳白塔) came from the upper Rong River Zone. There are three villages from which at least three Bible-women came: they are Zhanglin in Chenghai district (澄海樟林: Snow, Speed, Keepsake); Nanlong in Jieyang district (揭阳南陇: Aunt Luck, Lily and Treasure), Baita in western Jieyang district (揭阳白塔: Orchid, Minute and Innocent). Kangxia in eastern Jieyang district produced two Bible-women (揭阳坎下: Silver Flower, Fragrant Love). These four stations covered most part of this region.

396 Ling, “Bible women”, p.247; Griffiths, “Biblewomen”, p.531; Wood, “The Part”, p.599.

397 It dated from the period when it was called “Sunda Kelapa”. “Kelapa” means coconut in Malay.

398 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.121.

399 Ibid., p.185.

400 Ibid., p.141.

(吴阿干), who had come back to Jieyang after fifteen years exile in South-East Asia, by “offering his liver to the spirits of Wang Jiechun (王皆春) and Zheng Yingjie (郑英杰)”—the first was the former magistrate of Jieyang district; the latter the former company officer (把总)—who had both been murdered by Wu Agan in 1856.⁴⁰¹ General Fang’s cruelty drove many “criminals” into exile abroad. Other reasons had more to do with family matters: Po U(黄宝有), Tolerance’s youngest brother and also a Christian, fled to South-East Asia in order to escape a disastrous marriage. Out of charity, his family had found a mad girl for him and, hoping to cure her, had married her to Po U.⁴⁰² When he saw how insane his “wife” was, he fled.⁴⁰³ Love’s husband, a gambler, stole away secretly to Singapore in order to evade his creditors to whom he owed twelve pounds.⁴⁰⁴ Gold Getter’s husband was injured in a fight in their own clan⁴⁰⁵ and, on consulting a spirit-medium in the hope of curing his wounds, he was told that he would never recover unless he went abroad. Gold Getter never heard from him again.⁴⁰⁶

The status of a widow or grass-widow could be very different depending on all kinds of factors. A woman who became a widow in her youth (in her twenties or even younger) was always considered “unfortunate”. The situation was not the case if her husband died when she was in her forties or older, because this was consider a “normal” age. In the late Qing period, because of the poor living conditions and social unrest caused by uprisings against the central government and the internecine clan struggles, the life of a man was relatively short compared to that of a woman. A grass widow would not necessarily be considered unfortunate. Her relatives and neighbours would even talk about her in admiring tones, if she received news and regular remittances or even perhaps some exotic articles from her husband abroad. Ricketts tells of a woman who received a letter from her son abroad, enclosing three silver dollars. Someone told her that “You are a rich woman today.” She laughed and said, “The letter alone would have made me a rich woman.”⁴⁰⁷ Similar scenes could be expected when a wife received news and remittances from her husband overseas. However, if for years no news came from an absent husband, the grass widow could also become an object of pity and be taken advantage of by the people around her. Whatever the differences might have been, widows and grass-widows belonged to the most vulnerable social group of the time. This vulnerability was reflected in the saying:

401 Anonymous, “Qing Daoguang Xianfeng Tongzhi nianjian jieyang shehui dongluan qingkuang” 《清道光咸丰同治年间揭阳社会动乱情况》 [Social Uprisings in Jieyang in the late Qing, during the Reigns of Emperors Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi], *Jieyang wenshi*《揭阳文史》, Vol. 1, 1995, p.42, p.45.

402 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.165.

403 Ibid., p.166.

404 Ibid., p.130.

405 Chaozhou was a hotbed of bloody clan struggles. A fact which has been pointed out by Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, see *The Bik*, pp.10-13. It is also attested to in the following Chinese sources: “道光、咸丰年间，揭阳人民在武装起义和抗租抗粮抗官的同时，地方宗派械斗成风，给人民带来巨大灾祸。据《揭阳县续志》载，“古溪陈姓三十余村，械斗成风”，“渔湖都咸丰间械斗成风，动辄仇杀”，“地美都有狠斗之风”，“官溪都有争斗”、“蓝田都于道咸间械斗成风”，“梅岗乡俗多械斗”，“磐溪都道光间习为械斗”。械斗之为害，丁日昌在《善堂序》中有如下概述：“嘉道间始染械斗之习，视人命如草芥，蜂屯蚁杂，撞搪呼号，合郡约计每日夷伤至数十百人，因而田畴废，学校毁，既失其所以为养，更失其所以为教，风俗之弊，于斯为甚。” See Anonymous, “Social Uprisings in Jieyang”, p.42.

406 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, 114.

407 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.31.

“Even with a husband for one day, a woman has a-thousand-days of honour” (一日有夫千日贵).⁴⁰⁸

A third pattern which can be extracted from these autobiographies is the crucial importance of men, either male evangelists or male kinsman, to women's conversions. In the initial stages of the missions, male evangelists were the main force in bringing the Gospel. Some of the women had been converted by the first group of male evangelists, Chen Dui (陈兑), Chen Sun (陈孙), Li Yuan (李员) and Hu De (胡得), who accompanied John and Lumina Johnson to Swatow in 1860. They were sent by John Johnson to preach in their respective hometowns: Chen Sun was in charge of the coastal area of Chenghai, Li Yuan and Hu De preached in Chaoyang district and Chen Dui in Puning district. Chapels were founded in Dahao (达濠) and Guangnan (光南)—the hometowns of Li Yuan and Chen Dui respectively—in 1870, and two years later, another chapel was built in Zhanglin—an ancient port and market town near Chen Sun's hometown in Nanyang (南洋) village in the Chenghai district.

In the initial stages, the majority of the male preachers came from Zhanglin (Lu Caiqi, 陆财气), and the market town of Dahao (Yao Long, 姚龙).⁴⁰⁹ Speed's father, Lu Caiqi, not only brought his family into the church, but also his neighbours, Snow and her son, Huang Baoshan (黄宝山, Po San), who later worked as Bible-woman and an evangelist.⁴¹⁰ Keepsake also came from Zhanglin. She later worked as Bible-woman in Nanlong (南陇) in the lower Rong River Zone. Yao Long was Aunt Luck's nephew. He was converted by Li Yuan at the age of eighteen in 1861. He was beaten by his family for worshipping God, which caused him to break with them and go to join his relative Aunt Luck in Puning district.⁴¹¹ Mai Hong'an (麦鸿安),⁴¹² a male preacher from Xiazhai (下寨) in Raoping district, founded a chapel in Guiyu (贵屿) in the Lian River Zone and was the person who brought Cress into the church. It was under the joint influence of Cress and Mai Hong-An that Tolerance and her brother, Po Heng (孙宝兴),⁴¹³ became active evangelists. Living in the lower Rong River Zone, Silver Flower initially heard about the doctrine of Christianity from Hu De (胡得).

As Ling Oi Ki has written, “Most of the early Bible-women...became Christians because of the persuasion of their husbands, children, kinsmen, or friends.”⁴¹⁴ This assertion is confirmed by the autobiographies of the Bible-women. These mention numerous male relatives who brought the Gospel to the females: fathers, husbands, brothers, uncles, nephews and other more distant male kinsfolk. In Speed's case, it was her father, Lu Caiqi (陆财气), who was regarded by Fielde as one of the best preachers the Chinese church had possessed.⁴¹⁵ Long's husband, Yao Zong (姚宗), was the first to go to the chapel on Sundays and Long later joined him. One day her husband told her that he was going to

408 “丈夫系还在，妇女就有面。俗语讲，一日有夫千日贵。丈夫系唔在，妇女就好唔方便。” Wan Enhong 万恩鸿, 旧约女人有乜嘅好样俾今下嘅女人学 [What virtuous models of the women in the Old Testament that can be learnt by the women nowadays] (short for “Virtuous models”), *Niutu jing*《女徒镜》[The Mirror for the Female Christians], 巴色会藏板 [The Basel Mission Press], 1916.

409 Membership Roll of the ABM, appendix of *The Good News for Lingdong*.

410 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.111.

411 Joseph Tse-Hei Lee also mentioned Yao Long's story in his research. Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, pp.82-83.

412 Membership Roll of the ABM, appendix of *The Good News for Lingdong*.

413 When Anna Kay Scott came in March 14, 1891, Po Heng was still a earnest and enthusiastic preacher in Jieyang chapel. Anna Kay Scott, *An Autobiography of Anna Kay Scott, M. D.*, Chicago: 1917. p.148.

414 Ling, “Bible women”, p.247.

415 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.108.

be baptized. Because she did not want to be left behind if her husband was going to Heaven, Long came with him and they were both baptized on the same day in 1868.⁴¹⁶ Keepsake heard the Gospel from her youngest brother. She recalled that, to try to make her believe, her brother would explain Christian doctrines to her until the perspiration poured down his cheeks.⁴¹⁷ Minute heard about the Gospel from her uncle⁴¹⁸ and Aunt Luck and Cress from their nephews.⁴¹⁹

Although male evangelists were the main force in evangelism, female assistants were needed. Ling Oi Ki and Ryan Dunch attribute the demand for Bible-women to the influx of single missionary ladies in the 1870s and 1880s. Their arrival boosted the expansion of woman's work in China. While there is some truth in this assertion, as early as 1852 Chen Dui had asked his wife for help to reach women in the private sphere. Lumina Johnson had already employed Bible-women in the early 1860s, for the simple reason that female evangelists were essential to spread the Gospel in a sex-segregated society. For instance, when Chen Dui preached in the public sphere on Changzhou Island near Hong Kong in 1852, he could only reach men's ears. To reach the private sphere, he would ask his wife for help.⁴²⁰ Fielde states that the work of the female evangelist was indispensable: "Firstly, it enables us to reach a large number of people with a very small outlay of money; Secondly, it enables us to use effectively the very first fruits of our missionary labour, without being compelled to wait for a highly educated class to be raised up. By this plan all available native talent can at once be utilized in the service of the church, and can be increased as rapidly as the church increases; Thirdly, this was the Saviour's own method of evangelization. Carefully chosen, faithfully superintended, His disciples, even when they are but weak Chinese women, may go out at His behest, and teach, and come back saying, 'Even the devils are subject unto us.'"⁴²¹ Ling raises another important point, namely the fact that the Bible-woman had a command of the language or dialect and was familiar with the ethos, life and the mode of thought of her fellow sisters. Therefore, she could present the Christian truth in a more forceful manner than any foreigner ever could. Very importantly, as Ling says, she could go to places where access to foreigners was denied and anti-missionary sentiment was rife. Finally, by mobilizing the Bible-women's own lineage networks or connections missionaries could reach the rural villages, and this opportunity allowed them to cover large swathes of ground.⁴²²

Reasons for Conversion

The question why Chinese women converted to Christianity is a fascinating one. Jane Hunter looks at it in terms of "imperial evangelism", emphasizing the power differential between missionaries and

416 Ibid., p.150.

417 However, it was not until thirty years later that Keepsake embraced the Gospel wholeheartedly. Ibid., p.120.

418 Ibid., p.147.

419 Ibid., p.106, p.157.

420 "命妻出街请妇人明日来拜神", See the 25th of the fourth month, 1852, Chen Dui's Journal. "礼拜堂前, 一妇人来讨眼药。命妻出街, 请妇人明日赴礼拜", the 9th of the fifth month, 1852, *ibid*.

421 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.99.

422 Ling, "Bible women", p.251.

Chinese women. She cites the psychological domination of Chinese women by missionaries, making them dependent and arousing feelings of gratitude rather than religious conviction as the main reasons for Chinese women to adopt Christianity.⁴²³ Her opinion is criticized by Ryan Dunch, who argues that she “generalizes the Christian religious experience of Chinese women as coerced and therefore inauthentic”.⁴²⁴ Dunch suggests that the foremost reason was that women were dissatisfied with their place in the family system and were trying to escape unwanted marriages. Secondly, they hoped for education, leading to independent careers. Thirdly, they were often supported in their decision by male kinsmen.⁴²⁵ It seems to me that the first two reasons for conversion only began to make sense in the early-twentieth century when the Christian idea of equality in marriage gained the upper hand and Christian educational institutes were being increasingly well organized throughout China. Although it has been shown that some Bible-women were converted because of persuasion by their husbands, I believe that both Dunch and Ling Oi Ki, put too much emphasis on male influence on female conversion.⁴²⁶ This is an appropriate moment to see whether the autobiographies of the Bible-women, as recorded by Fielde, might possibly shed more light on this question.

Ling indicates that the first generation of Chinese Christian women “had faced tragedies in their lives”.⁴²⁷ This is affirmed by Ricketts of the EPM. In her diary she records the following question asked by a young Chinese woman: “Why is it that the Gospel came so late to our village, so late that one of my sons died and my husband died without the knowledge of Jesus, the Saviour?”⁴²⁸ I tend to agree that suffering rather than poverty was the main stimulus which moved women to convert, although not ruling out that poverty could also have been the source of their sufferings and their personal tragedies. The Bible-women trained by Fielde were drawn from various social strata, although those from lower strata were in the majority.⁴²⁹ Aunt Luck’s father was a shopkeeper and she was the youngest of seven children in the family.⁴³⁰ Long’s father made salt from sea-water and her brothers tilled their land.⁴³¹ These were not the worst jobs and only Tolerance came from what must have been a really poverty-stricken family. According to her story, her father worked in the fields and her mother, Lotus, spun and wove. Despite their toil, the income they made could not fill the eight mouths in her family. Being the eldest child in the family, Tolerance used to go out begging with her mother. In order to find more means of support for the family, her mother, Lotus, later worked as a spirit-medium⁴³² in

423 Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, p.177.

424 Dunch, “Mothers to Our Country”.

425 Ibid., p.341.

426 Ling, “Bible women”, p.247.

427 Ibid.

428 Mann, *Ricketts*, “Part of a last appeal to the home church”, p.60.

429 Ryan Dunch points out that the Chinese women who joined the Protestant churches were predominantly from low to middling social backgrounds until around the turn of the twentieth century. See Dunch, “Mothers to Our Country”, p.332.

430 Her hometown was in Xitou (Koi Tau, 溪头) in Jieyang district, now called Meilin in Puning district (普宁梅林), near the town Xinheng in the eastern Jieyang district. Aunt Luck, see Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.104.

431 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.149.

432 According to Jessie Lutz, “As population pressures intensified, political disorder became endemic, and the disruptive influence of imperialism spread during the nineteenth century, the numbers of marginal and disaffected people multiplied. . . . other outlets for women, not always desirable or socially respectable, existed. Shamans, mediums, and fortune tellers were often female. It is difficult to generalize about their backgrounds, as blindness was associated with clairvoyance. Often they lived on the fringes of society.” See Lutz, “Women in Imperial China”, pp.41-42.

a temple in their village of Qiaotou (桥头). At the other end of the scale, Lily came from a wealthy and respected family because her grandfather was a squire/land owner (爷) and her father was known as the young squire (少爷). She was accustomed to being waited on. She also married into a rich and powerful family in South Spur, where she waited on her husband's parents and his grandmother, offering them tea and whatever else they needed kneeling, which was the custom in the families of the higher social strata.⁴³³ Her misfortune was that she could not bear a child.⁴³⁴

Nearly all of these Bible-women had experienced failed marriages in their youths. Most of them had had been married more than once; Silver Follower and Innocent had even married three times. Because of the emphasis of Confucian ethics that “a woman should marry only one man in her life” (从一而终), chastity was considered to be the most important virtue for a woman. With their failed marriages and the gossip these had stirred up, their misery was understandable. Take Silver Flower's marriages: her first husband was very cruel to her, even took a knife to bed with him and declared that he would kill her if he felt the desire to do so during the night. In order to prevent a tragedy, her mother-in-law resolved to marry her off to someone else. Unfortunately, her second husband was a gambler, as were the husbands of Tolerance, Long and Innocent.⁴³⁵ The family of Silver Flower was so poor her gambler husband planned to marry her off again, even after she had given birth to two boys and one girl. He even gambled away the money he had received for selling Silver Flower. Silver Flower's third husband was neither a gambler nor an opium smoker. He was good-tempered and very industrious in tilling the fields but, when they had more children, they were too poor to feed all of them. The situation grew even worse when her husband died several years later from an illness.⁴³⁶ Silver Flower told Fielde that “I did not myself get well until you called me to come here and learn to read three years ago. ... I am now fifty-one. God is good to me, and if I have health, so that [if] I can go on doing His work till the end of my life, I shall be wholly content.”⁴³⁷

Innocent's situation was even more atrocious than that of Silver Flower. Her first husband was shot dead in a clan feud. Seven months later her first son was born. Her mother-in-law wanted more sons and adopted a man to fill her late son's place without consulting Innocent, which made her very angry. During the month this man lived with them, he gambled, lost money, borrowed more on the pretext of going into business and finally ran away. After he left, Innocent gave birth to his son.⁴³⁸ Innocent's third husband was a hard-working farmer. She gave birth to two more sons and one daughter, but her husband fell ill and died very soon after the onset of his illness. Only Speed, Lily and Herb had happy marriages. Their husbands were also Christians.

433 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.169.

434 Ibid., p.171.

435 Tolerance married him at the age of eighteen, but her husband gambled and ruined his family. Tolerance soon went back to her natal family and never returned (p.162). The family Long married into when she was sixteen had land and houses, but her husband and his brothers gambled and lost large amounts of money. Long stayed with this husband only one year and then the latter went to foreign parts with his gambling brother and died there afterwards (p.149). Innocent's second husband was also a gambler (p.144). Love's husband was initially a man of good conduct, but he suddenly took to gambling and was addicted to it for six years (p.129). All in *Pagoda Shadows*.

436 Ibid., p.181.

437 Ibid., p.190.

438 Ibid., p.145.

As was said above, Keepsake's husband left for Siam and never returned. Her son also went to Siam in search of his father, hoping to induce him to give up opium.⁴³⁹ Sadly he died shortly afterwards in a shipwreck on the voyage from Hong Kong to Siam. After suffering all these tragedies, Keepsake said: "I have nothing now to rest my heart upon but the hope of heaven. I have been deeply troubled; but without the trouble I should not have been saved. I am strong, and have perhaps many years to live; and if I can but lead many to believe in the Lord, that will be joy enough for me here."⁴⁴⁰

Cress suffered so much from the abuse of her mother-in-law that she twice planned to commit suicide.⁴⁴¹ She told Fielde: "I thank the Lord for making me so happy. During all my youth, my heart was hopeless and my mind was benighted; but now, when I am old, the Lord has shined upon me, and my path is bright."⁴⁴² Ricketts recorded "a dear old sister with the light of God on her happy old face. She is a living, breathing epistle, and told us how happy she was with so rich a Father and such a strong elder Brother; and how she was never lonely and so happy looking for her home beyond."⁴⁴³ Both confessions are very typical of the standard conversionist narrative. The relationship between the tragic experiences of these women and their conversion can be summed up in Ricketts' words: "Happiness it has been well said, 'is a great love and much service'—there is scope for both in China." "The women have met with so little love in life that it is a new and powerful influence; once introduced among them, it has the great charm of rarity, and wins their esteem and confidence."⁴⁴⁴ The first generation of adult women converted because they were convinced that the new belief could mitigate their mental anguish, caused by their failed marriage and could offer them the promise of a happier life. Some young widows or grass widows might have converted because they hoped to make better marriages in the Christian community, a reason suggested by Dunch. Both Dunch and Ling claim that male relatives played a significant role in women's conversions. However, male authority was a double-edge sword: it did achieve women's conversion, but it could also bar women from conversion. Silver Flower tried to convert her sister, but the latter's husband said that he would kill his wife if she went to the chapel and Silver Flower's sister dared not go.⁴⁴⁵ Similar cases occurred in the English Presbyterian Church. Ricketts records that a woman "was beaten by her husband, and her relations came to the church door to revile her."⁴⁴⁶ Keepsake's son was very upset when he found out that his mother wanted to be a Christian and he opposed her decision.⁴⁴⁷ In another case, "a woman was lamed for life by blows from her own son."⁴⁴⁸ Treasure was beaten by her brother-in-law and driven out of her house and village when she refused his request to relinquish the new religion and remain at home.⁴⁴⁹

439 Ibid., p.121.

440 Ibid., p.123.

441 Ibid., pp.155-156.

442 Ibid., p.159.

443 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.31.

444 Ibid., "Part of a last appeal to the home church", p.60.

445 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.189. Throughout *Pagoda Shadows*, Adele Fielde used "foreign parts" several times to transcribe "番畔", a specific word in Chaoshou dialect referring to the South-East Asia.

446 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.47.

447 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.121.

448 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.47.

449 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.177.

Often, when women decided to join the Church, their male relatives who were working in the South-East Asia would stop sending them remittances. Silver Flower's third son was earning a living in Singapore. He ceased to write or send her money as soon as he heard that his mother had become a Christian.⁴⁵⁰ Similarly, the husband of Silver Flower's sister in South-East Asia heard that his wife went to church constantly after he left and he ceased to send money to support her and her children.⁴⁵¹ Innocent likewise had a dispute about money with her male relatives abroad. Usually her brother-in-law sent her—a widow with a son—five pounds to keep up the worship of their common ancestors. When he heard Innocent had become a Christian and was not allowed to venerate the ancestors, her money dried up.⁴⁵² Yet the absence of male householders also freed women from the men's control and allowed them to make their own decision about whether to convert or not. The relationship between the absence of male kinsman and the speedy conversion of a woman is obvious in the conversion of Silver Flower's sister and that of Keepsake. The former converted as soon as her husband left for South-East Asia; the latter after her son went to Siam.⁴⁵³ Although a mother might have to confront the opposition of her mature children, she could choose to ignore it, for the hierarchical relationship of "elder—younger" surpassed that of "male—female". For instance, when Aunt Luck's sons saw she had taken the soul tablets of the ancestors out of the house, they asked her if she had not been afraid to do so. When she told them: "What I had myself set up I could take down myself", they said no more.⁴⁵⁴ The elderly female converts could even continue to exercise "as much influence over the conversion of the children as the family patriarchs", as Joseph Tse-Hei Lee has argued.⁴⁵⁵ Children's approval also facilitated a mother's conversion. Treasure's autobiography reveals that her son supported her in her decision, making it easier for her to convert.⁴⁵⁶

By now it has emerged that it would be fair to say that women in Chaozhou converted because they expected Christianity to mitigate their mental sufferings and promise them a happier life. These were certainly two of the important reasons for their conversions, but this does not rule out all kinds of other reasons which perhaps are not stated explicitly in the biographies.

The next question is what preconditions were required to be a Bible-woman. In the late Qing period, with the exception of prostitutes, young women were not allowed to go out freely. Therefore, most of the women recorded in the autobiographies were in their forties or fifties. This was the standard age for Bible-women, because in late Imperial China, middle-aged and older women were freed from domestic duties and were often allowed to maintain an active social life in the public sphere.⁴⁵⁷ The youngest among these Bible-women was Speed, who was less than thirty years old when

450 Ibid., p.185.

451 Ibid., p.189.

452 Ibid., p.147.

453 Ibid., p.121.

454 Ibid., p.106.

455 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.81.

456 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.175.

457 The Chaozhou region always remained a hotbed of violence until the 1990s. The safety of free travel by senior women was guaranteed by the military campaign of General Fang Yao (方耀), launched in the early 1870s, which cleared up the "bandits" who had

she received Fielde's training.⁴⁵⁸ Fielde has recorded that such an age was too young for her to have done village work as a Bible-woman,⁴⁵⁹ and therefore, as did Lin Phoebe of EP church, in the beginning Speed worked as teacher of the Bible-women. By the onset of old age, usually these women were widows or grass widows. Fielde reported to the 1877 Shanghai Protestant Conference that she preferred to extend an invitation to her training course to women who were free from domestic cares, and who attended class with their husbands' consent or were widows.⁴⁶⁰ The inevitable conclusion is that elderly women had the opportunity to choose this life, so consequently a later age was the precondition for being Bible-women. Even though these Bible-women did not reveal their reasons for attending the training, their choice might have been attributable to the following reasons: they needed money, support and/or companionship.

Fielde attached great importance to what she describes as the competence of the future Bible-woman. Importantly, she should "have that style of speech and character which the Chinese themselves consider worthy of imitation."⁴⁶¹ It was not an easy task to find women with this competence. Even when the allowance given for food was so low as not to tempt the most needy to enter the class for the sake of sustenance, there were still "some, who thought the school house pleasanter than their own houses, or who had domestic troubles that they wished to get away from, or who hoped that their absence from home might bring a obdurate mother-in-law to terms, came as applicants for admission to the school."⁴⁶² Even when good care was taken in the selection of the women to be trained, Fielde found half of them to be unfit for the work for reasons of "physical weakness, or bad temper, or duplicity, or an inability to deliver the gospel message plainly".⁴⁶³

Some statistics might help to give some idea of the strict screening procedure for the Bible-women. Fielde wrote "of a hundred women admitted to my own training school at Swatow during ten years, about one-third became capable of aptly instructing others."⁴⁶⁴ This strict screening procedure was copied by the later missionaries. In 1894, Anna Kay Scott reported: "The Woman's class has been in operation twenty years...212 women have received instruction. Of this number, 175 have been baptized; 53 have served as Bible-women and three others have been employed as teachers in mission work."⁴⁶⁵ The percentage of Bible-women among those attending the training courses in Scott's time was even lower than the earlier period when Miss Fielde was in charge, it had been reduced from 33 to 25 per cent. Therefore, the Bible-women who were supervised by Fielde were outstanding among the local Christian women. They served as catechists and were taken by the non-Christians as typical

joined the Taiping Uprising and brought the bloody clan feuds to an end. Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, "Chaozhou as a hotbed of violence", pp.10-11, p.83.

458 Speed was baptized at the age of sixteen. She had inherited "a rare aptness to teach" from her father, Lu Caiqi, who was "one of the best preachers", commented Fielde. Her mother, Tang Feng (唐凤), was also a capable helper when the ABM began its work on the Double Island near Swatow in the 1860s.

459 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.108.

460 Fielde, "The training", p.156.

461 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.95.

462 Ibid.

463 Ibid.

464 Ibid.

465 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.93.

examples of a Christian education. It is therefore of the utmost importance that they should be “tolerably true exponents of Christian principles and modes of life.”⁴⁶⁶

Training

In Fielde’s system, the training for Bible-women was a long process. She invited some widows and grass widows to leave their homes and come to lodge in her house for a two-month period to learn to read. This gave her a greater opportunity to study the characters and test the abilities of the trainees. At the end of two months, those who were considered to be unsuited to the task were sent home. Those who thought competent could continue their training as professional Bible-women. In this section, I shall attempt to probe what professional skills and new ideas in terms of personal hygiene, foot-binding, infanticide, suicide and marriage the Bible-women learned from their Western teacher.

Although girls were unwelcome in the late Qing Dynasty, these Bible-women had been lucky enough to survive because they had not been the “extra girls” in their families.⁴⁶⁷ Most of them had not received any education. Although there were two scholars in her family, even Keepsake was never taught to read.⁴⁶⁸ Long’s brothers taught her some characters, but as soon as she began really to master how to read, they stopped teaching her, saying that it was not good for women to be too learned.⁴⁶⁹ In Keepsake’s words, “Girls are not taught to read unless they are the only child, in that case their fathers may teach them for pleasure.”⁴⁷⁰ Only Speed learned to read in a Christian school since she came from a Christian family.⁴⁷¹

Fielde applied an effective method to train these illiterate Bible-women to read. At first, some easy tale, such as one of Aesop’s fables,⁴⁷² was taught to the student orally to train her in the art of speaking clearly and to the point. The efficacy was obvious, for Fielde noted that within a few days, a Chinese woman usually could learn to stand on her feet and tell a short story with its salient points in a resonant voice.⁴⁷³ Much of Fielde’s teaching was purely oral and “an effort is made to have it such as the pupil may well imitate in her future work. The women are called upon to give original illustrations and to make parables out of familiar circumstances.”⁴⁷⁴ It should be pointed out here that in the Chinese traditional pedagogy, learning to recite is the first step to learning to read. Thus, the method employed by Fielde was easily accepted by the women who were brought up in the Chinese society. Norwood recalled that after listening to Fielde’s recital of the entire book of Esther, Speed reproduced the whole

466 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.95.

467 A girl could be allowed to live if she was the eldest or the youngest in the family, but the number of girls in an ordinary family was usually kept to fewer than (and including) three. As Herb mentioned, no one kept more than three girls in a family. *Ibid.*, p.136.

468 *Ibid.*, p.117.

469 *Ibid.*, p.149.

470 *Ibid.*, p.117.

471 *Ibid.*, p.111.

472 “The women need to be taught to use their own language with force and fluency; to read correctly, easily, and agreeably; to speak clearly, truthfully, and attractively; and to pertinently illustrate, by parable, anecdote, and proverb, the truth they communicate.” Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, “Native Female Evangelists”, p.96.

473 Fielde, “The training”, p.245.

474 *Ibid.*

narrative without a mistake and with scarcely any prompting.⁴⁷⁵ Gold Getter, “being forty-two years old and without any knowledge of writing characters before, learned in ten months to read fluently a hundred hymns, the whole of the four Gospels, and the book of Acts, and to tell from memory nearly all she had read.”⁴⁷⁶ In spite of their varying degrees of literacy, the intellectual capacities of the trainees were greatly improved by Fielde’s training. “Some study to deliver the gospel message plainly. Some study a few months and then return to their homes to be more joyous and intelligent Christians all their lives; some study for years, and grow in grace in a wonderful way.”⁴⁷⁷ In a similar vein, also the woman missionaries from the EPM taught the rural Christian women to read romanized texts and to learn the principal facts in Genesis and the Gospels, “they could answer more or less intelligently when questioned on these facts”.⁴⁷⁸

In the previous chapter, it has been mentioned that in its initial stages the Mingdao Woman’s School did not have a continuous training system each year. Later it offered a programme for nine months of the year, attended by an average number of seven students. After learning how to narrate the doctrines and Bible stories by heart, these women were sent out to preach and usually spent nine weeks at the outstations, then one week in their own homes.⁴⁷⁹ Thiam-ti-sim (添弟嬪), the first Bible-woman,⁴⁸⁰ who was to serve the EP Church for over forty years, was sent by Ricketts to preach. She “manifested a wonderful gift in preaching; and her stores of illustrations seemed endless. She shone as a street preacher.” Surrounded by a crowd in the streets, she was totally at ease, furnishing answers to objectors, producing proverbs and apt quotations from the classics without fail. By means of these techniques an angry mob was often turned into more or less good humoured crowd.⁴⁸¹ After finishing their fieldwork, the Bible-women would return to the ABM compound for further instruction, which usually lasted for two weeks. This was a precaution in case the “perpetual contact with the heathen benumbs their consciousness, so they need a quickening influence of a new view of their Lord”.⁴⁸² During these two weeks, they received instruction in how to teach other women at the quarterly conference, how to report about their work at the stations and to confer with the missionaries and with each other about the affairs of the church and the church members. The lessons given to them at the four conferences could be four series of ten lessons each: the first on the Ten Commandments; the second on Cross Bearing; the third on Truthfulness; and the fourth on the Attributes of God.⁴⁸³ Whether Ricketts also employed such a tight discipline in the initial stages of the training of Bible-women is uncertain. In the period 1904-1915, a workers’ class was held in July every

475 Norwood, BMM, 1880, p.358-360. See Warren, *Fielde*, p.65.

476 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.113.

477 *Ibid.*, p.94.

478 Records of the WMA Council, 7th Meeting, Chaochow fu, 1st March, 1907.

479 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.117.

480 Her complete name was Xiao Thiam-ti (萧添弟), also called Thiam-ti-so (添弟嫂). She came from Huanggang (黄岗) in Raoping district and was baptized in 1870 at the age of 44. See the *Congregational Rolls for use in the Swatow Mission*, “Jeng Jip” (另集), p.2. Also see Appendix C.

481 Miss Black’s account, in Mann, *Ricketts*, pp.40-41.

482 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.116.

483 *Ibid.*, p.117.

year for the intensive training of teachers, Bible-women and potential workers with the purpose of strengthening their belief and improving their professional skills.⁴⁸⁴

Their training centered on the Bible, but they also learned a little geography from maps and they were taught personal hygiene. By using a microscope to show the foes to life lurking in dirty air and water, Fielde made it easier for the Bible-women to understand the basics of modern hygiene and gave them the chance to understand the unhealthy sanitary habits they followed without noticing.⁴⁸⁵ This greatly helped to improve these Bible-women's personal hygiene. In Miss Fielde's own words: "The microscope had assisted in the difficult work of persuading Chinese women that cleanliness has a relationship to Godliness."⁴⁸⁶ They took baths and washed their clothes more frequently than before. Nevertheless, the improvement in personal hygiene did not mean that the Bible-women changed their appearance completely. "They eat and dress as poorly as the women to whom they go."⁴⁸⁷ Fielde said: "We need to be careful that our course of training does not practically unfit these women for living in the narrow and uncleanly quarters in which the masses of the people dwell. Even tastes and habits which may not in themselves be admirable, are better left unchanged if the changing of them will in any degree separate the woman from those among whom she is to work."⁴⁸⁸

Fielde's discipline offered them new perspectives on the traditional customs of foot-binding, infanticide, suicide and marriage. Most of these Bible-women had had their feet bound in their teens. Keepsake had been subjected to this treatment at the age of thirteen. She remembered that when her feet ached at night, her mother would tell her to loosen the bandages but, if she did so, the ache worsened.⁴⁸⁹ Long also had had her feet bound at thirteen. When she was a child, she used to go to the salt-pans with her father, helping him by carrying the lighter tools or she would follow her brothers to the rice-fields. After her feet were bound, she "could no longer go out in the pleasant fields, nor do any active work".⁴⁹⁰ There were three Bible-women who did not have bound feet. One of these was Speed, because she came from a Christian family. Ironically, in her autobiography she said that she had wished to have her feet bound before she went to school. Her father, Lu Caiqi, opposed her desire, saying that: "If you insist on having your feet bound, your hands should be bound also."⁴⁹¹ The other two who had natural feet were Minute and Gold Getter. Minute was a Hakka who came from Baita in Jieyang district. Hakka women were supposed to work in the fields, and consequently did not have their feet bound,⁴⁹² but the custom of foot-binding was very popular among the Hoklo females at that time. This observation is confirmed by Lida Ashmore when she writes: "From 1873, when the Woman's School was first opened by Miss Fielde, to 1904, a period of thirty-one years, there have been 335 pupils with

484 Records of the WMA Council.

485 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.117.

486 *Ibid.*, p.117.

487 Edwin Munsell Bliss writes under the caption "Women's Work for Women" in the Encyclopedia of Missions, see Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.116.

488 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.96.

489 *Ibid.*, p.118.

490 *Ibid.*, p.149.

491 *Ibid.*, p.111.

492 *Ibid.*, p.132.

an average age of 40 years. They were all Christians when taken into the school and nearly all were bound footed.”⁴⁹³ Gold Getter was a Hoklo but she did not have her feet bound because her village, Xichang in Jieyang district, was located in the border zone of the Hoklo and Hakka. She and her family might have been influenced by the customs of the Hakka.

Fielde taught the Bible-women that foot-binding was not only uncivilized but sinful, because it tried to improve on God’s creation. The connection between these customs and the True Doctrine is stated by Herb as follows:

Now that I have come to know the True Doctrine, I know that foot-binding is a very wicked and injurious custom. God gave us our eyes and hands and feet as implements with which to do His work, and we are very wicked when we destroy any of them. In remodeling our feet, we declare that the pattern by which He makes feet does not suit us, and that we ourselves can improve His handiwork. But women cannot be natural-footed, unless men are taught that such women are desirable for wives.⁴⁹⁴

Herb not only regretted the earlier binding her own feet, but also stressed that the change in this “wicked” custom lay in the education of men. Unbinding women’s feet also became a symbol of their spiritual rebirth. Lily was one of the six or seven women in the Swatow church who had had their feet unbound. After a long and painful effort, the toes of her feet were forced back into their natural positions and she could wear shoes like those whose feet had never been bound.⁴⁹⁵

The Bible-women also transmitted this natural feet policy to the next generations. The case of Lu Caiqi and Speed is a good example. Love said she should never have the feet of her daughter, who was then twelve years old and studied in the Christian school, bound.⁴⁹⁶ It was only in 1899, one year after the Hundred Days’ Reform, launched by modernizing scholars like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, that the idea of natural feet really began to impinge on public consciousness in China. And it was not until 1900 that the first natural feet association came into existence in the district city of Chenghai.⁴⁹⁷ By then, the idea of natural feet had already been prevalent among the Christian congregation in Chaozhou for forty years since the 1860s.

Most of these Bible-women had committed infanticide before their conversion. Aunt Luck had borne a little girl when she was sixteen, and then two more baby girls. She strangled the third at birth because she was frightened that she would be despised for bearing so many girls.⁴⁹⁸ Treasure had three daughters, followed by a son who died when he was ten days old, later followed by another daughter.

493 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.96.

494 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.135.

495 Ibid., p.173.

496 Ibid., p.130.

497 《岭东日报》，光绪三十年五月初十日(1898):“咄咄贱种之辱国：旧金山报云差拿船抵埔，有上海茶店陈新礼者带来缠足女二名，往圣路易赛会当侍茶之役。寓美华人闻此消息，即致函中国正监督伦贝子，副监督黄开甲，恳其查明截止，以免辱国体而长蛮风云。噫！缠足为中国最野蛮之俗，历史上之大耻。国弱种辱，半由于此，各省志士创不缠足会，逐渐推广，日益有功，何物贱种，乃敢于万邦注目之会场而陈此弱国辱种之丑态，惹外人之耻笑？辱国体而不顾，虽食其肉、寝其皮，岂能蔽其辜哉。”

See also 光绪三十一年八月初九日(1900):潮郡不缠足会之起点：女子缠足，流毒颇盛。开通之士咸知之。故近日多天足会。彼此婚配，不许缠足。潮州各属，多行之者。然郡城未之前闻也。近有澄海籍杜茂才纘尧之兄绍尧，其子与郡人陈君惠珊之女结婚。则相约不缠足。此诚为我潮郡城天足会之起点。诚能扩而张之，则风气大开，亦凤城女子之幸福也。

498 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.104.

She kept the eldest daughter (who died when she was nine years old) and all the other daughters were put in a bucket⁴⁹⁹ and thrown into the river alive; one each year. When her husband ordered a chair-bearer to carry them off and have them drowned, she did not feel distraught nor did she cry. She was simply annoyed because they had not been boys.⁵⁰⁰ Silver Flower had four more sons and five daughters with her third husband. They considered the girls a burden heavier than they could bear and destroyed four of them. After suffocating them, her husband threw the little baby girls into the river.⁵⁰¹ Herb had three sons and six daughters, and she cast three of them away so as to reduce the number of girls in her family.⁵⁰² The practice of infanticide originated in the fact that boys were considered more valuable than girls because they could help to build up the wealth of a family; girls could only drain it off, because when they were married the girls would take away part of the wealth as a dowry when they left their natal families. Despite other reasons, poverty was the most important reason for the practice of infanticide.

Infanticide was regarded by the missionaries as the most inhuman evil in China. The missionaries tried to instil this idea in the minds of the male and female students in the Christian schools, and distributed relevant leaflets to the passers-by on street in their efforts to eradicate this social evil. Silver Flower, who killed four of her baby girls, confessed:

I am a great sinner; no less a Saviour than Jesus could save one who has sinned so deeply as I. Now, when I think of these children, my heart is full of anguish. I lie awake at night and wonder that such a sin can really be blotted out; but then I did not know God's commandments, and only thought how unprofitable girls were.⁵⁰³

Herb, who had cast three of her baby girls away, showed her remorse: "I did not then know, as I now do, that infanticide is a great sin."⁵⁰⁴ Not only did these early converts confess to the sin of infanticide in the past, they also taught young women not to practise it any longer. Ricketts recorded that one woman who had killed five girls with her own hands trembled with fear when she heard that it was wicked to do so and begged to know if she could be forgiven.⁵⁰⁵

Social unrest caused by the collective struggles between clans and the uprisings against Qing government in the Chaozhou region between 1821 and 1875⁵⁰⁶ drove many families into abject poverty; the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) was a especially dire period as was the ruthless pacification campaign launched by General Fang Yao in 1870s. Not a few women committed suicide during these periods to escape the misery. Unhappy marriages or family disputes were also reasons for suicide.⁵⁰⁷ Tapestry had

499 This bucket, usually painted red, was an essential article in a girl's dowry. It is horrible to realize that the use of this bucket was for the committing of infanticide, as was pointed out to me by Professor Cai Hongsheng (蔡鸿生).

500 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.173.

501 *Ibid.*, pp.182-183.

502 *Ibid.*, p.136.

503 *Ibid.*, pp.182-183.

504 *Ibid.*, p.136.

505 Mann, *Ricketts*, pp.44-45.

506 Anonymous, "Social Uprisings in Jieyang", pp.37-48.

507 《岭东日报》，“潮嘉新闻”，光绪三十年正月十九日(1898)：“妇女轻生之离奇：澄邑南洋乡杜姓有甲乙二妇同室而家，俱清贫。日前以细故口角，乙妇愤不已，入夜竟投缳毕命。甲妇闻之，慎祸及己，亦自缢。越日乡之某姓复有二妇不知因何起

the painful experience of marrying an invisible husband, had a hateful mother-in-law and had witnessed the suicide of her sister-in-law in her first marriage. She had wanted to commit suicide herself at the time. She confessed:

Chinese women do not know that it is wicked to kill themselves. It is only we who have been taught that we are God's property, that dare not destroy what is His. It is only we that value our lives aright, who know that we have a heaven to go to, and need time to get ready.⁵⁰⁸

In the traditional marriage, the relationship between husbands and wives was unequal. They could not have dinner together: males had the right to eat first, while females could only consume what they left; or men ate the better quality food, women had to make do with what was over, according to Zeng Derong's witness in the 1930s.⁵⁰⁹ Husband and wife could not address each other by name nor could not walk together in public. After the introduction of the idea of the Christian Home, Long, Speed and Treasure recognized the value of companionship between husband and wife, and the significant role played by a wife in the Christian Home. This topic will be discussed extensively in the next chapter. Companionship in marriage seems to be one of the reasons for conversion for those who wished to rid themselves of the unequal relationship in a traditional marriage.

The purpose of missionary training was to strengthen the faith of the students and to instil in them proper Christian ideas as well as professional skills in public preaching. Those who met all these requirements could be employed as Bible-women. In Field's time, the Bible-women received \$2 plus travelling expenses per month as a salary.⁵¹⁰ In 1912, the salary of the Bible-women of the EP Church was \$4 to \$5.⁵¹¹ Competent and experienced Bible-women received higher salaries than those who had just begun. For instance, Tsu-mui sim's salary was raised from \$3.50 per month to \$4 in 1910; five years later, her salary was raised to \$5 per month.⁵¹² In practice, employment as a Bible-woman offered competent Christian women a better way to earn a living than their former occupations had done. For instance, Snow used to be a ballad singer and Cress made and sold mock money for religious purposes, but most of these women were housewives and did not have any professional job at all. Now they worked in the public sphere and with their labour was paid, these Bible-women can be regarded as the first generation of modern professional women in Chaozhou. It also cannot be ruled out that some of them were eager to work as Bible-women because of the guarantee of a regular income.

衅，亦先后自缢死。潮属愚妇女每因细故便以一死了其生涯，未有一乡之间，四妇轻生如此者也。” See also 《岭东日报》癸卯年（1903）六月廿二日：“二女轻生：嘉俗妇女不惜身命往往因事轻生可叹亦复可怜……”。 Ste. Croix, a Ursuline sister, wrote to Standstead in 1924 that, “Recently very near our convent a woman between thirty and forty years old drowned herself in despair. Her husband had no work and she could not get enough money to nourish her three little children.” Mahorney, *Snatow*, p.76.

508 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.142.

509 “那时候非常封建，桌上摆两碗粥，一碗是‘妈人粥’（方言，妇女），一碗是‘爹人粥’，‘爹人粥’比较稠，‘妈人粥’就稀稀的。——你们看多凄惨，要吃点粥还要分稠和稀。当时整个社会都这样。” Zeng Derong's oral account, see appendix in Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.64.

510 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, 119.

511 The 17th Meeting, Far East House, 29th April, 1912

512 The 14th Meeting, 26th September, 1910; the 27th Meeting, Far East House, 30th Sept., 1915.

The Widespread Influence of the Bible-women

From the opening of Fielde's Mingdao Women's School in 1874, Bible-women became an important force in evangelism. At first, their main task was itinerant preaching among women in rural areas. Besides this propagation, they also brought their family, relatives, friends and neighbours into the church. In the early twentieth century, they preached in various Christian institutions, such as the Church compound, the Girls' Schools, hospitals for women and children, and the Red Cross and YMCA and so forth.⁵¹³

Joseph Tse-Lei Lee indicates that, as already mentioned, the elderly women exercised as much influence over the conversion of the children as the family patriarchs.⁵¹⁴ Going through the autobiographies of these Bible-women, I found that their influence was not confined just to their teenage relatives but also reached their mature relatives in the family hierarchy, such as their husbands and their own parents and in-laws. For instance, after Silver Flower's conversion, her mother, sister, one of her sons, her daughter-in-law, and some other relatives all became Christians.⁵¹⁵ Treasure also successfully converted her brother. Even her brother-in-law, who used to beat her because of her conversion, also sometimes went to hear her preach.⁵¹⁶ Lily brought her own mother and some other relatives into the church.⁵¹⁷ The most impressive achievement is that of Tolerance. Through the endeavours of her and her brother, Po Heng, every member of the household, twelve in total (see Figure 23), became Christian, including her mother, Lotus, who used to be a spirit-medium in the temple. The spirit which was constantly lodged in her body and had caused a series of family tragedies, no longer troubled her.⁵¹⁸ Several of her neighbours attended Sunday worship in Tolerance's house.⁵¹⁹ In October 25, 1889, the missionary doctor, Anna Kay Scott, came to visit forty descendants of this family in Qiaotou.

There are also cases in which husbands followed their wives into Christianity. One example is Lily's husband, Zheng Meizheng (郑美正), and Moonlight's husband, Qiu Ling (邱廩). Love and Tapestry wrote to their husbands who earned a living abroad, asking them to come back and join the church, so that their family might all be Christians.⁵²⁰ These facts contradict Ling Oi Ki's assertion that the Bible-women "became Christians because of the persuasion of their husbands, children, kinsmen, or friends"; "they might be wives, or mothers of preachers or catechists."⁵²¹ The circumstance that some

513 Records of WMA Council, 25th Meeting, Far East House, 8th Oct. 1914.

514 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, p.81.

515 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.190.

516 Ibid., p.177.

517 Ibid., p.173.

518 According to Tolerance, her father died when she was twenty-two. Shortly afterwards the two young women whom her mother (Lotus) had taken as wives for two of her brothers both died within twenty days of each other. Her brothers then said that the familiar spirit was a malevolent one and that they would no longer live in the same house as it did. The two elder boys went away and became the sons of a wealthy kinsman (they were Bao-Shun, Po Heng, and the surname of this wealthy kinsman was "Sun", see Tolerance's family in Appendix 3). The third (Bao-Xi) set up housekeeping apart from his mother and the youngest (Po U) hired himself out to a petty official. Their mother, Lotus, was greatly distressed by all this and thought she would try to rid herself of her tormentor; but the demon told her that, if she tried to evict him, she would be the worse for it. Therefore she dared not do anything for her own salvation. Ibid., p.162.

519 Ibid., p.166.

520 Ibid., p.142.

521 Ling, "Bible Women", p.247.

male evangelists and Bible-women came from the same family was also found in Chaozhou. Examples are father and daughter (Lu Caiqi and Speed); mother and son (Snow and Po San, Silver Flower and Lin Tingyi,⁵²² Cress and Li Jinju,⁵²³ Li Meifeng and Chen Renshan); sister and brother (Tolerance and Po Heng); or husband and wife (Hong Ming'an and Orchid, Po San and Zheng Yingjiao). It is obvious that women played an important role in the conversion of their families, which is formulated in the missiological concept of “evangelical motherhood”.

Not a few examples in the autobiographies show that the Bible-women's itinerant preaching, sometimes in the company of the Western woman missionaries but most of the time carried out independently, was quite effective. Herb first heard the Gospel from a missionary lady preaching in Xunmei (巡梅, Sun Bue) in Chaoyang district.⁵²⁴ She recalled how this missionary lady sat down and talked with the women in her neighbour's house. Herb went and heard what she said. After she had left,

A Bible-woman came and taught us more, she stayed some days, and slept with my sister-in-law, but then some of the neighbours drove her away...After awhile the neighbours let the Bible-woman come back, and made no more violent objection to her teaching in the village.⁵²⁵

Herb was converted in 1874. Her narrative reveals an important regulation set down by Fielde: “I always visit the stations to which the Bible-women go, and never send them to places where I have not myself been.”⁵²⁶ Armed with personal knowledge of the locality and its people, she could understand the reports sent by the Bible-women to her once every two months properly. The constant personal superintendence of the Western female missionary of the local Bible-women was of the utmost importance if misdirected effort, waste of money, discouragement and failure were to be avoided.⁵²⁷

Fielde claimed that preaching during meal-times and at night seemed to have a higher rate of success because the attention and good example the Bible-women revealed to the target person through their intimate personal contact could effectively clear away any doubts in the latter's mind and urge her to take action.⁵²⁸ It was the earnest preaching of Keepsake and Tolerance to Treasure during meals and “night talk” eventually brought her into the Church.⁵²⁹ Minute invited two Bible-women to sleep in her house during their visit in her village. After they went to bed, they talked till dawn, telling her who God was, what He did, and about Heaven and the Lord Jesus. Minute never forgot what they said that night.⁵³⁰ Fielde gave Minute's autobiography the title of “One Night's Work”. These examples seem to imply that night was a good time to talk because women would have time and peace of mind to discuss

522 342 林廷意 (Teng In) 男 15 1874 揭阳坎下,

See also *The Good News for Lingdong*, p.6.

523 313 李金菊 (Kim Kek) 男 15 1874 普宁贵屿,

See also *The Good News for Lingdong*, p.6.

524 She might have been Miss Fielde, since Herb mentioned that she could communicate with the native Hoklo women. Only Miss Fielde had such language competence at that time.

525 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.137.

526 Fielde, “The training”, p.157.

527 Ibid.

528 She said: “Some of the most valuable work done by the Bible women, is done at meal-times and in the night-time, among the women with whom they eat and lodge.” Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.96.

529 Ibid., p.175.

530 Ibid., p.133.

difficult things—something perhaps not available during the day when they were busy with household chores or other work, or when the presence of the other people prevented further discussion.

The visit to Lily's home by Keepsake and Tolerance reveals another regulation set down by Fielde: they (the Bible-women) were never sent to places where they had no personal acquaintances to vouch for them. A Christian woman belonging to that station would act as local guide to the Bible-woman. Lily was such a local guide for Keepsake and Tolerance in Nanlong. There are two reasons for this regulation. Firstly, acquainted with the meandering paths, a local guide could take the Bible-woman to her natal village.⁵³¹ Secondly, since Chinese villagers were so distrustful of strangers (in this case Bible-women), a local guide could act as an intermediary.⁵³² Constant visits and one-to-one conversational preaching contributed to the successful conversion of the male or female audiences.

The success Bible-women gained in evangelizing among their own family, kinsmen, neighbours and friends does not mean that they were equally successful in their itinerant preaching. This can be attributed to the xenophobic sentiment of the ordinary people, especially between 1860 and 1870, the first period of anti-foreignism in China.⁵³³ Both the Bible-women themselves and Fielde commented on the relative effect of their evangelism. In 1876 Love said that: "I have now been to seventy villages with the Lord's message. I do not know how many women have believed it. I am sure of only a very few who have become Christians because of my words."⁵³⁴ The next year, Herb stated that, although all the people in her village had heard the Gospel, only a few believed in it.⁵³⁵ On her journey to Baita village in Jieyang district on December 16, 1880, Fielde recorded that: "In paying a visit to her own mother, Mue (Minute) has proclaimed the Gospel as she had the opportunity, but apparently without marked effect upon her hearers."⁵³⁶ However, in the 1890s, "the work of Bible-women was so successful that American Baptist men affirmed that their role in direct evangelization in the towns and villages in Shantou (Swatow) area was as crucial as that of the local preachers and missionaries".⁵³⁷

However successful the Bible-women's work and their positive images as model Christians might have been, the fact that they were, when it was all said and done, Christians in Chinese society should not be ignored. Having been soaked in Chinese traditional values for the most part of their lives, these women were inclined to follow the customs of the local society. Long gave birth to her second daughter, Jewelled Branch (姚玉枝), three years after her baptism. She did not destroy this little girl because by then she and her husband were pious Christians. However, since they were extremely poor, they sold their elder daughter, Light Follower (姚顺观), to a lady in the district city of Chaoyang for five pounds.⁵³⁸ Her behaviour shows that the social custom of "selling a daughter in time of hardship"

531 Fielde, "Annual Letter to Helpers in America", see Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.118.

532 Fielde, BMM, 1884, p.144. See Warren, *Fielde*, p.66.

533 Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1963.

534 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.130

535 *Ibid.*, p.137.

536 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.138.

537 "The South China Mission, Swatow Department, the 79th Annual Report, 79th Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Union held on 26 May 1893," *Missionary Magazine*, 73, 7 (July 1893): 301. Quoted from Ling, "Bible women", p.257.

538 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.151.

was still deeply rooted in her mind. As a Christian, she might have considered it a sinful action but just did not see any other way to survive. One and a half years later, when this couple heard that Light Follower was badly treated by her mistress, they resorted to the Baptist Church for help and Light Follower was redeemed. For a long time, they were distrusted and blamed by the Church for having sold their own daughter.⁵³⁹ A similar case of clinging to the local custom happened in the EP church. This time the matter related to the disposal of ancestral soul tablets. Ricketts was horrified to find many years later that Mrs Good, one of the Bible-women, had not really thrown away her ancestral tablets, only hidden them. This was a terrible blow to Ricketts. As she saw it, an unqualified Bible-woman could be a disaster to the congregation. Ricketts noted in her diary: "I feel I can never believe her again....She came to the service looking the picture of misery. I had no message for her".⁵⁴⁰ In the minds of the woman missionaries, the Bible-women were trained to be pioneers and models for the Christians and non-Christians around them. It would be hard to convince ordinary people to accept Christianity if the Bible-women themselves still adhered to the "heathen" social customs. However, on the issue of ancestor worship, some voices had already proposed a compromise at the Protestant Conferences in Shanghai of 1890 and 1907.

Conclusion

Though male missionaries and local male evangelists were able to reach women with the Gospel message in public, entry to women's private spheres was restricted to those of the same sex. This was the situation that confronted Chen Dui when he preached in Changzhou near Hong Kong in 1852. From the opening of Swatow in 1860 until the arrival of Adele Field in 1873, male evangelists played a leading role in the itinerant preaching but, from their advent in 1873, the employment of Bible-women enlarged the preaching network to a far wider extent. Bible-women could obtain access to women of all ages. Close co-operation existed between male evangelists and Bible-women. Several male evangelists and Bible-women came from the same family. They could be father and daughter (Lu Caiqi and Speed), mother and son (Snow and Po San, Silver Flower and Lin Tingyi, Cress and Li Jinju, Li Meifeng and Chen Renshan), sister and brother (Tolerance and Po Heng), or husband and wife (Hong Ming'an and Orchid, Po San and Zheng Yingjiao). Their co-operation made a huge contribution to the expansion of Christianity among women from the 1870s onwards.

The analysis of the autobiographies of the Bible-women sheds light on the reasons for women's conversion in the Chaozhou region. Most prominent was the fact that Christianity could mitigate their sufferings and promise a happier life. No light matter considering that most of these women had endured tragic experiences before their conversion. Once Christianity was established in the region, the prospect of an education, career possibilities and a new type of marriage and family life might also

539 Ibid., p.152.

540 Mann, *Ricketts*, pp.28-29.

have contributed to the attraction of Christianity. That women in the Chaozhou area seem to have been particularly receptive to Christianity should also be attributed to the fact that male householders were often absent, allowing the widow or grass widow to make their own decisions about whether to convert or not.

The newly converted Christian women had to go through a strict screening and training process before becoming Bible-women. Most of them came from sojourner families (侨眷) and were widows or grass widows. Without the support of their husbands, they were forced to be independent. In the Mingdao Women's School, the Bible-women experienced an intensive training in Christian doctrines, professional skills in evangelism and were taught new ideas about foot-binding, infanticide, suicide and marriage. However, having been soaked in Chinese traditional values for the most part of their lives, some of them could not do away with certain traditional customs completely.

Although their preaching work among the Bible-women's own kin was quite fruitful, they did not have the same level of success in their itinerant preaching in the 1870s. This was often among people with whom they were unfamiliar at a time when anti-foreignism was rife. From the 1880s, close co-operation between the male evangelists and Bible-women contributed greatly to the expansion of the Christian population of both sexes. After 1890, Bible-women were recognized by the ABM as an effective evangelical force among the Protestant congregations in China. Fielde's employment of Bible-women was imitated by various Protestant missions which worked in other parts of China. They assisted the woman missionaries when growing numbers of single Western ladies came to China after 1880. Together they had achieved the rapid increase in the female Christian population by the turn of the nineteenth century.



Figure 25: Collective photo of the Bible-women in Swatow, ABM
(No date, from Stevens, *Memorial Biography*)



Figure 26 (left): Bible-woman (EPM) at a hospital bookstall, Swatow, ca. 1895



Figure 27 (right): Aunt Golden Peace (i.e. Tapestry, 1843-?) and Abbie G. Sanderson, ABM, ca.1920-1937

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

Introduction

In an article about the female Christians in the Chaozhou region, Hu Weiqing has suggested that “since that Christian congregation effectively promoted the emancipation of women in society (such as advocating gender equality, promoting the natural feet movement, and forbidding polygamy and infanticide), it would be logical to conclude that the women within the congregation should also gain a certain degree of ‘emancipation’ in the politics of the church.”⁵⁴¹ He was disappointed to discover that, in the Chinese synod records of the English Presbyterian Church, there are few reliable data about female Christians. He therefore concluded that women occupied only a marginal position in the politics of the Presbyterian congregation. He wonders whether gender inequality was not actually emphasized by the apparently sacred division of labour which was made in the congregation in terms of gender.⁵⁴² Probably Hu Weiqing should not have looked at church politics to try to fathom the relationship. Recently Murre-van den Berg has emphasized that, in the Middle East, Eastern Christians, Muslims and Protestant Americans alike, have all tended to restrict the roles of women to responsibilities in the domain of home and family rather than in the domain of church and society.⁵⁴³ I believe similar patterns can be distinguished in Chinese society, as I hope to explain presently.

In this chapter, I shall focus on how marriage was perceived and propagated by the Christian missions in China. Two questions are important. The first is related to Robert’s statements on “the Christian home”. She notes: “A central theme common to the Christian home in Africa, China, India, Japan was respect for women found in a marriage of companionship, including mitigating the evils of patriarchy, such as concubinage, wife-beating, and servitude to the husband’s extended family.”⁵⁴⁴ In the present context, it is worthwhile attempting to probe how the four foreign missions, the Protestant missions (the American Baptist Mission, the Basel Mission and the English Presbyterian Mission) and the Roman Catholic Mission (*Les Missions Etrangères de Paris*), propagated these new ideas about marriage in the Chaozhou region. The second question follows upon the research of Elizabeth Poujoulat on Roman Catholic marriage in China from 1860 to 1940.⁵⁴⁵ Her description of the marital regulations introduced by the Jesuits, Lazarists and the MEP missionaries allow me to compare these with the regulations which were employed by the Protestant missions in the same period. Although Poujoulat does not refer to differences among the Roman Catholic missions in terms of regulations,

541 Hu, “The Mode of Misery”, p.284.

542 Ibid., p.303.

543 Heleen Murre-van den Berg, “An Inheritance with Sarah’. Women in the Church of the East (1500-1850)”, *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift (Neue Folge der Revue Internationale de Théologie)*, 2010(3). p.202.

544 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.163.

545 Elisabeth Poujoulat, *Le mariage dans les chrétiens catholiques en Chine: 1860-1940*, Directeur de thèse: Madame Marianne Bastid-Bruguère, Thèse soutenue le 20 mai 2008, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

some new source materials permit me to refine her description. Therefore, the second question concerns the comparison of the marital regulations of four Protestant and Roman Catholic missions mentioned above.

My research will be based on Chinese tracts, hymns and the regulations of these missions. As it had carried out its mission work among the Hoklo sojourners in Siam since the mid-1830s, the ABM was a pioneer in composing tracts or folksongs which were used to propagate the aims of the missions. Many of these related to marriage. Compare, for instance, “On the Couple” in the *First Steps in the True Doctrine* (真道入门, 1849);⁵⁴⁶ “On Marriage” in *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* (拜真活神的诗, ca 1873-1895)⁵⁴⁷, all of which speak for themselves. The tract *First Steps in the True Doctrine* was compiled by William Dean in Hong Kong in 1849 in collaboration with his Chinese assistant,⁵⁴⁸ and the *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* were composed by the American Baptist Church in the Chaozhou region ca 1873-1895. Both appear to have been fairly popular.⁵⁴⁹ The text “Why the Holy religion forbids concubinage” in the tract *Fleeing Error; Seeking Truth* (辟邪规正论)⁵⁵⁰ is also worth looking at. In 1895, the American Baptist Chen Yishan (陈乙山) compiled this tract basing himself mainly on another tract entitled *Argument on Holy Doctrines* (圣教理证论), written by an American fellow Baptist.⁵⁵¹ It was circulated among the Baptist congregation in the form of hand-copied

546 William Dean, *First Steps in the True Doctrine*.

547 *Bai zhenhuoshen de shi* 《拜真活神的诗》 [Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God] (ca. 1873-1895).

548 William Dean produced this tract when he worked in Hong Kong. This tract consists of a series of concise explanations of a variety of Christian doctrines. The item entitled *fu fu* (夫妇, “On the Couple” or “On Husband and wife”) is among them.

549 The composer of this hymn has not been identified. However, on the basis of three hymns (No. 22, No. 80 and No. 81) entitled “Hymns for Baptism” (浸礼诗), two issues become clear: (1) The hymn book belongs to the American Baptist Church, not the English Presbyterian Churches, since the latter used “Ritual of sprinkling/washing/shower” (洗礼) to indicate the Baptismal ceremony. (2) The hymns were published after William Dean’s *First Steps in the True Doctrine*, because he used a special word “搵礼” (immersion) to refer to the Baptismal ceremony. The word “搵礼” was used among the American Baptist congregations in Bangkok and Hong Kong, and was adopted when they moved to the Chaozhou region. Even the English Presbyterian congregations called them the “搵会” (Church of Immersion). As reflect in the Synod record of the English Presbyterian Church dated August 26, 1904: “议盐灶代议稟问蔡元贞夫妇为与会友不睦, 离弃本会归入搵会”, “汲约翰举议昨天元贞夫妇之事未便可复, 并巡视牧师稟陈奇夫妇及其子。孚山代议稟吴周生以上三者皆已归入搵会”. Similar written testimony can be found in the record dated September 6, 1905. The adoption of “浸礼” instead of “搵礼” is quite late. In 1895, Chen Yishan (陈乙山), an American Baptist, used “浸” in his tract ‘*Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth*’. Consequently, the adoption of “浸” instead of “搵” must have been between 1850-1895. It is possible that Adele M. Fielde was the author of this hymn. Lida Ashmore says that Fielde “prepared a Compendium of the Four Gospels and a hymn book with the help of Dr. Ashmore.” See Lida Scott Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.179. Adele Fielde arrived the Chaozhou field in 1873, this hymn book might have been produced between 1873-1895, but the exact date requires more research. This hymn book must have been composed or revised by a Chinese Christian, because the terminal character of each verse rhymes correspondingly. Moreover, the last verse, “enjoy millions and trillions years of honour”, is of typical format of the Chinese ancient folksong. Such a rhymed hymn must have been pleasing to local converts, especially the women, whose only entertainment was listening to one of their peers singing folktales in a rhymed and melodic format while doing housework (such as embroidery and needlework) together.

550 Chen Yishan 陈乙山, *Pixie guizheng lun* 《辟邪归正论》 (Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth), 潮州浸信圣会 [Chaozhou: Holy Baptist Church, Guangzhou], 广州东山美华浸信会印书局刊 [Guangzhou: China Baptist Publication Society], compiled in 1895, printed in 1923.

551 It is not certain who this man was. He might probably be Chen Yishan’s father, Chen Yongquan, who used to teach Chinese in the Queshi Boys’ School. The information on their baptism was found in the membership roll of the Lingdong Baptist Church, see appendix of *The Good News for Lingdong*, No.19, 陈府(永泉); No.1211, 陈和林(乙山).

transcripts.⁵⁵² Another interesting tract was published in the early years of the Republic of China by the Basel Church, *Mirror for the Female Christians* (女徒镜, 1916).⁵⁵³ At that time, modernizing Chinese had accepted education for women as proposed by Kang Youwei (康有为) and Liang Qichao (梁启超), the scholars who launched the ill-fated Hundred Days' Reform (百日维新) with the support of the Guangxu (光绪) Emperor in 1898. Furthermore, the new educational policy, accepted in 1903, guaranteed at least in theory the equal right of girls and women to education. Several regulations have been preserved, one published by the Basel Mission (1874) and the other three published by the EPM in 1907, 1934 and 1948.

Very few materials on marriage were found in the archival papers of the MEP in Chaozhou. Fortunately, in this case it is possible to use regulations which were printed and used elsewhere, especially in Shanghai. According to Li Xuzhen (李绪珍), a sister in the Swatow Ursuline Order in the 1950s, most of the Bibles and the hymns they used before 1950s were published in Shanghai by the Jesuit Tushanwan Press (土山湾印书馆). Some of these were sent from Hong Kong. It is quite possible that the MEP had marital regulations similar to those of the Jesuits in Shanghai. Elizabeth Poujoulat also regards the French Roman Catholic missions in China (including the Society of Jesus, the Society of Lazarus and the MEP) as a whole, basically sharing the same regulations. Consequently the regulations of the Jesuits in Shanghai (1865) and the Lazarists in Jiangxi province (1879) can be referred to if need be.⁵⁵⁴

Between 1860 and 1949, two civil marriage codes were adhered to in China: *The Codes of the Qing Empire* (大清律例), which remained valid until the downfall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, authorized the dominance of a husband over his wife: a husband could divorce his wife for any of “the seven justifying causes” (七出) and he had the right to take a concubine.⁵⁵⁵ This Code gave a woman no right to leave her husband under any circumstances. Even the *Draft of the Civil Code of the Qing Empire* (大清民律草案), which was completed in August 1911, ordained the husband as the guardian of his wife: he had full rights over his wife: both with respect to her behaviour and to her property. Men who had reached adulthood, were *compos mentis* and adjudged to have discretion were considered able to be

552 With reference to the couple of the *First Steps in the True Doctrine* and in the folksong “On Marriage” in *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God*, Confucian doctrines still strongly back up this argument. Although Mencius’ idea that “there are three ways to be unfilial, the worst is to not produce offspring” was initially criticized, in the end Mencius’ description of “the five unfilial behaviors” and Confucius’ praise of two wise men who had no offspring was cited to strengthen his argument. The author’s aim in writing *Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth* was to assist his fellow Christians who he had often witnessed could not answer the rebukes of the non-converts. He compiled this tract to improve the theoretical training of his fellow Christians in their confrontations with non-converts, so as to “solve their doubts, and stop the slander, or go further to convert them”. See Chen Yishan, *Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth*, compiled in 1895, printed in 1923. The Second Preface, p.3.

553 The tract *The Mirror for the Female Christians* (女徒镜) was printed in Chinese characters, but it was in a typical Hakka dialect which was used among the Hakka people in Hong Kong and in Xin’an (新安) county, where the lowland station of the Basel Mission was located.

554 *Sheng Pei Gui An* (圣配规案) is a collection of regulations published by the Jesuits, namely *Traité sur le mariage rédigé en chinois par Monsieur Languillat* (S. J.) en 1865. The one used by the Lazarists was *Les Faculté apostoliques et leur commentaire auxquels s’ajoute un guide à l’usage des missionnaires de la province du Kiang-Si* (1879). The original document of the former is in Chinese, while the latter is in Latin, “*Apostolicae facultates earumque commentarius cui accedunt monita ad missionarios provinciae Kiang-Si*”. Both titles and contents of the regulations were translated by Poujoulat from Chinese into French and Latin to French respectively. See Poujoulat, *Le mariage*.

555 七出：无子、淫佚、不事舅姑、多言、盗窃、嫉妒、恶疾；三不去：与更三年丧、前贫贱后富贵、有所娶无所归。见《大清律例通考》，卷十，户律婚姻，出妻律文。

exponents of civil conduct, but married women were not included in this category.⁵⁵⁶ It is against this legislative background that the four missions introduced new marital regulations into the Chaozhou region.

I should note here that all quotations in the present and the following chapters, from Chinese tracts, from the different versions of the Presbyterian constitutions or from the Chinese synodal records, are my translations from Chinese into English. The same is true of some French Roman Catholic regulations mentioned by Poujoulat.

Indissolubility of Marriage

The indissolubility of marriage was the first theme emphasized by the missionaries. This is obvious from the tracts and hymns. *First Steps in the True Doctrine* maintains that “the couple which has been legitimized by a marriage ceremony should not discard each other.”⁵⁵⁷ The folksong “On Marriage” in *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* reveals this principle even more explicitly. Verse 3 of this folksong runs as follows: “Once married they should keep the promise; it is sinful should they lose their love for each other” (已成婚约当钦守, 失却恩情便有愆). The first half of this verse puts great emphasis on the marriage contract (covenant marriage). The second half is a warning, mainly aimed at men taking advantage of the dominance of husband over wife in Chinese society, well-embedded in “the seven justifying causes”. Reading them it is possible to grasp some idea of how foreign this new idea must have been to the first generation of converts.

The same principle of the indissolubility of marriage is reflected in the regulations of the other missions. According to the regulations of the Basel Mission (1874): “The Holy Book [i.e. the Bible, CXy] instructs people on the indissolubility of marriage.”⁵⁵⁸ The EPM (1881) likewise required that “according to God’s commandments, the couple should never separate during their lifetime.”⁵⁵⁹

However, the propagation of the indissolubility of marriage did not mean that the missions implemented this principle without qualifying it. In its 1874 regulations the Basel Mission listed several circumstances under which the separation of a couple was allowed. Article 93 lists the following conditions:

1. A wife who is persistently lascivious can be divorced, provided that she has not given birth to a child.
2. A concubine who has not been married in a marriage ceremony can be set aside if she has not given birth to a child.

556 Articles 9 and 26, Draft of the Civil Code of The Qing Empire. Wang Xinyu 王新宇, *Minguo shiqi hunyinfa jindaibua yanjiu* 《民国时期婚姻法近代化研究》 [Study on the Modernization of Marriage Law in Republic of China], Beijing: China Legal Publishing House, September, 2006. p.34.

557 Dean, *First Steps in the True Doctrine*.

558 *Base shenghui guitiao* 《巴色圣会规条》 [Regulations of the Basel Mission], 1874. Article 92.

559 *Chaohui Zhanglaojiaobui gongli* 《潮惠长老教会公例》 [Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church], Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907. Article 387.

3. A woman who has been married without any proper betrothal gift and lives as a man's mistress (契家婆)⁵⁶⁰ might leave her husband if she wants to be a Christian.
4. A woman who has suffered from her husband's resentment because she has joined the church can leave her husband freely, even if her husband neither regards her as his wife nor can provide a document of divorce (离书) as people usually do in the case of divorce.
5. A wife or concubine can be allowed to leave a husband who continues to commit adultery.

Conditions 1 and 2 were included so that the husband could divorce his wife or concubine, while 3 to 5 granted the wife or concubine the right to leave the husband. In contrast to “the seven justifying causes”, which gave men the authorization to divorce their wives in traditional society, the Basel Congregation also granted women the right to divorce their husbands. This was a considerable challenge to the traditional values in Chinese society in which women were totally subjected to men. The most important aspect was the fact that the adultery of the man was considered a valid reason for divorce. As stated under No. 4, the difference in belief could also be a reason for divorce, whereas Article 91 of the same Basel Regulations granted the right of divorce to both parties:

If the non-convert [one party of a couple] does not want to live together with the convert, then the convert should not be bound by the marriage law. But he or she should wait a long period (俟候日久)⁵⁶¹ before he or she can remarry.

Article 90 adds that:

If one party of a couple is a non-convert, but he or she is willing to live together with the convert, the convert should not divorce him or her.

In the French Roman Catholic mission, similar regulations can be found:

1. If the first spouse does not convert but agrees to cohabit peaceably and does not offend the Creator, he (the husband) should separate from the other spouses.
2. If the first spouse constantly refuses to convert and cohabits without offending the Creator, he should summon her to give an account of herself. If her answers to the two questions which are usually asked are negative, the husband can contract a marriage with another Roman Catholic spouse, but has to repudiate the other spouses.⁵⁶²

The first regulation is equivalent to Article 90 of the Basel Mission; the second is similar to Article 91. Reading these, it would be right to conclude that difference in belief was a propositional but not a sufficient reason for a divorce in both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, even though the emphasis of these two missions was different: the second regulation stressed that the bride in a remarriage should be a Christian. This point is also implicitly embedded in Article 91 of the Basel

⁵⁶⁰ According to my friend Luo Jiahui (罗家辉, who grew up in Hong Kong, understands Cantonese and Hakka), the phrase 契家婆 here can also mean small daughter-in-law in a family.

⁵⁶¹ The original text does not indicate the duration clearly.

⁵⁶² “1. Si la première épouse ne se convertit pas mais accepte de cohabiter pacifiquement et sans offense au Créateur, il devra se séparer des autres épouses. 2. Si la première épouse, toujours, refuse de se convertir et de cohabiter sans offenser le Créateur, il faudrait alors l'interpeller et si elle répond négativement aux deux questions d'usage, le mari pourrait contracter mariage avec une autre épouse catholique, en répudiant cependant ses autres épouses.” *Les Facultés apostoliques et leur commentaire auxquels s'ajoute un guide à l'usage des missionnaires de la province du Kiang-Si*, the regulations on “Polygamie”. Poujoulat, *Le marié*, p.153.

Mission, which also emphasizes that a suitable interval should elapse before remarriage. The second regulation does not expound on this point.

Although the Basel Mission granted man and woman equal rights to exercise their free will in the matter of divorce, it did not encourage it:

94: Under the following circumstances, divorcing one's wife or concubine or leaving one's husband will cause one to suffer a guilty conscience:

1. A woman who neither commits adultery nor obstructs her family members in following the Lord's doctrine should not be divorced. [This refers to the wife]
2. A woman who has given birth to children and has a harmonious relationship with her husband should not be divorced. If she has become a Christian, there is even less reason to divorce her(则尤不可). [This refers to a concubine]
3. A husband who already has both a wife and a concubine and does not commit adultery and treats his spouses well, allowing them to worship God, should not be left/repudiated by his spouses.

Conditions 1 and 3 show Article 90 in specific contexts: so long as one party (either husband or wife) was not adulterous and was willing to cohabit, divorce was not encouraged in spite of the difference in beliefs. Condition 2 safeguarded the rights of a concubine who had given birth to children. This policy was shared by the EPM in the stations in Swatow⁵⁶³ and Tainan.⁵⁶⁴ If the concubine was a Christian, this could give her more protection in preserving her marriage. The situation was quite different in the Roman Catholic mission. The regulations of the French Lazarist mission which were circulated in the adjacent province of Jiangxi (江西) in 1879 said:

If an unconverted polygynist converts and his first spouse, the only legitimate one, also converts, this man should remain together with his first spouse, without asking for the dispensation or interpellation of the other spouses. They should separate from him, unless they also convert.⁵⁶⁵

The principal wife was regarded as the one and only legal wife while the concubine was only allowed to stay when she, like the rest of the family, converted to Catholicism. Article 94:3 is similar to the last point of the canon. Roman Catholics and Protestants agreed in allowing a wife and concubine to live together with their husband provided that they were all Christians.

The three conditions of the Basel Mission were obviously subject to regulation to protect each party (husband, wife or concubine), none of whom was not willing to divorce. But if the continuation of such marriage caused them feelings of guilt and both parties reached a consensus about separation, the Presbytery of the Basel Mission approved of such an arrangement. Should this be the case, the Basel Mission stipulated that the separated woman (either a wife with a different belief from her

563 Article 391, "If the concubine has borne children, or she is unwilling to remarry, then they should not be separated", *Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church*, 1907.

564 "If she has borne children, I should say that on no account should they be separated", D. Ferguson, "Relation of Converted Polygamists to Christianity", *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol. XXXVII (1906), pp.187-188.

565 "Si un polygame infidèle se convertit et que sa première épouse, la seule légitime, se convertisse aussi, cet homme devra rester avec sa première épouse, sans dispense ni interpellation des autres épouses, qui devront se séparer de lui, sauf si ces dernières se convertissent également." Les Facultés apostoliques et leur commentaire auxquels s'ajoute un guide à l'usage des missionnaires de la province du Kiang-Si. Poujoulat, *Le mariage dans les chrétientés catholiques en Chine*, p.153.

husband or a concubine who has given birth to children) should not remarry. Her original husband (原夫) should continue to help her should she lack for anything.⁵⁶⁶

Monogamy

Polygyny, or marrying a concubine in addition to the first, official wife, was a common occurrence in the late Qing period. It was regarded by the Confucian gentry as a feasible method to guarantee the birth of male offspring in a family.⁵⁶⁷ However, “poor men, and men of the middle classes, rarely have more than one wife, because of the cost of a large household.”⁵⁶⁸ It was against this social background that both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions did their best to emphasize the idea of monogamy. Monogamy made up an essential part of the Christian marriage doctrine but, on account of its incompatibility with the Chinese customs, it seems to have taken a long time before it was spelled out to the Chinese Christians. Remarkably, William Dean did not stress it in his tract “On the Couple” nor was this theme explicitly mentioned in the folksong “On Marriage”. This omission might have been because the problem of marrying a concubine was not one which occurred frequently among the small, poor congregation in the initial stages.

In 1865, Languillat, a Jesuit in Shanghai, treated the idea of monogamy in the tract *Sheng Pei Gui An* (圣配规案, *Traité sur le mariage*):

Le Seigneur créa le ciel et la terre et les dix mille choses. Puis Il créa l’homme et la femme (一男一女) et leur commanda de s’unir, pour perpétuer le genre humain. Le mari et la femme (夫妇两人) ne firent plus qu’un seul corps, voici vraiment l’origine du sens du mariage.⁵⁶⁹

While the French translation does not emphasize monogamy as such, the number in the original Chinese text “一男一女” (one man and one woman) and “夫妇两人” (both husband and wife) seems to underline the principle of monogamy quite clearly. In 1874, the Basel Mission was the first among the Protestant missions to declare the principle of “one husband and one wife”, with reference to the Bible (圣书, Holy Book).⁵⁷⁰ The EPM registered this principle in its 1881 constitution: “According to God’s commandments, an correct/orthodox (合道) marriage is that of one man and one woman”.⁵⁷¹ In 1895, the ABM wrote in the same vein: “One husband matches one wife, as determined by the Lord.”⁵⁷²

The reason the missions in this later period all began to stress the principle of monogamy might

566 “其九十六：若圣会中有夫妇，照九十四款不忍相隔别者。倘心有不安，情愿互相离别，长老会则可准之。但如此之妇，不可再嫁。若有缺乏，原夫当帮助。” Article 96, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

567 It was also observed by Fielde, see Adele M. Fielde, *A Corner of Cathay*, p.28.

568 Ibid.

569 This text was translated from Chinese into French by Elizabeth Poujoulat. The original is: “天主造天地万物。即造成一男一女。命之相配，以传人类。夫妇两人本属一体，婚配之义实始于此。” Languillat, Monseigneur, *Traité sur le mariage* (Sheng Pei Gui An, 圣配规案), cote Fch 408 (archives Jésuites de Vanves), 1865. p.4. See Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.119.

570 Article 92, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

571 Article 372, “按上帝之诫命，合道之婚姻乃一男一女”，*Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church*, 1907.

572 Chen Yishan, *Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth*, p.72.

perhaps be explained by the fact that Christianity had by then spread more widely and entered the families of the higher strata. Consequently, the matter of marrying concubines became more pressing in the congregations and emerged as an urgent problem with which the foreign missions had to deal. The article “Why the Holy religion forbids concubinage”, published in 1895 by Chen Yishan, discusses the idea of monogamy for the American Baptist congregation, stressing that “He did not create a man with two women, or a woman with two men.”⁵⁷³ Chen Yishan was keen to persuade the Chinese to eliminate the custom of marrying concubines and he cited an extreme case of a family tragedy which was caused by the jealousy between the wife and the concubine. The missionaries, however, were aware that the abolishment of the polygynist marriage would not be easy. Duncan Ferguson, an English Presbyterian missionary who served in South Taiwan from 1889 to 1923,⁵⁷⁴ wrote in 1906 that: “No doubt in a few cases it [sending away of a concubine] will be a real joy to her [the wife]. But in the majority of cases she will not welcome the change, because it was she herself who connived at the marriage of the secondary wife [concubine]; she wanted a servant, or it may have been like Sarah when she arranged for Abraham to marry Hagar.”⁵⁷⁵

Amanda Porterfield states that the American Congregationalists in Africa were not open to compromise on the issue of polygyny: “While the liberal Anglican Bishop Colenso defended the practice of baptizing polygamists, the Americans insisted on defining admission to Christianity in terms of Protestant rules and sentiments about marriage.”⁵⁷⁶ Whether the ABM in China also strictly opposed concubinage has not yet been clearly established. Certainly, the Basel and the English Presbyterian congregations were more flexible than the American Baptists in introducing the Christian teachings on marriage in general and in dealing with the problem of marriage to a concubine in particular.

In 1906, Ferguson noted that several missions in China had allowed or required converted polygynists to retain the wives whom they had married before their conversion: “The synod of China connected with the Presbyterian Church in America, the Basel Mission, the EPM in Swatow and the China Inland Mission. My information about the last mentioned may be wrong, but in all probability there are other missions which have adopted this regulation.”⁵⁷⁷ The Basel Mission made a clear distinction between those who had concubines before and who acquired them after their conversion. Article 92 discusses this as follows: ⁵⁷⁸

1. One husband with two wives contradicts the commandment of Jesus our Lord. It is not allowed by the Holy Church. Thus it should be rectified if there is no guilt in one’s heart (不亏心).
2. Married concubines if they are heathens do not commit the same sin of adultery as the disciples of Jesus. For the Holy Book not only instructs the principle of one husband and one wife, it also

573 Ibid.

574 A city in southern Taiwan, where the EPM had an important station.

575 Ferguson, “Relation of Converted Polygamists”, p.186.

576 Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.129.

577 Ferguson, “Relation of Converted Polygamists”, p.188.

578 Article 92, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

instructs the indissolubility of marriage. Thus whether to divorce the concubine or not, it should be judged according to different situations, rigid decisions should not be applied.

3. If someone who had married a concubine, now wishes to be a disciple of Jesus, then, according to the regulations of our Holy Church, he should separate from his concubine first, if he feels no guilt in his conscience (不亏心). But if a serious sin will be caused by the separation from his concubine, it is preferable not to do so. This tolerant regulation is not a normal one and only temporarily applicable in the initial stage of planting the church.

“Feeling guilty or not” is a factor emphasized by the Basel Mission, which led to more flexible resolutions than the rigid opposition posed by the ABM, which is revealed in the tract *Fleeing Error, Seeking Truth*. Nevertheless, they shared the same basic points: the principle of monogamy as an ideal Christian marriage and that Christians were not to marry a concubine: “For those had joined the Holy Church, they should definitely not marry a concubine. Those who marry a concubine commit the sin of adultery, and should be dismissed from the Holy Church.”⁵⁷⁹ Thus, the tolerant attitude was shown only to the men who had married a concubine before their conversion.

The regulations of the EPM in Swatow were similar to those of the Basel Mission. The following four regulations were drawn up in 1881, and were integrated into the 1907 constitution:

389: If a man married a concubine before he heard the Gospel, he should be forgiven his ignorance according to the doctrines of Gospel. But in deciding whether to accept him for baptism or not, the church should make a detailed investigation, research the doctrines carefully and let him know that he has violated God's commandment. The church should not easily ignore his sin.

390: If the concubine has borne no children, and she is willing to leave (her husband), she may be allowed to remarry another convert. But the husband should ask the Presbytery to which he is attached for an inspection and decision in advance, so as to avoid offending this woman (concubine).

391: If the concubine has borne children, or she is unwilling to remarry, then they should not be separated.

392: Since a man could not separate from his concubine for this reason (the latter's unwillingness), he should be reminded explicitly that taking concubine [the point is that concubinage is NOT marriage] is sinful and is prohibited by the Church, only if the situation does not change (事势固结). If an inspection is carried out and it is found that he is pious in his attitude to God, plus that there is no other encumbrance, then the Church can accept him for baptism, but he is forbidden to hold office in the Church.⁵⁸⁰

393: Since this problem is of significant concern and complicated, rather than make a decision by itself, the local Presbytery should report to the General Synod first. Only after the General Synod's careful inspection and permission can the local Presbytery receive the sinner for baptism.⁵⁸¹

579 Article 97, *ibid*.

580 An important issue to which Porterfield also refers: not only were there degrees in allowance for divorce, there were also degrees of membership: Baptism alone, or Baptism and 'offices' – only those adhering to the highest norms may take office.

581 *Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church*, 1907.

It is interesting to compare this with the discussion of the same problem in Taiwan. In his article, Ferguson showed that polygyny (polygamy) was permitted in the Old Testament.⁵⁸²

Polygamy was tolerated and regulated in the Old Testament. It was most likely also tolerated in the apostolic church. It was one of the evils which, like slavery, was left to be gradually eradicated. The conditions of the church in the East being very similar to those of the apostolic church, we should follow the example of the early church leaders.

This allowed Ferguson to admit men who had concubine as members of the church:⁵⁸³

I would say that his secondary wife, if she had borne no children, should be given the choice of leaving her husband, he making adequate provision for her. If she be willing, then let them be separated (\approx Article 390); if unwilling, let them continue as husband and wife. If she has borne children, I should say that on no account should they be separated (\approx Article 391). I would say that such a man, if admitted, should never be allowed to take office in the church so long as he was the husband of more than one wife (\approx Article 392). I would not leave it to the local Kirk Session to decide on his admission, but let each case be decided on its own merits by the supreme court⁵⁸⁴ of the church. (\approx Article 393).⁵⁸⁵

Article 390 of the Swatow mission strongly emphasizes the preference that the emancipated concubine marries a convert, depriving her of the choice to marry a non-convert. This seems strange at first glance but it also probably should be understood as the Christian congregation taking care of this concubine. The Taiwan General Synod required the husband to make adequate provision for his ex-concubine. In its 1874 Regulations, the Basel Mission took a similar stand and ruled that “should a concubine lack sustenance before her remarriage, her ex-husband should provide her with financial help.”⁵⁸⁶ This resolution charged the ex-husband with the responsibility of taking care of the ex-concubine, at least until she could remarry.

The MEP in Chaozhou has not left any sources which would give clues to how it solved the problem of concubines in the Christian congregation. The regulations of the French Lazarist mission in the adjacent province of Jiangxi (江西) in 1879 give some ideas of what the direction might have been:⁵⁸⁷

1. If an unconverted polygynist converts and his first spouse, the only legitimate one, also converts, this

582 Ferguson, “Relation of Converted Polygamists”, pp.175-188.

583 The articles within the brackets are the same regulations as those of the EPM in Swatow.

584 The same as the general synod in Swatow.

585 Ferguson, “Relation of Converted Polygamists”, pp.187-188.

586 Article 95, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

587 “1. Si un polygame infidèle se convertit et que sa première épouse, la seule légitime, se convertisse aussi, cet homme devra rester avec sa première épouse, sans dispense ni interpellation des autres épouses, qui devront se séparer de lui, sauf si ces dernières se convertissent également.

2. Si la première épouse ne se convertit pas mais accepte de cohabiter pacifiquement et sans offense au Créateur, il devra se séparer des autres épouses.

3. Si la première épouse, toujours, refuse de se convertir et de cohabiter sans offenser le Créateur, il faudrait alors l’interpeller et si elle répond négativement aux deux questions d’usage, le mari pourrait contracter mariage avec une autre épouse catholique, en répudiant cependant ses autres épouses.

4. Enfin, ayant obtenue une dispense, ce même homme pourrait aussi choisir l’épouse qu’il préfère parmi toutes les autres, pourvu qu’elle se fasse baptizer. Mais il convient de noter dans ce cas qu’il faut interpellier la première épouse avec juste une question: veut-elle se convertir? En cas de réponse négative de la première épouse, il devra, après le baptême de celle qu’il a élue, renouveler le consentement et

man should remain together with his first spouse, without asking for the dispensation or interpellation of his other spouses, who should separate from him, except if they likewise convert.

2. If the first spouse does not convert but agrees to cohabit peaceably and does not offend the Creator, he (the husband) should separate from the other spouses.

3. If the first spouse persistently refuses to convert and cohabit without offending the Creator, he should summon her to answer questions. If her answers to the two questions which are usually asked are negative, the husband can contract a marriage with another Roman Catholic spouse, in the meantime repudiating the other spouses.

4. At last, having acquired a dispensation, that same man can also choose a spouse he prefers among all his spouses, provided that she is baptized. But it is appropriate to note that in this case that he should summon the first spouse and ask just one question: does she want to convert? Should the first spouse give a negative response, after the baptism of the one he has chosen, he should renew the consent and marry according to the rituals of the Church, having been well understood repudiated all the other spouses.

In a comparison between the regulations of the Basel Mission, the EPM and the MEP, two points stand out: all of them tolerated the presence of concubines, but in different degrees. Both the Basel Mission and EPM were tolerant towards those who had concubines before their conversion but the French Roman Catholic Mission only tolerated the existence of concubines in an all-Christian family. Under all other three circumstances, the French Roman Catholic mission implemented the principle of monogamy. It was willing to sacrifice the principle of the indissolubility of marriage to guarantee the principle of monogamy. The Basel Mission went the other way round. More interesting still, the right to decide whether or not to let a concubine go was granted to the husband in the case of the Basel Mission, to the concubine in case of the EPM and in the French Roman Catholic Mission, to the principal wife.

Mutual Respect and Love

In her work on Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries, Porterfield emphasizes that American female missionaries who were trained by Mary Lyon propagated companionship and mutuality in marriage among their new converts abroad.⁵⁸⁸ This theme was developed in greater detail by Robert, who links the way the missionaries saw their own marriages with those of the newly converted Christians. In this section, I shall trace the way in which the various missions tried to instil the ideal of “the Christian home”.⁵⁸⁹

The ABM required that husband and wife show their mutual respect and love. It decreed that a

Pépouser selon les rites de l’Eglise, en ayant, bien entendu répudié toutes les autres épouses.” *Les Facultés apostoliques et leur commentaire auxquels s’ajoute un guide à l’usage des missionnaires de la province du Kiang-Si* Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.153.

588 Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.82.

589 Dana Robert suggests that, “a major component of the missionary home that contrasted with the surrounding culture was mutual respect between husband and wife, with the missionary wife a coworker with her husband.” See Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.160. Though it refers to the missionaries, not the converts, mutual respect was also what the missionaries wanted for their converts.

couple should “treat each other with respect” (相敬如宾). The folksong “On Marriage” says “a couple should respect and love each other”. The regulation of the Basel Mission also required that “being the disciples of Jesus, a Christian couple should respect and love each other, help each other to achieve salvation”.⁵⁹⁰

The EPM emphasized the husband’s love for his wife, “The husband should love his wife as himself: loving your wife is the same as loving yourself”.⁵⁹¹ In 1916, Wan Enhong (万恩鸿), a male Christian member of the Basel Congregation, wrote that “a wife should respect and love her husband”, for “God had told women: you should love and admire your husband”.⁵⁹² In order to prove his point, he went through the Old Testament and listed many texts to show what an ideal Christian woman should do.⁵⁹³ “How a woman should treat her husband” ranked the first among the five obligations for a Christian woman.⁵⁹⁴ Wan Enhong went on to say that “a woman should exercise restraint in her love of her husband. It will cause a disaster if she indulges herself too much in her love of her husband.”⁵⁹⁵ He quotes the story in Genesis which recounts how, having been seduced by the snake, Eve asked Adam to eat the fruit on the tree of life, which angered God, whereupon they were expelled from the Garden Eden.

Confucian doctrine also requires that husband and wife should “treat each other with respect as a host treats his guest” (相敬如宾), but the Christian doctrine spoke of “the mutual affection and respect” and the equality between male and female: “male and female are equal before God”.⁵⁹⁶ The missionaries taught the Chinese that a “woman is not inferior to man as an intellectual and responsible being”.⁵⁹⁷ In 1908, a semi-monthly magazine entitled *Chao Sheng* (潮声) which was produced in Swatow published an editorial for the purpose of encouraging female education. Great emphasis was placed on the beneficial influences of the educated women on their children and the significance of this relationship for the fate of China. However, the author of this editorial, an educated man, adopted a negative path when commencing his argument. He imputed the weakness of the Qing Empire to the ignorance of women, which amounted to half of the population of China. He believed these ignorant women exerted a bad influence on the other half, the male population, including their children and neighbourhood. All of this resulted in “the debility of the nation and the corruption of local government, which caused the disdain for and oppression of the Chinese by the foreigners.”⁵⁹⁸

590 Article 87, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

591 Article 372, “夫当爱妇，犹基督舍身爱会。夫当爱妇如己，亦若是爱妇，即爱己”，*Constitution of the Chaobai Presbyterian Church*, 1907. Based on Eph 5:22-28.

592 Wan Enhong, “Virtuous models”.

593 The scriptures he quoted were: Genesis 1:28; 2:7, 18, 21-24; 3:2, 16, 20; 6:34-35; 27:6. Exodus 2:1-3. 1 Joshua 2:1. Judges 16:4. Ruth. 1:8. Samuel: 1:22; 25:18.1 Kings: 17: 12-23; 2 Kings: 4:8. Esther 4:21 (?). Proverbs 1:1-9. Song of Songs 1:7, 2:3, 16.

594 The other key points in Wan Enhong’s article are: How should a woman treat her husband’s parents? How should a woman treat her children? How should a woman treat a stranger? How should a woman be patriotic?

595 “但系爱丈夫，都爱照法。系爱过头，就有大害。”Wan Enhong, “Virtuous models”, p.3.

596 *The Mirror for the Female Christian*, Preface.

597 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.153.

598 “所以一个妇女，为歌册曲册所害，致到不正派，不明白，不知古今事，连那厝边个妇女，亦共伊平平样。还不只厝边妇女被害，连妇女个仔弟，穆伊大人个衰样，亦就平平衰去。尔想我中国四万万，除妇女之外，正存到二万万。只二万万又为妇女所教衰，算起来，中国人咁做无人就是了。无怪国家今日障衰疲，地方今日障腐败，致到被洋人看轻，被洋人

In the 1940s the Chinese sociologist Fei Xiaotong (费孝通) thought that the indifference between husband and wife in rural China (Guangxi province) was attributable to the fact that Chinese society maintained clear gender divisions. During the day, both husband and wife engaged in their own fields of labour, the man doing farm work and the woman housework. He wrote: “So far as I know, most of the couples in rural areas do not need to communicate much with each other (用不着多说话的), (in a woman’s, an interviewee of Fei Xiaotong, own words in the 1940s) ‘There is actually nothing to say’”.⁵⁹⁹ Fei Xiaotong points out that in the rural area of China, the rustic idyll of talking and laughing, tender affection and so forth existed only in groups of the same gender and age, men keeping with other men, women with women and children with children. These groups kept a distance between each other, except in matters to do with work and procreation.⁶⁰⁰ It was within this sort of social context that the Chinese cultivated the characteristic of restraining and withholding affection for the opposite sex in the public sphere.⁶⁰¹

A Chinese couple seldom called each other by their given names, as revealed in the words of two Bible-women. Aunt Luck (Du Rui, 杜瑞) recalled that her husband never called her by any name at all. When he wanted her to do anything, he said, “Here, you.”⁶⁰² Long (Ding Ling, 丁铃) said: “Chinese women do not say ‘my husband’. If they wish to speak affectionately, they say ‘the children’s father’; otherwise they simply say ‘he’.”⁶⁰³ Husband and wife ate apart. In the families of the lower classes, the men had the right to eat first and the women ate what was left, to guarantee the maintenance of “manpower” in a family by giving the male workers reasonable food.⁶⁰⁴ People seemed to forget that well-fed women bear healthy children.

The Basel Mission wanted a couple not only to show mutual respect and love at home, but also to demonstrate this in the public sphere.⁶⁰⁵ This demand was decidedly awkward for Chinese. The Bible-women of the American Baptist Church also noticed the difference in behaviour between Westerners and the Chaozhou people. Long (*Ding Ling*) recalls that “...neither did husbands and wives walk together in the street nor allow themselves to be seen in each other’s company.”⁶⁰⁶ Treasure (吴真宝), matron of the *Ming Dao* Women’s School, observed the courtesy shown towards ladies by the American and English gentlemen in Swatow, and remarked that:

(I wish) my country women were treated by their men folks with like respect. I hope within a hundred

糟蹋，被洋人欺负。” “Xing nüxue shizai yi” 《兴女学实在易》 [It is very easy to promote female education], *Chaosheng*《潮声》，in the first day of the fourth intercalary month, 1908.

599 Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, *Xiangtu zhongguo*《乡土中国》 [The Country Life in China], Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1998. p.41.

600 Ibid.

601 Ibid., p.42.

602 Aunt Luck, Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.104.

603 Ibid., p.150.

604 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.1. The custom of women eating after men and taking a food of lesser quality was considered a sign of “paganism” by the missionaries. Conversely the symbol of Christian mutual respect was husbands and wives eating together. See Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.153. Missionaries promoted this idea in Chaozhou, just as they did in other regions of the world. See Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.82.

605 “The Christian couples should show the mutual respect and love to each other, either at home or out doors.” (凡耶稣门生为夫妇者，或在家中，或出外，亦当表明相敬相爱之情。) Article 101, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

606 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, pp.150-151.

years or more, when Christianity shall have come to cleanse out hearts and change our manners, the Chinese wives may walk out with their husbands, and go with them to meetings, and that those who are married may not be ashamed to have others see that they like to talk with each other, and are good friends.⁶⁰⁷

The Bible-women Long and Speed (Lu Kuai, 陆快) tried to put Adele Fielde's instructions that a Christian couple should show their respect and love for each other in the public sphere into practice. After they became Christians, Long and her husband, Yao Zong (姚宗), attended chapel together. She kept in mind that, in the beginning, God made a man and his wife to be company for each other.⁶⁰⁸ Speed also ate with her husband and walked with him to church. But she was scolded by a woman who told her that she ought to be ashamed of herself for violating the local customs. Speed replied to her that:

Marriage was instituted by God himself, and that my own marriage was arranged for me by the elders of my family; and if my husband and myself were ashamed of having been married, then we should fail in piety and in filial duty, for we would disesteem the ordinance of God and the decision of our elders.

She went on to ask her:

If it was better for a man to go beside his wife and mother in the street, or to lead along a courtesan as so many men are proud to do, because that shows that they have money to spend. When one is ashamed of what is right, it will not be long before one is proud of doing wrong.⁶⁰⁹

Long and Speed's words reveal how they could use elements of Confucian ethics to defend the new choices they were making. Long attributed this to the "company" of husband and wife made by God, namely an equal relationship. Speed focused on the perfection of the marriage instituted by God and arranged by the elders of her family.

Models for Virtuous Women

Female missionaries everywhere were careful not to encourage too much independence and freedom among their female converts.⁶¹⁰ In China, Majorie King notes that missionaries in the Christian schools confirmed female subordination to men by discouraging women from working outside the home and concentrating on improving their traditional roles in a patriarchal system.⁶¹¹ What was the situation in Chaozhou?

All three Protestant missions were concerned about the guiding role of the husband in relation to his wife. The ABM folksong "On Marriage" says "the husband is his wife's guide" (夫是妻纲). One of

607 Miss Fielde was writing in a magazine article printed in Boston in 1888, see Helen Norton Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.120.

608 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.150.

609 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.121.

610 For instance, Fidelia Fiske, a woman missionary educated at Mount Holyoke, was critical of what she perceived to be the desire for a mastery of men expressed by Nestorian women, and she urged these Nestorian women to be more, not less, submissive to their husbands. Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, pp.82-3, something also referred to by Robert, "The 'Christian Home'", p.152. She emphasized the Christian virtue of humility as a model for women's behaviour, and a wife's submission to her husband should be based on affection rather than coercion.

611 Marjorie King, "Exporting Femininity", pp.117-136.

the EPM regulations reads: “The husband is his wife’s guide, just as Christ is the guide of the Church”.⁶¹² In 1916, Wan Enhong, a catechist who worked for the Basel Mission, wrote: “The man is a woman’s head, he exercises authority (管理) over the woman”.⁶¹³ The EPM required that “the wife should be subordinate to her husband according to the Lord’s command...she should be submissive to her husband in everything just as the whole Church of Salvation should be submissive to Christ”.⁶¹⁴ Both the ABM and the Basel Mission stressed that the wife should be the helpmeet of her husband in their family. The folksong “On Marriage” says, “a wife should assist her husband with great reverence”. When Wan Enhong said: “The wife should be her husband’s assistant”, he meant “not only physically, but that she also should take care of her husband wholeheartedly in spirit”.⁶¹⁵ Such adjurations reflect the idea of “female piety” which permeated the Victorian period, when women were believed by evangelicals to have a more moral and submissive nature than men. Women seemed especially suited to providing children with moral instruction and being the ‘glue’ which held the family together in a time of social upheaval.⁶¹⁶

The woman missionaries went beyond simply promoting the idea of “the husband guiding the wife, the wife submitting to and serving the husband”, they actually stressed the self-denial and self-sacrifice of a Christian wife. Porterfield’s research on India indicates that the belief in the importance of women’s devotion to patriarchal family structures was something which missionaries and Hindus held in common.⁶¹⁷ In an introduction to the book *Memoir of Mrs Lucy T. Lord, of the Chinese Baptist Mission*, William Dean wrote that he regarded Mrs Lord as a model of a missionary wife:

Those who labor to render their home a heaven, and their husband happy by lightening his cares, training his children, soothing his sorrow, sympathizing in his success, and lending their counsel and co-operation in his duties, may be said, in the highest sense, to perform the missionary work of a missionary’s wife.⁶¹⁸

The missionary wife and mother was regarded as the core of a Christian home, being the “glue” which held the family together in a time of social upheaval,⁶¹⁹ and this attribute was also expected of the women in the new Christian family. Speed, a Bible-woman trained by Adele M. Fielde in 1870s, revealed her ideas about the local Christian family:

A family is like a tub,⁶²⁰ it cannot be one unless all the parts are in place. The hoops support the staves, and the staves support the hoops; and if either portion fails in its duty, the whole is scattered. It is only when each member is staunch, firm and in correct position, that the household is complete. The wife and mother is like [sic] the hoops of the tub, when she fails to hold her proper place there is a breaking up of the whole.

612 Article 372, “夫为妇纲，犹基督为会纲”，*Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church*, 1907.

613 Wan Enhong, “Virtuous models”, p.3.

614 Article 372, “妇从主命，当顺其夫。……教会全体，会服基督。妇凡事服夫，亦宜如是”，*Constitution of the Chaohui Presbyterian Church*, 1907.

615 “为肉身爱来帮手，为灵魂更过爱合心来关顾。” See Wan Enhong, “Virtuous models”, p.3.

616 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.137.

617 Porterfield, *Mary Lyon*, p.88.

618 Lucy T. Lord, Edward Clemens Lord, *Memoir of Mrs Lucy T. Lord, of the Chinese Baptist Mission*, Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1854. Introduction by William Dean, as quoted in Dana Robert, *American Women Mission*, p.73.

619 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.137.

620 A utensil made of wooden planks used mainly for taking a bath. It is called “*Jiao tong*” (脚桶) in Cha Zhou dialect.

She should, therefore, be honoured for her usefulness.⁶²¹

The gender division which demanded that the wife sacrifice herself for her husband by taking care of the household, thereby allowing her husband to pursue success in his career and in society, can be dated back to the Industrial Revolution, when evangelical Christians saw men and women as having essentially different natures. The man's proper sphere was the world of work, in which he earned wages. The woman's sphere, on the other hand, took her out of the competition for wages by centering her in the home.⁶²² The ABM underscored the self-sacrifice of wife to husband the most, representing the mid-nineteenth century ethic of the middle-class American women which has been called "The Cult of True Womanhood" by Barbara Welter. This ideal was characterized by the cardinal virtues of "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity."⁶²³ It is understandable that not a few woman missionaries who taught in the Christian schools at the turn of the century affirmed female subordination to men by discouraging Chinese women from working outside the home and confirming their traditional roles in a patriarchal system.⁶²⁴

The self-sacrifice of a Christian wife serving the achievements of her husband was very similar to what the Confucian gentry required of a wife in a male-dominated society. But why should a Christian wife comply? In 1916, Wan Enhong of the Basel Mission paraphrased the ideas which were prevalent among the common people: "Because women are weak intrinsically, they cannot stand up and take charge of anything".⁶²⁵ He agreed with this. He carried the matter further, stressing the significance of the husband honouring his wife: "The wife has prestige if her husband is together with her/supports her."⁶²⁶ This tied in well with the dictum "A wife's honour increases as her husband's position rises" (妻以夫贵), which was so deeply rooted in the minds of the Chinese in the past and even still is nowadays.

The ABM and the Basel Mission sought justification in the same scriptures when discussing a woman's virtues. In 1916 Wan Enhong based his analysis on Proverbs 31:10-29. Sixty-two years later, Lu Renmin, a Baptist minister in Hong Kong, did so too, referring to "each word of the Proverbs as a precious gem of pearl and jade (字字珠玑), a mirror for the women of the future generations to treasure...as precious as a cup of cool water to a thirsty man."⁶²⁷ The ideas propagated by the ABM and Basel Mission had an exceptionally long life.

Within a manner which greatly resembled the teachings of Confucian ethics, the harmony of the couple was promoted by both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in China. "On the Couple" in *First Steps in the True Doctrine* (真道入门) says a couple should suit each other well (合宜), so as to

621 Stevens, *Memorial Biography*, p.121.

622 Robert, "The 'Christian Home'", p.136.

623 Ibid., p.139.

624 King, "Exporting Fertility, Not Feminism", pp.117-136; Robert, "The 'Christian Home'", p.155.

625 "因为女人生来就系软弱, 自己唔出得头来做乜嘢事。" Wan Enhong, "Virtuous models", p.3.

626 "丈夫系还在, 妇女就有面。俗话讲, 一日有夫千日贵。丈夫系唔在, 妇女就好唔方便。" Ibid.

627 *Xianggang jinxinjiaobui funi liushi zhounian jnian tekan* 《香港浸信教会妇女部六十周年纪念特刊》 [Special Issue on the Women Council of the Baptist Church in Hong Kong], Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist Church, 1978. p.5.

inherit eternal mutual blessings.⁶²⁸ The folksong “On Marriage” sang about how “bound by a common cause to live till an old age, they (the couple) find each other congenial and cling to one another as glue”.⁶²⁹ The Basel Mission even passed a regulation to guarantee the harmony of a Christian couple. It read: “Harmony is of great significance between husband and wife, thus they should restrain themselves when they come to disagreement in opinion. They should not burst with anger and curse each other. If harmony is lost between a couple, then the pastor, evangelist, or elder should instruct them leniently and soberly, persuading them to get along well again with each other. If the couple do not follow the instruction, still keep quarreling, then it would be better to dismiss them from the Holy Church (圣会)”.⁶³⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a perspective on the changes in attitude to marriage in Chaozhou. The Protestant and the Roman Catholic missions shared the same themes. When the American, Scottish,⁶³¹ German and French missionaries entered this region in the mid-nineteenth century, they tried to institutionalize contractual marriage among the first two generations of converts and then created a religious environment in which the younger church members could internalize the notion of covenant marriage. The spread of “Christian marriage” was a significant cultural revolution in China.

However, the emphases in each mission were different. The Basel Mission, the English Presbyterian Mission and the French Roman Catholic Mission each tolerated the presence of concubines but in different ways. The Basel Mission and the EPM accepted men who already had concubines before their conversion as church members but the French Roman Catholic Mission accepted the concubines only in an all-Christian family. Another difference is found in the way the three missions allowed for the dismissal of a concubine. The Basel Mission deemed that it was up to the husband to decide. The EPM gave rights to the concubine and the French Roman Catholic Mission left this choice to the principal wife. These differences can be explained chiefly by the different views Roman Catholics and Protestants had on marriage. In all churches, monogamy was seen as essential to divinely instituted marriage, but in the Roman Catholic Church marriage was and is seen as one of the seven sacraments and confirmed in Heaven. This belief made divorce impossible, not just sinful as it is regarded in the Protestant churches. The different views of Roman Catholics and Protestants on marriage seem to have led the Roman Catholics to value the first marriage, including the wife, higher than the others. When it is all said and done, it is not surprising that the Basel Mission gave priority to the man’s decision, because its missionaries were known for their patriarchal outlook. The EPM showed more sympathy to the concubine as the weaker party who suffered most from the concubinage.

628 “同嗣永生之福者”, Dean, *First Steps in the True Doctrine*, “On the Couple”.

629 “一体相关同白首, 情投意合若胶然”, “On Marriage”, *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God*, no.91.

630 Article 104, *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, 1874.

631 Most missionaries of the EPM came from Scotland.

More research is needed to understand the details.

Hu Weiqing has complained that, “in modern China, the churches who took female emancipation as their own responsibility did not achieve real equality between both sexes within the Christian communities.”⁶³² He might have been expecting too much of the churches. What the woman missionaries taught the local women was a particular type of femininity, not feminism.⁶³³ On the basis of the common ground requiring women’s submission to male authority, the emancipation which the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions brought to the Hoklo and Hakka women helped arouse their self-awareness and assisted them in raising their self-esteem about their position in the household.⁶³⁴ The time was not yet ripe for equal rights.

632 Hu, “The Mode of Misery”, p.303.

633 King, “Exporting Femininity”, pp.117-136. See Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.155.

634 Jessie Lutz had mentioned this point, see *Hakka Chinese*, p.184.

CHAPTER SIX: MARITAL PRACTICE IN THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATION

Introduction

The theme of the current chapter is to explore how the missions handled those cases in which the members of their congregations were not able to conform to the newly introduced high ideals about the Christian marriage. The synodal records of the English Presbyterian churches in Swatow from 1881 to the 1940s form the main sources of this chapter because they contain many cases of bigamy, divorce, concubinage, the custom of taking small daughters-in-law and so on. This also allows me to compare the Presbyterian practices with Elizabeth Poujoulat's research on marriage in the French Roman Catholic parishes in China. I shall demonstrate how a flexible handling of the marriage practices was needed to confront the various problems with which the Chinese converts struggled in their family life.

The English Presbyterian congregations held regular synods on different levels beginning in 1881, in which foreign missionaries and Chinese ministers and elders participated. According to Wu Guowei (吴国维), a minister of this Church in the 1940s, the first constitution of the English Presbyterian church, which included the regulations on "the nuptial and funerary rituals", was drafted at the same time the synod system was established in 1881. Therefore the three constitutions of the English Presbyterian Church in the Chaozhou region will also be consulted. The original marriage regulations are no longer available, but most of them were taken over in the church constitution of 1907. The original forms can be traced via various cases in the synod records and it is interesting to see what new marital problems emerged as time went by. Numerous cases of illicit marital practice occurred between the 1880s and 1934, but from the mid-1930s these become very few and far between. It is reasonable to conclude that by then, after more than fifty years of discussion, the marital regulations of the English Presbyterian Church had been fully established.

Before discussing the details of the controversies, it is essential to sketch the wider context of marriage and the relevant regulations under the Qing dynasty and in the Republican era. The Qing Dynasty reached its end in 1911, but the marriage laws of the *Codes of the Qing Empire* continued to be in force until 1930. Three drafts of marriage laws were compiled in 1909, 1915 and 1926, all of which were based mainly on the *Codes of the Qing Empire*. None was ever put into effect owing to contemporary social unrest stirred up by the machinations of the warlords.⁶³⁵ In the meantime, during the heyday of the Nationalist and Emancipation Movements in China, which lasted from 1924 to 1927,⁶³⁶ very similar laws were put into practice by the Swatow Intermediate Synod and the General Synod. They revised the relevant regulations in order to grant women (including woman missionaries

635 Wang Xinyu, *Study on the Modernization*, pp.42-43, p.47.

636 *Ibid.*, p.46.

and local Christian women) suffrage in the church.⁶³⁷ The value of women was stressed and this concern was reflected at the end of long-term discussions about the prohibition the sale and purchase of under-age daughters-in-law in the Presbyterian congregation. Consequently, the English Presbyterian Church can be said to have been a pioneer in promoting the equality of men and women, a matter in which the Qing government lagged behind, and was also more effective than the Beiyang Warlord Government in Beijing (北洋政府, 1915-1926) in putting the new ideas about marriage into practice.

This is not to say that change was not in the air. In January 1926, the second congress of the Kuo Min Tang passed a Resolution on the Women's Emancipation Movement, which proposed confirming the equality of men and women and the principle of absolute freedom in marriage and divorce by law. The new marriage law of the Nanjing Government was passed in 1930 and continued to be in force until its downfall in 1949.⁶³⁸ Meanwhile, the Chao-Hui Presbyterian Church (潮惠长老大会) was integrated into the Church of Christ in China (中华基督教会全国总会) in 1927⁶³⁹ and changed its name into "Lingdong General Synod" (岭东大会). By then, the 1907 constitution was no longer appropriate to the new circumstances in the Church.⁶⁴⁰ On October 25, 1927, Zeng Huimin (曾惠民) of the Swatow District Synod appealed to the Lingdong General Synod to revise the 1907 constitution. This process lasted from 1927 to 1933, six years in total.⁶⁴¹ The new constitution was put into circulation in 1934.

Although the 1934 church constitution inherited most of the marriage regulations of the 1907 church constitution, in practice it was based mainly on the constitution of the Church of Christ in China.⁶⁴² In 1940s, the Lingdong General Synod again began to revise the 1934 constitution so as to "meet the demands of the new era". Zheng Shaohuai (郑少怀) was the man entrusted with this task. He consulted the contemporary constitutions of various other Protestant denominations in China as well as the previous constitution of the Lingdong General Synod. The new church constitution which appeared in 1948⁶⁴³ was thought to "fit to the modern thought and practice".⁶⁴⁴ Its layout was quite different to the church constitutions of 1907 and 1934. It goes without saying that the regulations on Christian marriage also underwent changes when the church constitutions were revised. Generally the

637 June 13, 1922; October 24, 1922, April 29, 1924, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Synod; June 19 1923, May 6, 1924, Records of the General Synod. Article 89, "Christian women could be elected as elder or deacon"; Constitution of the English Presbyterian Mission (1907). Articles 208 and 330, "woman missionaries who had been elected as deacons could attend the General Synod and the Supreme Synod together with the male missionaries, the local pastors and deacons", *ibid.* Wu Guowei, Zeng Xizhen (曾席珍) and Qiu Jiaxiu (邱家修) contributed to the revision of these regulations.

638 Wang, *Study on the modernization*, p.46.

639 The Ecumenical Church of Christ in China emerged from the National Christian Conference in 1922, it was a Sino-foreign body with a significant degree of Chinese leadership and responsibility, which eventually had a membership of about a quarter of the Protestant Christian community. See Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937", Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996. p.308.

640 *Zhonghua jidujiaohui lingdong dabui huiqiang* 《中华基督教会岭东大会会章（暂行试用）》 [Constitution of the Lingdong Council, the Church of Christ in China (probational)], 1948. Preface by Wu Guowei (吴国维), p.15.

641 Both the prefaces of the 1934 and 1948 constitutions recorded that the General Synod started to revise the 1907 constitution in 1928. Hu Weiqing made a mistake to say that the second constitution came out in 1928 and reprinted in 1934. See Hu & Yao, "Between Sanctity and Secularity", p.17, Note 28.

642 *Zhonghua jidujiaohui lingdong dabui gongli* 《中华基督教会岭东大会公例》 [Constitution of the Lingdong Council, the Church of Christ in China], Shantou: Shengjiao shuju, 1934. "Preface".

643 *Constitution of the Lingdong Council* (1948), p.22.

644 *Ibid.*, "Preface", by Wu Guowei.

church constitutions (1907, 1934, 1948) did not bear the marks of the civil laws but belonged to the church juridical system, though sometimes the missionaries would resort to the civil laws for help in solving some complicated cases.

Bigamy

The primary marital problem frequently confronted by the Church leaders was bigamy. Before commencing a discussion, it is essential to clarify this point first: the modern concept of *Chong hun* (重婚, double marriages, i.e. “bigamy”) was not used in this period. The *Codes of the Qing Empire* describe cases which fall into this category as *you qi geng qu qi* (有妻更娶妻), “a man who has a wife marries a second wife” and both these wives had an equal position in the household. Even though the Codes gave the husband the right to marry a concubine, who was considered an inferior secondary wife, they forbade him to marry a second wife with a position equal to the first one.⁶⁴⁵ Because of the fact that so many men worked abroad, the problem of bigamy was rife in the Chaozhou region, among the Christians and non-Christians alike. Often the male emigrant workers had two households (二头家), one in Chaozhou and one elsewhere in the South-East Asia. Since the Codes gave the wife no right to divorce her husband, all she could do under these circumstances was to accept the fact and wait for her absent husband to return to her. In 1906, Duncan Ferguson in Tainan city in Taiwan noted that usually it was the chief wife herself “who connived at the marriage of the secondary wife”.⁶⁴⁶ Some women personally looked for a concubine to keep her “lonely” husband who was living far away from home company. They did so because they espoused the traditional female virtue that a wife should take care of her husband. If she could not fulfil her duty because they did not live together, she should look for a concubine to take her place.⁶⁴⁷ The law of bigamy in the Codes did not consider a case in which a woman married two husbands (polyandry). However, it seems that under the influence of the new Christian ideas about marriage, some grass widows were no longer willing to wait for their absent husbands to return to them. They hoped to contract better marriages within the Christian congregation, which caused a flux of cases in which a male Christian married a woman who already had a husband (albeit thousands of miles away). In the Presbyterian congregation, the phrases *qu you fu zhi fu* (娶有夫之妇, a man marries a woman who has husband) and *jia you fu zhi fu* (嫁有妇之夫, a woman marries a man who has wife) were used to indicate these cases of bigamy. Although the Christian churches forbade both types of bigamy, nearly all of the cases of bigamy in this congregation concerned the former.

In the early 1880s, the General Synod received Donald MacIver’s (纪多纳) report that Qui

645 《大清律例通考》，卷十，户律婚姻，妻妾失序律文：“若有妻更娶妻者亦杖九十，后娶之妻离异，归宗。” See also Fielde, *A Corner of Cathay*, p.28.

646 Ferguson, “Relation of Converted Polygamists”, p.186.

647 The wife of Qi Baishi (齐白石) was typical of them. Qi was a famous contemporary Chinese painter. When he began his painting career in Beijing in 1919, his wife travelled a thousand miles to Beijing from his hometown Xiangtan (湘潭) in Hunan province, in order to arrange a concubine for her husband to fulfil her duties as a wife.

Azhong (邱阿忠) of the Luoxi (螺溪) church, in Hetian (河田) district, had not only married a woman who already had a husband, he also observed heathen customs (屡染俗务). The General Synod decided to expel Qui Azhong from the church.⁶⁴⁸ Not much later, on October 15, 1884, Lin Fang (林芳) reported to the General Synod that Aunt Shun (顺姑), wife of Lin Tian (林田) in the Mianhu (棉湖) church, had left her husband and married another man. George Smith (施饶理) sent Hur L. Mackenzie (金护尔), John Campbell Gibson (汲约翰) and Donald MacIver, three foreign missionaries, and Sun Guifeng (孙桂峰) and Peng Qifeng (彭启峰), two local elders, to carry out a joint investigation at the Mianhu Presbytery.⁶⁴⁹ On May 6, 1885, Gibson reported that, in view of the “grave sin” committed in this case, they should not make a hasty decision. Sun Guifeng and Peng Qifeng were therefore sent to Mianhu again, where they would work in collaboration with the local Presbytery to resolve the matter.⁶⁵⁰ Five months later, John Gibson announced the judgement: the Mianhu Presbytery forbade Lin Tian’s wife to attend the liturgy and persuaded her to return to her original husband. She promised that she would try her best to obey this instruction.⁶⁵¹ Sketchy records prevent me from investigating the actual situation which made it so difficult for Aunt Shun to go back to her ex-husband, but this is the first case which indicates that a Christian woman tried to get rid of her husband and marry another man.

The rulings in these two cases clearly illustrate the attitude of the English Presbyterian Mission to bigamy in the early stages of its work. In a nutshell, attempts were made to maintain the purity of marriage and to gainsay bigamy among converts. Nevertheless, cases of bigamy continued to emerge. Could those who transgressed be re-admitted to the Church after they repented? Since regulations on this sort of situation were absent, Peng Song (彭松) asked the General Synod for advice. Guan Jicheng (官集成) proposed entrusting Donald MacIver, seconded by P. J. Maclagan (安饱德), Peng Qifeng, Lin Fang, Sun Guifeng, Lin Qi (林起), with this task.⁶⁵² One year later, on May 3, 1893, Donald MacIver handed in the regulation on bigamy.⁶⁵³ It read:

Before believing in the doctrine [i.e. before conversion, CXy], a catechumen might have exhibited the following behaviour: a man might take⁶⁵⁴ a woman who has a husband, or a woman might marry a man who has a wife, or a woman might get rid of her husband and “remarry”, or a man might discard his wife and “remarry” and so on. These circumstances are complicated and impinge greatly on the reputation of the church. Hence in the event of such behavior occurring, the Presbytery of the local church should make a thorough investigation and hand the cases over to the General Synod for judgement. A convert who indulges in such conduct, or induces someone else to do so, should be excluded from attending the liturgy (禁

648 On May 6, 1885, Records of the General Synod, C282, the Shantou Municipal Archives.

649 On October 15, 1884, *ibid.*

650 On May 6, 1885, *ibid.*

651 “汲约翰等覆其经与棉湖长老会同行办理林田嫂之事，已禁其晚餐，并劝之归其原夫。彼有许欲设法遵行。” On October 14, 1885, *ibid.*

652 On May 4, 1892, *ibid.*

653 On May 3, 1893, *ibid.*

654 “The Chinese say that a woman marries, while a man takes a wife”, see Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.33.

隔), and his case should be reported to the General Synod for judgment.⁶⁵⁵

This regulation concerns both those who wanted to be admitted to the Church and those who were already members. It reveals that the General Synod obviously did not welcome bigamists among its inquirers (aspiring converts) or converts and that the first punishment meted out to a convert who violated this regulation was exclusion from Communion (ex-communication). However, there was leeway for the members of the General Presbytery to make their own decisions according to specific circumstances. The following cases should make this point clearer.

On April 21, 1897, Peng Qifeng reported that Huang Zhengming (黄郑明) of the Fengkou (枫口) church had married a woman who had a husband. John Steele (池约翰), Huang Shouting (黄寿亭) and Lin Zhangzao (林章造) were sent by Donald MacIver to investigate this matter.⁶⁵⁶ Nearly a year later, Lin Fang reported that Huang Zhengming should not be excluded from the church for the following two reasons:

1. Although the husband of the woman whom Huang Zhengming had married had not yet passed away, he can never return home because he is a bandit and has been driven into exile. Having been cheated once, this woman now rids herself of such a husband, hence her sin is lighter compared to those who discard their husbands simply to remarry. Hence, whoever marries her also commits only a venial sin.
2. Huang Zhengming deeply regrets his sin. He is more enthusiastic about serving God than before, hence he cannot be banned from the Holy church.

It turned out that the previous husband of Huang Zhengming's bride could never return home as a result of the ruthless pacification campaign launched by General Fang Yao (方耀) in 1870 in order to restore peace in the Chaozhou region after the Taiping Rebellion (1848-1865).⁶⁵⁷ Lin Fang went on to propose that, if Huang Zhangming were to come to the church for communion, provided he sincerely repented and had advanced along the road to Heaven, the Fengkou Presbytery could permit him to do so.⁶⁵⁸ In this particular case, the fate of this unfortunate woman as a grass widow and the growing fervour of Huang Zhengming allowed the General Synod to pardon him and allow their marriage. Whether the marriage was celebrated or solemnized in church has to remain a mystery because of the lack of sources.

However, if the original husband of a remarried woman could be reached, the marriage would be allowed only if he himself (the ex-husband) had remarried. On March 9, 1904, John Gibson reported that Cai Judi (蔡居弟) of the Longzhi (陇子) Church had been excluded from the church a long time ago for marrying a woman who already had a husband. Though recognizing his sin but not wanting a

655 Article 386, *Constitution of the English Presbyterian Mission* (1907).

违法嫁娶: 386: 凡未信道时曾娶有夫之妇或妇人嫁有妇之夫以及脱夫另嫁、弃妇另娶与凡类此等事者, 其中关系重大, 层折甚多, 故各堂会倘遇有此等事端, 该长老会务必彻底详察, 禀明大会察核主裁。至于会内男女若有犯此等事者, 与凡引诱人为此事者, 均宜禁隔, 并当禀明大会分别办理。

656 On April 21, 1897, Records of the General Synod, the Shantou Municipal Archives

657 Lee, *The Bible and the Gun*, pp.14-16. See also Chen Liming, "The Penetration of the Foreign Culture", p.298.

658 On May 4, 1898, *ibid*.

divorce, Cai hoped he could be re-admitted to the church. Lin Fang asked the itinerant clergyman to investigate whether the ex-husband of this wife had remarried because, if he had done so, Cai Judi could be re-admitted.⁶⁵⁹ The answer came five months later: the original husband had not remarried, therefore John Gibson dared not re-admit Cai. The General Synod accepted Xie Youpeng's (谢友朋) proposal that the clergyman should be given the discretion to solve this case according to its specific circumstance.⁶⁶⁰ Was Cai was re-admitted in the end? The records are silent. However, this case is significant because it shows that Donald MacIver's regulation on bigamy was implemented flexibly: even if the sin of bigamy was confirmed, there was still leeway for the clergy to determine whether to re-admit an excluded convert depending on his moral behaviour. Whatever the final outcome, usually the sinner would be excluded pending the Presbytery's final judgement. This required a period of inspection which could last many years. Qiu Azhong, who committed bigamy in the early 1880s and was excluded in 1885, still attended worship in church regularly for nearly twenty years and, on several occasions, implored the synod to be re-admitted as a full member.⁶⁶¹ In 1900, Peng Qifeng entrusted Qiu Azhong's case to a minister.⁶⁶² The result of this meeting was uncertain. The cases of Qiu (1885) and Cai (1904) show the attitude of the General Synod, especially the attitudes of the foreign missionaries, moderated from severe to tolerant. If the decision to dismiss of Qiu Azhong had been made quickly by Donald MacIver in 1885, twenty years later John Gibson thought the judgement on Wei Xihua's case should be considered carefully.⁶⁶³

As has been pointed out by Hu Weiqing,⁶⁶⁴ the eleven cases of bigamy which occurred between 1881 and 1907, all concern bigamy by women, not by men. Only three cases concerned bigamy by men, one in 1912 and two more in the early 1930s.⁶⁶⁵ One rather tantalizing question is why so many women who already had husbands were still courted by other men. Hu suggests the fact that Christian women discarded their husbands and remarried is an evidence of the autonomy they acquired in marriage.⁶⁶⁶ Importantly, I believe these cases should be contextualized within the long-standing tradition of overseas emigration in this region. Huang Zhengming's case reveals one of the reasons. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, many young Chaozhou men went to South-East Asia in search of a job. The wives of these emigrant workers had to wait at home for their husbands, because Chinese women were forbidden to accompany their husbands abroad by the Qing government. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century was this ban on the emigration of women overseas revoked. Nevertheless, in most circumstances husbands who earned a living abroad preferred their wives to remain at home to take care of their family and venerate the husband's ancestors. These wives who

659 On March 9, 1904, *ibid.*

660 On August 26, 1904, *ibid.*

661 On May 3, 1899, *ibid.*

662 On May 1, 1900, *ibid.*

663 Wei was a convert of the Jieyang Church. He was excluded because of bigamy. The church considered whether to readmit him on May 13, 1905 Records of the General Synod.

664 Hu, "The Mode of Misery", p.300.

665 Zhu Juhua (朱菊花) in Liushaxu (流沙墟), Puning district, on October 1, 1912; Cai Chunfu (蔡春福) in Outing (鸥汀), Chenghai district, on April 28, 1931; Cai Zongguang (蔡宗光) in Longjiang (隆江), Chaoyang district, on April 26, 1932.

666 Hu, "The Mode of Misery", p.300.

were left behind counted themselves fortunate if they received regular remittances sent from abroad by their husbands. Many received no news from their husbands for years or even never heard from them again. This made them poverty-stricken grass widows who had to look elsewhere for ways to support themselves and their families.

Like the Protestant Church, the Roman Catholic Church also insisted on the indissolubility of marriage and forbade bigamy. It too allowed the remarriage of grass widows under certain conditions, a fact which emerges from the following regulation dating back to 1865:

The bonds include that of marriage by which the couple contracts between them that, while one of the two is still alive, neither of them (if they are Christians) can contract a valid marriage with another party; however, if one of the couple is absent for a long time, the other is allowed to marry licitly, as this is a vested fact that the previous spouse is dead.⁶⁶⁷

In this case, on the remarriage of a grass widow, a witness should swear an oath affirming that he had witnessed the death of the first spouse, as Poujoulat points out.⁶⁶⁸ Does this imply that the Roman Catholic Church allowed people to “assume” that the earlier partner was dead without actual proof, and then allow women to remarry? Such a hypothesis requires further research.

Partly on account of the transmission of new Christian ideas about marriage, partly because of the Women’s Emancipation Movement in the 1920s, some of the wives in Chaozhou were no longer willing to wait for their absent husbands. As a result, cases of bigamy were a frequent occurrence in the Presbyterian congregation before 1948. In the 1948 constitution of this church, the modern Chinese terminology, *chong hun* (重婚, double marriages), was used for bigamy. Although the new regulation still required that those who committed bigamy should be dismissed from the church, a new point was added: if the problem of bigamy has been solved legally,⁶⁶⁹ providing that the guilty party and his or her family still follow the Christian doctrines fervently, he or she could be re-admitted into the church after a certain period.⁶⁷⁰

Divorce

In the previous chapter, it was shown that the indissolubility of marriage was a very important tenet to the Christian missions but that, under certain circumstances, the regulations of the Basel Mission did allow a divorce. At this juncture, it would be instructive to examine some divorce cases which occurred in the English Presbyterian congregation. Between 1894 and 1904, six cases of divorce were recorded among the converts. Like the concept of *chong hun* (bigamy), the concept of *li hun* (离婚, “divorce”) was

667 “Par lien est compris le lien du mariage par lequel les conjoints se lient ainsi entre eux afin que, tant que l’un des deux est vivant, ni l’un ni l’autre (s’ils sont chrétiens) ne pourrait contracter un mariage valide avec quelqu’un d’autre; mais cependant, si un des conjoints est absent pendant longtemps, l’autre est admis à se remarier licitement, lorsque c’est un fait établi que le premier conjoint est mort.” *Les Facultés apostoliques et leur commentaire auxquels s’ajoute un guide à l’usage des missionnaires de la province du Kiang-Si* (1879), see Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.135.

668 “Il faudra donc qu’un témoin affirme sous serment avoir vu le premier conjoint mort”, *ibid.*, p.135.

669 The ideal solution was that a male or female Christian should separate from his/her second wife/husband.

670 *Constitution of the Lingdong Council* (1948), p.22.

not used during this period. Phrases like *qi fu ling qu* (弃妇另娶, namely “to discard one’s wife and marry another”) or *tuo fu ling jia* (脱夫另嫁, “to get rid of one’s husband and marry another”) were used instead of the term for divorce.

On June 20, 1894, after a co-investigation of the remarriage of Chen Chi (陈赐) by John Gibson and the Mianhu Presbytery, the secretary of the General Synod proposed that,⁶⁷¹

1. The Lord the Savior has said explicitly that those who discard their wife and marry another, commit adultery. But there is an exception: this couple has been separated for eight years, and can not reconcile despite the exhortation to do so by the local headmen and their relatives. Neither did Chen Chi legally state his departure (辞别, divorce) to his ex-wife, nor did he inform the pastor and elders. Furthermore, after the explicit reproach of the pastor, he still refused to obey the instructions but followed his own will. Such behavior violates the regulations, and therefore he should be excommunicated.
2. We should regard the marriage between Chen Chi and Cai Ruo (蔡若) as dissolved.
3. We should ask Chen Chi to give Cai Ruo a written statement explicating the rupture of their marriage.
4. We should entrust the General Synod to order Chen Chi and Cai Ruo to draft a stipulation that there are no more material bonds among them.
5. We should entrust the General Synod to ask both parties to spare and forgive each other, and not hate each other.

Two copies of this resolution were made. One copy was entrusted to the deputy of the Mianhu Presbytery (Li Zaizao, 李再造, an elder) to be handed over to Chen Chi. The other copy was given to John Gibson, a minister, to pass on to Cai Ruo. Cai promised to obey when she received this resolution,⁶⁷² but Chen Chi was not satisfied. He tried to bluff his way out saying that his ex-wife had deserted him and therefor he demanded compensation from her. Only then did the General Synod order the Mianhu Presbytery to dismiss him from the church.⁶⁷³

Three points emerge from the solution of this case. The first is that it was important to clarify who was at fault: did the husband discard his wife and remarry, or had he been left by his wife? Secondly, the traditional method of “divorce”, when a husband handed over a *xin shu* (休书, a written statement) to his wife, was still practised. Thirdly, a new measure which involved the making of a joint stipulation was brought in. This helped to protect the rights of both parties, especially those of the wife. Nevertheless, Chen Chi claimed that he was the victim, and followed neither the traditional nor the new divorce procedure; therefore, he was doomed to be dismissed from the church. Cai Ruo, with the support of the church, was freed from the arbitrary treatment of her husband.

Although not as obstreperous as Chen Chi, other male converts shared a similar dominant mentality: they divorced their wives citing the traditional “seven justifying causes”. In 1902, Yang Xingsheng (杨兴盛) of the Denggang (登冈) Church divorced his wife for theft.⁶⁷⁴ Two years later, in

671 On June 20, 1894, Records of the General Synod.

672 On October 3, 1894, *ibid.*

673 On October 2, 1895, *ibid.*

674 On May 2, 1902, *ibid.*

the same church Wang Qianshu (王谦书) divorced his wife Hong (洪氏) after accusing her of adultery.⁶⁷⁵ In the first case, the General Presbytery immediately decided to excommunicate Yang Xingsheng and his father, who supported his son. The involvement of both the General and Local Presbytery achieved a positive result: both Yang Xingsheng and his father repented and pleaded to be re-admitted by the church. The case of Wang Qianshu and Lady Hong did not have such a happy ending. After a careful inquiry, John Gibson reported the results of investigation as follows:

1. Wang Qianshu charges that his wife has committed adultery with someone else, but there is no substantial evidence to prove this; Lady Hong charges her husband for contriving a plot to accuse her, but the man says that he had no such an intention.
2. Wang Zhake (王乍可), an old friend of Qianshu, has entered freely in the latter's house day and night since a long time ago. Wang Qianshu's parents were not alerted by this. If this woman has a secret affair with Zhake, it is also the fault of Wang Qianshu's parents. This woman should not be accused of everything.
3. After hearing of this scandal, Qianshu's father did not make an investigation, but agreed with his son's arbitrary decision to marry off his daughter-in-law before a resolution of the General Synod had been passed. What Qianshu did is arbitrary, and he has not given a penny to provide Lady Hong with basic necessities.

Gibson therefore proposed the following resolution: Wang Qianshu should take his wife, Lady Hong, back and the latter should be willing to return to her husband's home. Both parties should be reconciled and achieve a degree of harmony which would be above suspicion, so as to enjoy a blissful family life together. The proposal for the remarriage would not be entertained since this deviated from the right way/orthodox path (正道).⁶⁷⁶ Although the couple was informed of the resolution, there was no reply⁶⁷⁷ until more than one and a half years later. On March 25, 1906, Wang Qianshu sent a letter to the General Synod saying that he could not obey the resolution decreeing that he should take Lady Hong back. The General Synod condemned his stubborn attitude and reminded this couple once again that the marital bond between the two parties had not yet been broken, and therefore that both should follow the true doctrine. Since the attitude and resolution of the General Synod had been clearly spelled out, it decided that this ended the discussion of this case.⁶⁷⁸ However, the same case was re-opened one year later, because of a petition by a female convert, whose identity was not recorded. Such a happening was quite unusual before the 1920s when all the deputies of the General Synod were men. This petition revealed that Wang Qianshu had repudiated his wife and had remarried a certain Lady Guo (郭氏) in the October of the previous year (1906).⁶⁷⁹ Four months later, after hearing the relevant persons, P. J. Maclagan reported that it was Wang Qianshu who had broken his marital bond

675 On August 26, 1904, *ibid.*

676 On August 26, 1904, *ibid.*

677 On September 6, 1905, *ibid.*

678 On March 25, 1906, *ibid.*

679 On April 17, 1907, *ibid.*

with Lady Hong and consequently the General Synod decided to expel Wang from the church.⁶⁸⁰ The church lost a convert and Lady Hong was repudiated by her husband because of suspected adultery. Faced with having to deal with such a putatively disreputable wife, Wang Qianshu had resorted to the seven justifying causes without hesitation. What eventually happened to Lady Hong? There is no clue whatsoever but one point is for sure: she was repudiated by her husband. The solution to these two cases reveals that, compared to theft, one of the seven accusations which could be used to divorce a wife, adultery was much more harmful to the reputation of a woman.

The cases discussed so far were between Christians. The following case shows how the Presbyterians dealt with a case between a Christian and a non-converted partner. On March 9, 1904, a special case was brought to the attention of the General Synod by the deputy from Fushan (浮山). In Huanggang (黄冈) Church, Zheng Qing (郑青) had a wife who had practised abstinence since she married him. She had been unwilling to cohabit with him for seventeen years. Could their marriage be dissolved and could Zheng Qing remarry? Considering the rarity and complex nature of this case, P. J. Maclagan proposed entrusting John Gibson, Liu Zerong (刘泽荣), Guan Jicheng and Zang Chengbo (詹承波) with the task of asking them to fathom the doctrines in the Bible (考求圣经道理) and give an answer at the next Synod.⁶⁸¹ Half a year later, Gibson specified the admonishments they had tried in his report:

After being dispatched in the Autumn Synod last year, Zang Chengbo, in the company of a group of sisters from Fushan Church, tried to admonish Zheng Qing's wife several times, however, she was always stubborn. On March 15 this year, I went to Huanggang to meet her. She was at her natal home then. I dispatched someone to invite her to the church, but she refused to come. Her father tried to persuade her, but there was no hope she would change her mind. Thus we should follow what the apostle said: "if the unbeliever departs, let him or her depart."⁶⁸² Zheng Qing has done his best to seek reconciliation with his wife since his conversion.

Considering the long-term separation (seventeen years!) of this couple, it had passed the point of no-return, despite Zheng Qing's endeavours to seek a reconciliation, and the efforts of the minister, elders, evangelists and other Christian women to take Zhengqing's wife to task. Therefore, Gibson proposed that Zheng Qing could divorce his wife on the basis of the Scriptures. Seeking an answer to the matter of remarriage, Gibson found it difficult to find relevant texts in the Bible. Therefore, he asked the secretary of the general Synod to admonish Zheng Qing's wife one more time. If his wife was still unwilling to return home, Zheng Qing would be allowed to remarry three months later. Gibson's proposal was accepted by the General Synod.⁶⁸³

Eight months later, when the final effort to achieve reconciliation had failed, Zheng Qing was allowed to remarry. However, on account of the lack of relevant regulations in the constitution of the

680 On August 25, 1907, *ibid.*

681 On March 9, 1904, *ibid.*

682 I Corinthians. VII:15.

683 On August 26, 1904, *ibid.*

church, John Steele consulted the *Codes of the Qing Empire* and came to the following conclusion: after the first time that Zheng Qing persuaded his wife to return to her parents, he should have waited a period of three years before handing a petition over to the General Synod in which he set out his plan to remarry. Only then should the General Synod have issued a paper testifying to the rupture in Zheng's marriage and inform his ex-wife. He could only remarry after all these procedures had been carried out. Gibson reported that Zheng had endured three years' suspension. Only then did the secretary hand him a paper confirming marital rupture, which ended the torturous process of this divorce case.⁶⁸⁴

Of the six divorce cases with which the General Synod dealt from 1894 to 1904, one resulted in a reconciliation, two in amicable divorces and three in the dismissal of the male converts from the church. This record shows that the involvement of the General and the Local Presbytery did not always achieve the result desired. Having been raised in Chinese society, the first two generations of Chinese male converts showed that they were more likely to judge their spouses according to Confucian doctrine. In times of marital crisis, they still resorted to the traditional seven justifying causes to free themselves of their erring wives. These causes could be misused by a dishonest husband, no matter whether his accusation was true or not. As for the wives in these cases, not a single word of their own was recorded and whether they consented willingly to the divorce or not is hard to say. The involvement of the local presbyteries did give them some support. Some female converts even petitioned the General Synod directly when they ran into marital problems. Compared with the male converts, female converts seem to have been more obedient to the Presbytery's instructions. Zheng Qing's wife was an exception, but she was not a Christian.

In the early 1920s, divorce became a more urgent problem in marriages between non-Christians and Christians, especially after the freedom to divorce was safeguarded by the Resolution of the Women's Movement in January 1926.⁶⁸⁵ The investigation of the scholar Wu Zhixin (吴至信) shows that between 1917 and 1933 the general divorce rate in Beijing kept rising, although it still lagged behind southern cities like Shanghai, Hankou, Guangzhou and Hangzhou.⁶⁸⁶ Between 1928 and 1934, discussions about divorce frequently occurred within the Presbyterian congregation. On April 26, 1932, Thomas Gibson⁶⁸⁷ proposed that the problem of *li hun* (离婚, divorce) be discussed in the Autumn Synod.⁶⁸⁸ A heated debate ensued, but this proved fruitless, so that Lin Zhichun (林之纯) proposed this item be postponed until the next synod.⁶⁸⁹ Eight months later, H. F. Wallace (华河力), who

684 On May 3, 1905, *ibid.* The Basel mission had a similar regulation, see *Regulations of the Basel Mission*, Article 91: “若未信道者, 断不愿与信者同居, 则信者不为法所拘。但要俟候日久, 方可再得嫁娶。”

685 Wang Xinyu, *Study on the Modernization*, p.46.

686 Wu Zhixin 吴至信, “Zuijin shiliunian zhi Beiping lihun'an” 《最近十六年之北平离婚案》 [Cases of Divorce in the Past Sixteen Years in Beiping (Beijing)], Li Wenhai 李文海, Xia Mingfang 夏明芳, Huang Xingtao 黄兴涛 eds., *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: Hunyin jiating juan* 《民国时期社会调查丛编 婚姻家庭卷》 [Compilation of the Social Investigations in Modern China: Volume on Marriage and Family], Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, March 2005. p.382.

687 A missionary of the English Presbyterian Church in Swatow, John C. Gibson's son.

688 On 26 April, 1932, Records of the Swatow District Synod. It came into existence in 1932, its predecessor was the Swatow Intermediate Synod.

689 On 6 September, 1932, *ibid.*

presided over the Swatow Western Missionaries Council at the time, proposed divorce be discussed during the General Synod.⁶⁹⁰ When once again a heated debate flared, Luo Muzhen (罗慕真) proposed that the commissioner of the Regulations Revision Committee, T. W. Douglas James (任杜力), be entrusted with considering the revision of this regulation. Within ten days he gave his opinion, which was as follows:

1. Divorce has become an important problem for the church in recent years, and most of the converts do not know how to deal with it.
2. Although the Lingdong (岭东) General Synod has a regulation⁶⁹¹ which strictly forbids divorce, it has been hard to implement.
3. So far the other General Synods (in the other parts of China) have not yet found a good resolution to this problem.⁶⁹²

Douglas James appealed to the Supreme Synod in Shanghai to consider these three points carefully and provide feasible instructions for the General Synod. As a result of these discussions a new regulation, the eighth and also last regulation in the marriage regulations was inserted into the 1934 constitution of the English Presbyterian Church:

According to the principles that “marriage is sacred” and “one husband and one wife should live together all their lives”, both man and woman have the freedom to choose their spouse with circumspection. Once married, they cannot divorce freely. If there is a converted person involved in a divorce, the presbytery of the church to which he or she is attached should undertake a detailed investigation or report to the District Synod asking for a decision.⁶⁹³

In the 1948 constitution, the significance of the regulation on divorce was emphasized even more strongly.

Concubinage (纳妾) [attached Girl/Servants (nü bi, 奴婢, or Slave Girls)]

Concubinage was permitted under the *Codes of the Qing Empire*, but was severely criticized in the Women’s Emancipation Movement in the 1920s. The research of sociologist Pan Guangdan (潘光旦) has shown that in 1927 70 per cent of his interviewees accepted the idea of monogamy and welcomed the abolition of concubinage.⁶⁹⁴ The 1930 marriage laws of the Nanjing Government allowed for the abolition of concubinage but without any concomitant legislation to deal with any ensuing problems.⁶⁹⁵

690 On 25 April, 1933, *ibid.*

691 Meant Article 387 of the 1907 constitution.

692 “1.因年来离婚已成为教会重要问题，信徒大都莫知所从；2.因岭东大会虽有严禁离婚之例，而实际上颇难执行；3.因各大会对于此案恐未有一律办法。” On 3rd May, 1933, Records of the General Synod.

693 The 1934 constitution of the English Presbyterian Church, p.28, no.8.

694 Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, “Zhongguo zhi jiating wenti” 《中国之家庭问题》 [Family Problems in China], Li Wenhai, Xia Mingfang, Huang Xingtao eds., *Compilation of the Social Investigations*, p.287. There were 317 interviewees with various careers, aged between 14 and 57. Those who in their 20s and 30s formed the majority. 77% of them came from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, 44 were women. See *ibid.*, pp.268-271.

695 “关于妾制问题，毋庸规定。因为妾制已经废除，既然法律不承认这种婚姻形态的存在，对于事实上尚存在的，其地位如何，不需要以法典或单行法加以规定。” See Wang Xinyu, *Study on the Modernization*, p.54.

Under criminal law and the laws of inheritance, there still was room for concubinage.⁶⁹⁶ Within the Presbyterian congregation in Chaozhou, cases of male converts marrying concubines were still a frequent occurrence in the period between 1902 and 1933. In contrast, in this same period such alliances seldom seem to have happened in the French Roman Catholic parishes all over China. The explanation given by Poujoulat is that the majority of Roman Catholics were poor; they belonged to the Chinese labouring class and therefore did not have the means to support more than one wife.⁶⁹⁷ It is difficult to know whether this explanation also applied to the Roman Catholics in the Chaozhou region. Interestingly, from an anthropological point of view, does this imply that the Protestants came from higher social strata? So far, not enough data are available to make any decision about this.

The early regulations on marrying a concubine (1881) were integrated into the 1907 constitution of the English Presbyterians and it was not long before they became known among the converts as “the Seven Regulations” (*tiao li qi ze*, 条例七则), mentioned in the previous chapter.⁶⁹⁸ On January 29, 1902, the Swatow Presbytery consulted the General Synod about whether Chen Yuting (陈雨亭), who had married a concubine before he converted, could be baptized and admitted into the Church. The Swatow Presbytery specified that, although his concubine could not separate from him, Chen Yuting did “indeed cherish God in his heart” (其心实有信主). In compliance with Article 793, the case was handed over to the General Synod for judgement. John Gibson proposed that Chen Yuting could be accepted for baptism, but the Swatow Presbytery should read the *tiao li qi ze* publically to those present before the baptism.⁶⁹⁹

This is the first recorded case in which the English Presbyterian Church admitted a man who had a concubine into the church. The protagonist of this case, Chen Yuting, was a wealthy merchant in Swatow. After he converted, he sponsored the construction of the first Woman’s Hospital in Swatow by the English Presbyterian Church in 1903.⁷⁰⁰ Three years later, he co-operated with the English

696 “无论是刑法、婚姻法还是继承法，实际上都为妾制预留了合法空间。” Ibid., p.101.

697 Poujoulat, *Le mariage dans les chrétientés catholiques en Chine*, p.103.

698 Articles 387-393, *Constitution of the English Presbyterian Mission in Swatow*, 1907:

387: According to God’s instruction, a legal marriage is the alliance of one man and one woman; both should fulfil their respective obligations and be lifelong partners, should not dissolute. If a man who has a wife marries another woman, or a woman who has a husband marries another man, both these forms of conduct/acts violate God’s commandment.

388: If a convert marries another woman while his wife is still living, he should be dismissed from Holy Church.

389: If a man married a concubine before he heard the Gospel, he should be forgiven his ignorance according to the doctrines of Gospel. But in deciding whether to accept him for baptism or not, the church should be make a detailed investigation, research the doctrines carefully and let him know that he has violated God’s commandment. The church should not easily ignore his sin.

390: If the concubine has borne no children, and she is willing to leave (her husband), she may be allowed to remarry another convert. But the husband should ask the Presbytery to which he is attached for an inspection and decision in advance, so as to avoid offending this woman (concubine).

391: If the concubine has borne children, or she is unwilling to remarry, then they should not be separated.

392: Since a man could not separate from his concubine for this reason (the latter’s unwillingness), he should be reminded explicitly that taking concubine [the point is that concubinage is NOT marriage] is sinful and is prohibited by the Church, only if the situation does not change (事势固结). If an inspection is carried out and it is found that he is pious in his attitude to God, plus that there is no other encumbrance, then the Church can accept him for baptism, but he is forbidden to hold office in the Church.

393: Since this problem is of significant concern and complicated, rather than make a decision by itself, the local Presbytery should report to the General Synod first. Only after the General Synod’s careful inspection and permission can the local Presbytery received the sinner for baptism.

699 On January 29, 1902, Records of the General Synod.

700 Chen Zelin, “The Presbyterian Mission”, p.439.

Missionary Committee and provided half of the funding⁷⁰¹ for the founding the Anglo-Chinese School, which was a Presbyterian school of the highest level in Swatow at that time.⁷⁰²

In all three cases which were reported between 1902 and 1904, the protagonists had taken a concubine before they converted. All of them were admitted into the church. Eleven more cases were recorded between 1912 and 1933. On April 28, 1914, Guan Jicheng asked the Swatow Intermediate Synod⁷⁰³ to admonish Zou Yahu (邹亚鹄) of Jingzhou (洪洲) who had married more than one wife. Lin Fang agreed that his behaviour contradicted the regulations but, since Zou had left to go somewhere else, it would be opportune to cancel his name so as to purify the Church. This proposal was accepted.⁷⁰⁴ Under Article 137 of the 1907 constitution, two measures, admonishment (the first step) and separation (the second step), were necessary before the execution of excommunication. Zou Yahu's absence made such a procedure impossible. The Presbytery therefore had no choice but to expel him from the church.

Around the same time, Mr Zeng Shanyu (曾善余)⁷⁰⁵ was denied Communion for marrying a second wife. When Peng Zeli (彭泽黎) consulted the General Synod about this matter, Lin Fang said that this man should emancipate his new wife within a period of two months, otherwise he should be expelled from the church.⁷⁰⁶ Exactly one year later, Cai Rong (蔡融) replied to the General Synod that Zeng Shanyu had emancipated his second wife, and that she was willing to leave him. Consequently, Lin Fang proposed Zeng be re-admitted into the Church if there was no other encumbrance and this proposal was accepted by the General Synod.⁷⁰⁷ This was the first (maybe also the only) case in which the English Presbyterian Church successfully admonished a convert to separate from his concubine. This shows that, even if a convert married a concubine, he would not be dismissed from the church immediately, as in fact Article 388 of the 1907 constitution required that a convert who married a concubine should be excommunicated. As the phrase 'should be' rather than 'will be' was used, there seems to have been room for negotiation. It appears that, generally speaking, the General Synod tried to avoid excommunication because the church leaders did not want to lose members. On October 5, 1920, David Sutherland (兰大卫) reported to the Swatow Intermediate Synod that Wu Daozhou (吴道周), who had married a concubine, had not yet been expelled because his conscience did not allow him to execute this punishment. Therefore Lin Shoutian (林受天) proposed handing this case over to the General Synod.⁷⁰⁸ On June 21 the next year, the same Lin Shoutian, now a deputy of the General

701 Huang Daxiu 黄达修, "Shantou huaying xuexiao lici xuechao yu fangying douzheng" 《汕头华英学校历次学潮与反英斗争》 [Student strikes and Anti-English Struggles of the Anglo-Chinese School in Shantou], *ibid.*, p.19.

702 Chen Zelin, "The Presbyterian Mission", p.439.

703 The predecessor of the Swatow Intermediate Synod was the General Synod, which governed the Chaozhou and Huizhou prefectures. It was divided into the Swatow and Wujingfu Intermediate Presbyteries in 1901. This special event resulted in the generation of the 1907 constitution.

704 On April 28, 1914, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Presbytery.

705 He came from Luotang (罗塘), Jiangnan. At that time the Jiangnan region included Jiangsu, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. There was a frequent migration between the Chaozhou and the Jiangnan regions, especially to the city of Shanghai. Zeng Shanyu might have come to Swatow to do business and then settled down there.

706 On May 4, 1915, Records of the General Synod.

707 On May 3, 1906, *ibid.*

708 On October 5, 1920, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Synod.

Synod, proposed ordering the Swatow Intermediate Synod to dismiss Wu Daozhou. This proposal was accepted.⁷⁰⁹ It was not clear whether Lin Shoutian had had any personal discord with Wu Daozhou.⁷¹⁰

In one case, a Christian woman married her daughter off as a concubine to a married man. This woman was the wife of Xie Liang (谢亮). On October 2, 1923, the Yihu (奕湖) Presbytery judged that she had violated Article 386 of the 1907 constitution⁷¹¹ and handed passed her case on to the Swatow Intermediate Synod for judgement. Hou Yichu (侯乙初) sent Wu Guowei and Lin Weizhong (林为重) to undertake a joint investigation in collaboration with the Yihu Presbytery.⁷¹² Seven months later, a decision was made by the Intermediate Synod which forbade Xie Liang's wife, the mother, to attend Holy Communion.⁷¹³

The solutions to these cases show that the English Presbyterian Church was always tolerant to those who had married concubines before they had heard the Gospel, but rather strict in its dealings with converts who did the same. Certainly, the church always tried to avoid the punishment of excommunication, which remained the ultimate resort. These cases also seem to suggest that more and more middle-class people were joining the church.

With the exception of Article 388, Articles 387 to 394 of the 1907 constitution were integrated into the 1934 Constitution, under the title "illegitimate marriage". The first article was on bigamy and the following six dealt with concubinage but, as shown, converts who committed this sin were given the chance of repentance. Consequently, this article was cancelled since it was no longer applicable. Hence "the Seven Regulations" on marrying a concubine were changed into "the Six Regulations". In 1948, the six regulations on marrying a concubine in the 1934 constitution were also cancelled. Perhaps after so many years of discussion, concubinage was no longer a serious problem in the Presbyterian congregation.

Girl servants (nü bi, 女婢, or slave girls) formed an accessory issue. Strictly speaking, their situation should not have been discussed under the heading of marital practice. However, as they grew up some of the girl servants would become the concubines of their masters and in this way the practice was related to the issue of concubinage discussed above. Moreover, there are links to the custom of small daughter-in-law, in the sense that these young girls were sold as prospective concubines by their parents.

The girl servants were born into poor families and were sold as maids to do daily housework in the homes of well-to-do families when they were six or seven years old. They either worked as servants or as companions to the noble mistress or her daughters. The controversies surrounding the institution of girl servants, which was called *mui tsai* (妹仔), can be traced back to Hong Kong in the late 1870s, when

709 On June 21, 1921, Records of the General Synod.

710 The discussion of this case can also be found in the English Presbyterian Church archives, see "The Lingdong Synod, 1921," Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, The Presbyterian Church of England Archives, Foreign Mission Committee, microfiche no.653. Quoted from Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Preaching (chuan), Worshipping (bai), and Believing (xin): Recasting the Conversionary Process in South China", Leiden: Brill, 2011.

711 Means "to induce someone else to marry a man who has a wife".

712 On October 2, 1923, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Synod.

713 On April 29, 1924, *ibid*.

the Chief Justice, John Smale, ruled that this practice was the equivalent to the existence of slavery in the colony. In the Chaozhou context, girl servants often fell victim to abuse, either by their masters or mistresses.

The case of Light Follower (姚顺观), daughter of Bible-woman Ding Ling (丁铃, Long), is an example of the miserable fate of a girl servant in the late Qing period. Although she was a Christian, poverty forced Long to sell Light Follower to the wife of a government official in the district city of Chaoyang. The latter intended to raise Light Follower and sell her to some rich man as concubine.⁷¹⁴ Light Follower suffered physical abuse, for instance she was whipped and starved until she could not stand and resorted to eating the bitter skins of fruit which had been cast into the gutter. The mistress was so cruel that she would pinch Light Follower with the heated tongs, “in places where the burn would not be detected”.⁷¹⁵ Light Follower suffered for one and a half years. When Long heard of her daughter’s misery and discovered that her mistress hated her and wished to sell her off, she went to the Baptist Church for help. Five pounds were needed to redeem Light Follower. The members of the church gave her 33 shillings. Long borrowed 18 pence from her two married daughters, contributed 3 shillings of her own money and the rest was provided by the minister. Light Follower was eventually rescued. However, for a long time Long and her husband were distrusted by the Church and the congregation who blamed them for having sold their daughter.⁷¹⁶ In 1904, the *Lingdong Daily* (岭东日报) reported that a girl servant of about six or seven years of age was being severely beaten by her mistress (who was a concubine in the family) and therefore no longer dared to return home.⁷¹⁷ Stories about run-away girl servants were frequently reported in this journal in the early 1900s. However, it was not until 1915 that the sale and purchase of girl servants was tabled in the Intermediate and General Synods.

On September 14, 1915, Lin Fang proposed that converts be forbidden to purchase girl servants. Consequently, the Swatow Intermediate Synod entrusted Lin Fang, Liu Zerong, Lin Chongsan (林重三), Cai Zi (蔡芝), Xu Xiuling (许修翎), Huang Shouting and Hou Yichu to draft detailed regulations.⁷¹⁸ After seven months had passed, Lin Fang handed over the following regulations:

1. Purchasing a girl as a servant contradicts our Lord the Saviour’s humanity, and transgresses every human being’s right to liberty, easily leads to abuse, easily causes temptation and suspicion.
2. Although pawning a little girl as a worker (典女子为工作, or 典女为工人) seems different from purchasing a girl as servant, the principle is the same, therefore both should be banned.
3. Each Presbytery should try to emancipate the girl servants who have been purchased by Christian families.
4. The Intermediate Synod should order each church (to instruct its members) [not in the text and added by CXy] not to purchase girls as servants and no longer to employ young girls as workers. Those

714 Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, p.151.

715 Ibid., pp.151-152.

716 Ibid., p.152.

717 《岭东日报》，光绪三十年五月初十日（1904）。

718 On September 14, 1915, Records of the General Synod.

who violate this regulation should be condemned.⁷¹⁹

At Lin Shoutian's suggestion, eight days later the Intermediate Synod handed this resolution over to the General Synod, whereupon Qiu Jiaxiu (邱家修) proposed this resolution be sent back to the Swatow and Wujingfu Intermediate Synods for further discussion before it was passed by the General Synod.⁷²⁰ Lin Fang reiterated his proposal to forbid the employment of under-age girl workers and the purchase of girl servants,⁷²¹ but the Wujingfu Intermediate Synod replied to the General Synod that the drift of the proposed regulation was obscure and asked for a more detailed explanation.⁷²²

In Hong Kong the early attention paid to the girl servant (*mui tsai*) system did not result in much social change until 1917, when individuals and organizations locally and in Britain again began to champion this cause. The persistent emigrant network between Chaozhou and Hong Kong, including both Christians and non-Christians, seems to have been the vehicle which brought back the latest news about the emancipation of girl servants. In the autumn of 1918, the Swatow General Synod received the consent of Wujingfu Intermediate Synod to this regulation. Both Intermediate Synods were then ordered to put this regulation into practice.⁷²³ After four years of debate, the problem seems to have been settled.

Chris White has demonstrated that in Xiamen (Amoy) in the 1920s the issue of slave girls was a growing concern for Chinese who had been influenced by the outrage brewing in Hong Kong.⁷²⁴ In 1930, Xu Chuncao (许春草), an influential figure in the Presbyterian Church and the local society in general established the Society for the Relief of Chinese Slave Girls, which was an asylum to rescue persecuted girl servants.⁷²⁵ However, because of the lack of specific cases in the synod records, it is hard to discover how exactly the emancipation movement for girl servants operated in the Chaozhou region. It is impossible to form an idea about how the regulations pertaining to girl servants worked out in practice. One point is for sure, the 1934 constitution of the Lingdong Presbyterian Church did not include these regulations. Does this omission mean that the problem had been solved once and for all in the English Presbyterian congregation in the autumn of 1918? The civil section of the Shantou Municipal Archives provides evidence that the custom of purchasing girl servants was still prevalent among non-converts in the 1940s. Whether this was also the case among the Christians is still open to debate. Although the issue of girl servants does not concern marriage, it shows how this vulnerable group, just as that of the concubines, was protected within the congregation.

Small Daughter-in-Law (Xiao xi, 小媳, or Tong Yang, 童养, Child bride)

719 On April 25, 1916, *ibid.*

720 On May 3, 1916, Records of the General Synod.

721 On September 19, 1916, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Synod.

722 On May 1, 1917, Records of the General Synod.

723 On September 24, 1918, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Synod.

724 Chris White, "Rescuing Chinese Slave Girls in Republican Xiamen", The 5th International Young Scholars' Symposium on "Christianity and Chinese Society and Culture" (December 6-8, 2010).

725 From 1930 till its close in 1941 because of the Japanese invasion, over 200 girls sought refuge with the Society. *Ibid.*, p.20.

The term “small daughter-in-law” refers to the practice of early betrothal. Adele Fielde of the ABM describes the custom as follows: “Among the poor, it is not uncommon for a newly born daughter to be given away, that a girl of another clan may be taken by the mother, reared at her breast, and bestowed upon her son after years. In many families there is at least one little daughter-in-law being brought up in the house of her future husband.”⁷²⁶ Fielde claimed that the root of this situation lay in the universal and intense desire for posterity in the male line of descent, which led to enormous self-sacrifice on the part of parents in order to secure wives for their sons.⁷²⁷ Her observation demonstrates that it was not ‘girls’ as such that who were worthless, it was the girls that were raised in their natal families. In the eyes of the parents of the poor families, the daughters-in-law were worth more than their own daughters. When married off, daughters brought in some money, and ceased to be a burden to the family, whereas the longer they were in their parents’ families, they cost money and had less chances to be married off. In the feverish search for offspring via the male line, a family’s own daughter could easily be seen as encumbrance of whom there should have been fewer rather than more. Too many daughters prevented a family from raising its son(s) adequately. The upshot was that it would try to have its daughters married off as early as possible. In rural China, therefore, baby girls were often victims of infanticide;⁷²⁸ in times of famine, young girls were sold for a pittance to maintain the survival of the family. Similarly, families who had many sons would be inclined to sell one of them to families who had none, especially when the times were hard economically. These adoptive sons would be treated as biological sons, substituting for the male heir they did not have.

Among the Roman Catholic congregation, *tong yang* (童养, short for 童养媳, a daughter-in-law who was reared from her infancy) was a popular custom. Usually the girls were between five and ten years old when they were betrothed and sent to the family of their future in-laws owing to the extreme poverty of their own families.⁷²⁹ The *tong yang* custom was a major target of criticism among the French Missionaries. Compared with the discussions above on bigamy and concubinage, the problem of the small daughters-in-law arose quite early, in the mid-1880s, in all of the missions including the English Presbyterians. In the initial church planting stage, the aim of the missionaries was not to ban the purchase of small daughters-in-law, but to focus on the question of whether the non-consanguineous children in a Christian family could be baptized or not. The following case is a good example.

On May 6, 1885, George Smith, a Presbyterian missionary, proposed in the General Synod that, although it was by no means advantageous for a convert to buy a small daughter-in-law, the latter could be baptized. In the purchase of a little boy, inspired either by affection or the desire to guarantee an

726 Fielde, *A Corner of Cathay*, pp.34-35.

727 Ibid., p.34.

728 James McMullan, the internationally acclaimed illustrator and poster designer, recalled that when his grandparents, James and Eliza McMullan, arrived in Shandong, China in 1880s, what they confronted “was a cruel solution to over-population, the officially decreed murder of second-born baby girls.” See http://jamesmcmullan.com/frame_brbiog.htm, consulted on 2011-1-27. Though it seems an exaggeration, infanticide was indeed a popular practice throughout the empire in the late Qing period.

729 Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.51, p.173.

heir, each local presbytery should use its own discretion to determine whether to baptize the purchased boy or not, taking account of each specific situation. John Gibson stated his opinion on this matter as follows:

Parents who sell their own son to be another's son, or selling their own small daughter to be another's small daughter-in-law display patterns of behaviour which kills their affection for their children and fail to undertake the obligations of educating and caring for their children. Such ways of behaving are improper. Furthermore, it is also wrong to purchase another's little daughter as one's small daughter-in-law. Hopefully the members of our congregation can transform this social custom. Those Christian families which already have boys or girls who come from the other families as their heirs and daughters-in-law, they should be received for baptism.⁷³⁰

His opinion was supported by his colleague Hur L. Mackenzie. According to some Protestant theologies on Baptism (like 'Covenant theology'), God's promise of Salvation is thought to work through the biological line of the believers. Whether this was also the case for their adopted children was a matter of debate in many conservative Protestant circles. It is possible that Gibson's reluctance to baptize adopted children, coupled with his apparent disapproval of the custom as such, was also related to concerns about such theologies of baptism. Gibson's proposal was integrated into the 1907 constitution, and reprinted as Article 48.

No specific discussions on small daughters-in-law are mentioned in the General Synod. However, the compromising attitude and the solution which the local presbyteries could "determine by themselves whether to baptize the purchased boy or not" imply that, in practice, many presbyteries did baptize them. The French Roman Catholic mission took a different, contrary view of this issue. What the French priests feared most about infant betrothal or the custom of small daughters-in-law was that these killed the possible religious vocation of the infant fiancé(e)s, because naturally the transfer implied the (potential) marriage of the child. Father Hermand asserted that this institution might stand in the way of priesthood:

This child might one day consider the priesthood [when he grew older, CXy], however he cannot make the decision because his life has been arranged and he is well aware that he is betrothed. Later, at sixteen, seventeen or eighteen, when he feels the compulsion to follow a religious vocation, it is too late: he is already married. This is the situation and this state of mind of the Chinese which those who reproach us for not training enough priests should try to understand.⁷³¹

The French priests did not stop at criticism, they also took action and tried to break the bond of infant betrothal. There are cases of the rupture of infant betrothal recorded.⁷³² It was apparent that the

730 “凡卖己儿为他人之子，并卖幼女为他人小媳，乃失其父母之爱情，并废教养之正分，实属非宜之例。且买纳他人之幼女为小媳，亦属不宜，希吾会中人改变此等例俗。但吾信主之家既有他家之子女归为嗣息，须当接之领洗”，on May 6, 1885, Records of the General Synod.

731 “Tel enfant qui pourrait un jour songer au sacerdoce, ne s'arrêtera même pas à cette idée, parceque 'sa vie est faite' et qu'il se sait fiancé; plus tard, à seize, dix-sept, dix-huit ans, quand il se sentirait la force de suivre une vocation, il est trop tard: il est marié. Que ceux qui nous reprochent de ne pas faire assez de prêtres, essaient de comprendre cette situation et cette mentalité chinoise.” Hermand (Père), “Au district”, *Relatons de Chine*, Volume XI, Octobre 1933, p.556. Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.199.

732 One in Southeast Zhili province, 1910; one in Jiangsu province, 1933; one in Zhejiang province, 1936. See Poujoulat, *Le mariage*, p.239.

custom of small daughters-in-law was more accepted in the Presbyterian congregation than in that of the French Roman Catholics.

The English Presbyterian Church remained tolerant of the institution of the small daughters-in-law during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1916, the churches in Huizhou Prefecture entrusted Hu Xiangrong (胡向荣) to ask the Swatow Intermediate Synod how much betrothal money should be paid for rearing a small daughter-in-law and for a marriage.⁷³³ This question reveals not only the continued existence of small daughters-in-law in Christian families but also betrays a fair degree of acceptance; otherwise the matter of payment would not have been brought before the Synod. As a result of the Woman's Emancipation Movement, the superior court of the Warlord Government in Beijing (北洋政府大理院) decided in that, "even though the parents had betrothed their under-age children, they could not force them to marry if the latter did not agree to do so".⁷³⁴ Though this law accepted the custom of small daughters-in-law, it did give these girls the right to determine their own marital destiny. The English Presbyterian Church seems to have taken great strides forward: on June 19, 1923, the Wujingfu (五经富) Intermediate Synod petitioned the General Synod to forbid the sale and purchase of small daughters-in-law saying that "(The tradition of) selling and purchasing small girls as *tong yang xi* (infant-reared daughter-in-law) is extremely uncivilized; it is also very harmful for boys and girls to marry/to be married in their infancy." The General Synod was asked to issue a special regulation which would strictly forbid this tradition. A hot debate ensued among the deputies: Peng Song was against the prohibition of this custom among the Presbyterian congregation and proposed to continue to adhere to existing Article 48. Liu Zerong proposed that the regulation which forbade the baptism of *tong yang xi* unless they had been adopted previous to conversion of her parents be revised. Thomas Gibson, son of John Gibson, proposed that this problem be referred to the commissioner of the Education Committee. When the deputies could not reach an agreement, a vote was taken, Thomas Gibson's proposal was adopted and the decision was postponed.⁷³⁵

Although Peng Song and Liu Zerong had different ideas, one point they held in common was that both of them were unwilling to forbid the sale and purchase of small daughters-in-law. This might be a clue which implies that this custom was quite prevalent among the wealthy Presbyterian families. Nearly one year later, Cai Rong, the commissioner of the Education Committee, formulated four resolutions to deal with this problem, but Lin Fang thought they needed to be modified even more.⁷³⁶ On May 5, 1925, Sun Weiwen (孙渭文) who had replaced Cai Rong as the commissioner of the Education Committee in the meantime, reported that several words (in italic) should be added to Article 48: "The boys or girls whom Christian families already have adopted from the other families as their heirs and

733 John Gibson proposed to let the secretary consulted to the relevant regulations and replied these churches. On September 19, 1916, Records of the General Synod.

734 "父母为未成年子女所定婚约, 对于不同意之子女不能强其履行", 上字第 1009 号大理院判例, 民国十一年。See Wang Xinyu, *Study on the Modernization*, p.155.

735 On June 19, 1923, *ibid.*

736 On May 6, 1924, *ibid.*

daughters-in-laws *before hearing the doctrines* [i.e. before the conversion of the parents, CXY] should be received for baptism.” In addition, he reported the following four resolutions:

1. The selling and purchasing of little girls as small daughters-in-law has various harmful impacts on the marriages of these children; it is necessary to admonish the Christian families to abolish this tradition.
2. In families which are rearing a small daughter-in-law, the householders can still be baptized after they have heard the Christian doctrines, but they cannot make the pledge of baptism in name of their daughter-in-law.
3. If the small daughter-in-law is willing to marry her betrothed husband when she grows up, a public and formal wedding ceremony should be held before God.
4. If the small daughter-in-law does not want to marry her betrothed husband, the householders should regard her as their daughter, and marry her to a member of the Church who has been chosen carefully, so that no suspicion and dispute is caused.⁷³⁷

The tolerant attitude of the English Presbyterian Church to the presence of small daughters-in-law in the Christian families between 1885 and 1925 remained unchanged, but the 1925 regulations did not allow the baptism of the non-biological offspring in a Christian family. They even tried to admonish the Christian families to abolish the tradition of small daughters-in-law. As did the government law, the girls were granted the choice of marrying their betrothed husbands or refusing them. Providing that she wished to marry someone else, that new husband should be a Christian.

Conclusion

After examining how the Christians dealt with cases reported⁷³⁸ to the Presbyterian Synod at different levels, it is illuminating to examine the geographical distribution and incidence of the cases about bigamy, divorce, concubinage and the sale and purchase of small daughters-in-law. This exercise helps us to discover more about the influence of the Presbyterian marriage regulations in the Chaozhou region.

Two marital disputes about bigamy were reported in the early 1880s, one in Hetian, a Hakka station on the Huizhou-Chaozhou prefectural border;⁷³⁹ one in Mianhu, a Hoklo town in the Rong River Zone, located on the border of Hoklo and Hakka regions.⁷⁴⁰ In 1894, a case of divorce occurred in Mianhu.⁷⁴¹ Just as the horse which bolted from the stable, the first case was followed by others. This is also demonstrated by two cases in the village Fengkou in Jieyang district, one about bigamy, one about concubinage,⁷⁴² and two cases of divorce in Denggang,⁷⁴³ both in the Rong River Zone.

737 On May 5, 1925, *ibid.*

738 Surely there were more cases than those which have been reported.

739 Qui Azhong, early 1880s, Records of the General Synod, applicable to the following footnotes.

740 Auntie Shun, 1884.

741 Chen Chi, 1894.

742 Huang Zhengming, 1897 and Jiang Longhan, 1902.

Between 1898 and 1914, most of the divorce cases occurred in Raoping district.⁷⁴⁴ The village of Yanzaao (盐灶), located nearby, was the stronghold of the English Presbyterian Church, and hence new ideas on marriage were transmitted from there to the district and subsequently influenced the minds of the Christians.

Between 1902 and 1905, two cases, one about concubinage, the other on divorce, took place in the new, booming treaty port Swatow;⁷⁴⁵ two cases were reported in the district city Jieyang, one concubinage, the other bigamy.⁷⁴⁶ After 1915, most cases occurred in Swatow and its suburbs.⁷⁴⁷ The influence of the new ideas about marriage propagated by the EPM reached the Huizhou-Chaozhou prefectural border, which is reflected in two cases; the first on concubinage; the second on bigamy, which occurred in Huilai district in 1926 and 1933.⁷⁴⁸

Although discussions on the marriage practices of Chinese Christians appeared occasionally in the official reports or private letters of the missionaries of some other missions in China, the complete Chinese synod records of the EPM in the Chaozhou region make it possible to track how new ideas about married life were introduced, contested and incorporated into the lives of Chinese Christians. This chapter has shown how the Presbyterians were more flexible than the ABM and the French Roman Catholic Mission in accepting a certain number of these Chinese practices in their communities, even to the point of having second wives and concubines continue living with their spouse after conversion, if at least all parties agreed.

Contextualization is important in understanding the reasons which lay behind the cases of bigamy in Chaozhou society. The frequency of such cases might be attributable at least in part to the tradition of emigrant workers in the Chaozhou region: there were many grass widows living separated from their husbands. It seems that having been influenced by the Christian ideas of equality between men and women, including the companionship of husband and wife, some women were no longer willing to wait for their absent husbands to return. Hu Weiqing rightly concludes that Christian women who repudiated their husbands and remarried should be taken as evidence of the increasing autonomy of women in marriage. However, he overlooks the suffering of the Chaozhou grass widows waiting for the return of their absentee husbands: some for years, some for the rest of their lives.

In the case of a divorce, the Presbyterians introduced a joint covenant which protected the rights of both parties in a marriage, but especially those of the wife. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that the regulation of the Basel Mission granted the right for the wives to divorce their husbands for the first time. This was a great challenge to the traditional male-dominated society, in which of course a husband still had right to divorce his wife. However, the cases of divorce in the English Presbyterian

743 Yang Xingsheng, 1902 and Wang Qianshu, 1904.

744 Seven cases in total: Wu Hua, 1898; Lin Ruixi, 1899; Chen Yuanxiao, 1903; Zheng Qing, 1904; Huang Wan, 1906; Wife of Yu Yuezhen, 1912; Zou Yahu, 1914.

745 Chen Yuting, 1902; Yang Jiancheng, 1904.

746 Xie Wei, 1904; Wei Xihua, 1905.

747 Six in total: Zeng Shanyu, 1915; You Jinghou, 1916; Xu Yuyi, 1920; Wu Daozhou, 1920; Lin Zhiwu, 1920; Cai Chunfu, 1931

748 Chen You, 1926; Cai Zongguan, 1933.

congregation show that women were still the vulnerable party. Having grown up in a traditional society, the first two generations of Chinese male converts were more likely to judge their spouses according to the Confucian doctrines. In times of marital crisis, they still resorted to the traditional “seven justifying causes” to repudiate their wives. In all these cases, not a single word of the wives was recorded. Nevertheless, at least the involvement of presbyteries gave them some limited support; one of the female converts even resorted to a direct petition to the General Synod to solve a marital dispute, which was a good start.

It has been clearly shown in the previous and present chapters that the missions were pioneers in helping to introduce new marriage patterns in China which differed from the civil marriage laws of the Qing Empire and the Republic of China. The empirical cases which were recorded help to distinguish the missions in their attitudes to gender. Cases of concubinage occurred frequently in the Presbyterian congregation in Chaozhou between 1902 and 1933, but this custom seldom seems to have emerged in the French Roman Catholic parishes all over China. This situation might imply that the Protestants came from higher social strata than the Roman Catholics. Though this remains a hypothesis which requires more research.

The custom of buying a small daughter-in-law was a target of criticism for both the English Presbyterian and the French Missionaries, especially by the latter. However, each mission had its own iron in the fire. Protestant theologies on Baptism, for instance “Covenant theology”, assumed that God’s promise of Salvation was thought to work through the biological line of the believers. Perhaps influenced by this theory, the Presbyterian missionaries showed hesitation in baptizing small daughters-in-law, the adopted children, in Christian families. The French Roman Catholic mission had a different view: the custom of small daughters-in-law, or infant betrothal, was regarded by the Roman Catholic priests as an evil which killed the possible religious vocation of the infant fiancé(e)s. Therefore they tried to eradicate the custom of infant betrothal.

The Presbyterian marriage regulations also underwent an evolution. They were revised and re-issued to be used in the new situation which confronted the Presbyterians: the problem of bigamy was always important in the Chaozhou region; cases of concubinage emerged frequently in the first three decades of the twentieth century, but were successfully settled from the mid-1930s, as indeed were the problems of the small daughters-in-law and girl servants. From 1930s, divorce became an increasingly serious problem. All of these problems resulted in the evolution of Presbyterian marriage regulations in Chaozhou between the 1880s and 1948.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MISSIONS, THE NEEDLEWORK AND GENDER

Introduction

New western techniques of needlework, which included drawn-thread work, cross-stitch, crochet and embroidery, was introduced into the Chaozhou region by Western missionaries and became the prevailing handicraft among thousands of women. In the 1930s, the art emerged as the most important export product in the form of Swatow handkerchiefs and tablecloths. Its spread and popularity exerted a widespread influence on both the economic landscape and the social life of the Chaozhou region throughout the twentieth century. Nowadays, a piece of Swatow needlework beautifully embroidered with elaborate patterns still has the power to enthrall many customers. Compared with traditional Chaozhou embroidery, in the more modern work it is the drawn-thread sections which are the most distinctive element, even though the more elaborate styles of Western needlework in fact use a variety of still other stitches and techniques. Because of this distinctiveness, the phrase *chousha* (抽纱), the exact translation of “drawn-thread”, was the formal terminology adopted in the 1930s to indicate all Western technique needlework products. Informally, it was called *fanhua* (番花, ‘barbarian patterns’), a phrase indicating its exotic origin. *Zuoshoubu* (做手布, ‘making a handkerchief’, the most common export product in the 1930s)⁷⁴⁹ was the word most commonly used to indicate the profession of those who engaged in this industry. Drawn-thread work was also categorized as white work embroidery because in the Western world it was traditionally done in white thread on white fabric, another element which distinguished itself from the colourful Chaozhou embroidery (see Figure 28).⁷⁵⁰

749 Handkerchiefs made up 70% of the export needlework between 1934 and 1941, the heyday of the needlework industry in Chaozhou, *History*, p.8

750 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drawn_thread_work#Needlelace_and_Drawn-thread_work, consulted in January 2011.



Figure 28: A piece of drawn-thread handkerchief made in Swatow (hand-made, modern)

Since 1949 articles on Swatow needlework have appeared regularly in newspapers, academic journals and business magazines and continue to do so right up to the present.⁷⁵¹ The first scholar who did solid research on this industry was Theodore Herman from Colgate University.⁷⁵² He demonstrated its economic importance to Swatow in the years 1917-1949, and drew attention to the cultural factors, the production patterns (putting-out system) and the circuit of production (with Swatow as the centre and its connections with the surrounding areas). Most of his information on trade flows and business practices was derived from personal interviews with Mr Fred Maloof, who ran one of the biggest needlework companies in Swatow between 1925 and 1949,⁷⁵³ and on documentation provided by Mr Irving S. Brown, who served with the Chinese Maritime Customs between 1923 and 1931 and later made several cost-benefit analyses of the needlework industry for the US Bureau of Customs.⁷⁵⁴ So far, Herman has been the only Western scholar to have written about the history of this needlework, but a dozen Chinese reports and articles have been available since the 1950s.

Two reports by the Swatow Needlework Guild were published in 1950 and 1959 respectively, the

751 There were three articles on the lace and needlework industry printed in newspaper in 1949, see: 《潮汕抽纱业近况》, 香港《华侨日报》, 1949年1月17-18日; 《我国花边工业概况》, 《工商日报》, 1949年6月12日; 温洒凡: 《潮安的抽纱刺绣业》, 《联合日报》1949年6月26日. Archives of needlework industry collected in the Shantou Municipal Archives. 卢继定: 《潮汕刺绣与抽纱》, 《中华手工》, 2006年05期; 《汕头抽纱史上重要的普通人》, 2007年6月21日; 《潮州对潮汕抽纱事业的贡献》, 《潮州日报》, 2009年11月25日. For the workers/businessmen who engaged in this industry in the Chaozhou region, see: Kang Weiguo 康维国, “Chousha dawang Weng Jintong” 《抽纱大王翁锦通》 [Weng Jintong, the King of Needlework], *Qiyeyanjiu* 《企业研究》 [Studies on Enterprise], vol.4, 1996; 余世和: 《追求完美的女企业家——记饶平信荣织造有限公司董事长黄惜荣》, *Chaoshan Businessman*, 2008 (1); 高峰: 《学历史智慧 (一) ——从幼年的故事说起》, 2010年2月19日.

752 Theodore Herman, “Cultural Factors”, pp. 122-128.
753 The interview took place in April 21, 1952. See Theodore Herman, Note 12, “Swatow Lace and Needlework Industry”, p.126.

754 Ibid., Two letters from Mr Brown dated Nov. 28, 1952, and Feb. 24, 1953.

former entitled “*Introduction to the Past and Present of the Handicraft Industry of Needlework in Chaoshan*” (shortened to “*Introduction*”),⁷⁵⁵ the latter *A History of the Development of Chaoshan⁷⁵⁶ Needlework and its General Circumstances* (shorted to “*History*”).⁷⁵⁷ The purpose of these two reports was to provide references for the newly founded People’s Republic of China which would help it determine its policy towards the needlework industry. To facilitate this goal, a brief history and detailed statistics were provided. Written by different groups of people, these two reports have different emphases and supplement each other. Unfortunately, they have seldom been quoted by those scholars whose work was published between 1980 and 2010.

These thirty years can be divided into three periods: before 1995, 1995-2006, 2007-2010. Chen Zhuofan’s (陈卓凡) research is the work which stood out most prominently in the 1980s.⁷⁵⁸ Unaware of Herman’s article and the two preceding reports, he also traces the origin, development and decline of the needlework industry. He has done so from the local perspective, including the management of the foreign and Chinese factories in Swatow, the production patterns (putting-out system), different types of work and the origin of the various raw materials (textiles) and the regional distribution of different types of needlework. If Herman looked at the industry from the outside, Chen Zhuofan has looked at it from the inside, paying attention to the exploitation of the female workers by the compradors of foreign-owned factories.

Since the mid-1990s, local scholars have been trying to promote “Chaoshan Culture” as a regional culture distinguished by special characteristics. Many books about the migration of the Hoklo to Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, South-East Asia and all over the world have been compiled, including the biographies of prominent Hoklo scholars, experts and businessmen. The handicraft of needlework is regarded as a traditional, important element of this regional culture by such scholars as Guo Mafeng and Wei Qiuying (1999),⁷⁵⁹ Chen Zehong (2001),⁷⁶⁰ and Yang Jianping (2005).⁷⁶¹ They have all continued to take the same line as that adopted in Chen Zhuofan’s research, adding their own anthropological and sociological insights. They have agreed that this craft was introduced into the Chaozhou region by foreign women missionaries, but did not know precisely by whom or when. As they were unable to consult the Western sources, several versions of the introduction of this craft

755 Shantoushi chousha gongye tongye gonghui 汕头市抽纱工业同业公会 [Swatow Needlework Guild], *Chaoshan chousha shougongye zhi jinxi gaishu*《潮汕抽纱手工业之今昔概述》[Introduction to the Past and Present of the Handicraft Industry of Needlework in Chaoshan], May 1950.

756 “Chaoshan” is short for Chaozhou and Shantou (Swatow).

757 Chaoshan chousha dangan xiaozu bian 潮汕抽纱公司档案小组编 [Archival committee of the Chaoshan Needlework Company ed.], *Chaoshan chousha fazhanshi he jiben qingkuang (chugao)*《潮汕抽纱发展史和基本情况 (初稿)》 [History of the Development of Chaoshan Needlework and Its General Situation], Aug. 1959.

758 Chen Zhuofan 陈卓凡, “Chaoshan choushaye de qiyuan jiqi gailue”《潮汕抽纱业的起源及其概略》 [Origin and Situation of the Drawn-thread Work Industry in Chaoshan], *Guangdong Wenshi Ziliao Jingbian*《广东文史资料精编》, Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, December 2008.

759 Guo Mafeng 郭马风, Wei Qiuying 魏影秋, *Chaoshan meisu taociyu cixiu chousha*《潮汕美术陶瓷与刺绣抽纱》 [Fine Arts, Porcelain, Embroidery and Drawn-thread Work in Chaoshan], Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, January 1999. (based on Chen Zhuofan)

760 Chen Zehong 陈泽泓, *Chaoshan wenhua gaishuo*《潮汕文化概说》 [Introduction on Chaoshan Culture], Guangzhou: Guangzhou renmin chubanshe, 2001.

761 Yang Jianping 杨坚平, *Chaoxiu chousha*《潮绣抽纱》 [Chaozhou Embroidery and Drawn-thread Craft], Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, November 2005. (based on Chen Zhuofan and Chen Zehong)

appeared, even though both Herman and Chen Zhuofan had already pointed out that Sophia Norwood and Lida Scott Ashmore were the mothers of this industry.

Lee Kam Keung (2007, 2009),⁷⁶² a Hong Kong historian, did not consult the two reports or the works of Herman and Chen Zhuofan but, by using the archives of the churches, he cleared up the mysterious origins of this industry, a subject with which Guo Mafeng and Wei Qiuying (1999), Chen Zehong (2001), and Yang Jianping (2005) had wrestled before him. He reached the same conclusion as Chen Zhuofan, contending that Sophia Norwood and Lida Scott Ashmore introduced industrial needlework into the Chaozhou region. He revealed the close relationship between Christianity and the Hoklo entrepreneurs who ran the needlework business in Hong Kong. Twenty-seven years earlier, Chen Zhuofan had already pointed out that “most of the needlework compradors had graduated from the Anglo-Chinese School [which was also called the Sino-English School, 华英, in Chinese sources, CXy] which was founded by the Church in Swatow, or were Christians who had studied in the UK or the US”,⁷⁶³ but he had not drawn any conclusion about the influence the churches might have exerted.⁷⁶⁴

762 Lee Kam Keung, “Tongxiang, tongye, tongxinyang—Yi “Lügang chaoren zhonghua jidujiaohui” wei ge’an de yanjiu” 《同乡、同业、同信仰——以“旅港潮人中华基督教会”为个案的研究（1923-1938）》 [Came from the same place of birth, engaged in the same industry and sharing the same belief—a case study of the “Chaozhou Christians in Hong Kong, the Church of Christ in China”], Wu Yixiong 吴义雄 ed., *Difang shehui wenhua yu jindai zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 《地方社会文化与近代中西文化交流》 [The Culture of Local Society and the Sino-Western Intercourse in Modern China], Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2010. Lee Kam Keung, *A Centennial History*.

763 He mentioned that “抽纱洋行买办大多数是出身于汕头基督教主办的华英学校（该校以培植买办和传教士为目的），或留学英美的教徒。”，see Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.329.

764 Although Lu Jiding gives a rather confused statement about the origins of needlework in 2006, his articles in 2007 and 2009 remedied this mistake and shed light on the initial stages of the industrialization of needlework in the Chaozhou region. See Lu Jiding 卢继定, “Chaoshan cixiu yu chousha” 《潮汕刺绣与抽纱》 [Embroidery and Drawn-thread Craft in Chaoshan], *Zhonghua shougong* 《中华手工》, Vol. 5, 2006; “Shantou chousha shi shang zhongyao de putongren” 《汕头抽纱史上重要的普通人》 [Important Ordinary People in the History of the Drawn-thread Work Industry in Shantou], *Shantou ribao* 《汕头日报》 [Shantou Daily], June 24, 2007; “Chaozhou dui chaoshan chousha shiye de gongxian” 《潮州对潮汕抽纱事业的贡献》 [The Contribution of Chaozhou to the Drawn-thread Work Industry in Chaoshan], *Chaozhou ribao* 《潮州日报》 [Chaozhou Daily], November 25, 2009. Nowadays fewer and fewer Chaozhou women earn a living from needlework. Since 2007, the Shantou Municipal Government has been planning to protect this handicraft in the context of the “intangible provincial cultural heritage”. Lu Jiding’s researches in 2007 and 2010 were closely connected with this initiative. The same goes for Ke Yudan (柯宇丹), an expert on textiles, who has made a comparison between needlework in Shandong, Jiangsu and Chaozhou, and describes the different techniques predominating in these regions. See Ke Yudan 柯宇丹, “Shilun dui Chaoshan chousha gongyi de baohu yu chuancheng” 《试论对潮汕抽纱工艺的保护与传承》 [The Protection and Inheritance of Chaoshan Artex], *Huizhou xueyuan xuebao* 《惠州学院学报（社会科学版）》 [Journal of Huizhou College], Vol. 30, the 1st Issue, February 2010; “Chaoshan chousha gongyi de yishu tezhen tanxi” 《潮汕抽纱工艺的艺术特征探析》 [Research on the Artistic Characteristics of the Drawn-thread Craft in Chaoshan], *Yishu tansuo* 《艺术探索》 [Art Exploration], Vol. 24, the 1st Issue, February 2010. For a concise history of the lace and needlework industry in a specific village, see Zhang Haiou 张海鸥 ed., *Gurao xiangzhi* 《谷饶乡志》 [Gazetteer of the Gurao Village], Shaoshan wenhua duiwai jiaoliu zhongxin 潮汕文化对外交流中心, Taiguo Chaoyang Guraoxiang Zhangshi qinzuhui chuban 泰国潮阳谷饶乡张氏亲族会出版, August 2001. (based on Chen Zhuofan and Guo Mafeng). For the (Christian) businessmen who engaged in this industry in Shanghai and Hong Kong, see Shanghai: Zhan Yijian 詹益建, “Chaoren zaihu de choushaye” 《潮人在沪的抽纱业》 [The Drawn-thread Industry Run by the Chaozhou People in Shanghai], *Shantou shizhi* 《汕头史志》, Vol. 4, 1995. Shi Gan 石干, Liu Yonglan 刘咏兰, “Lishi de baojiang——Chaoren chousha hangyu yu yinghua shoupaye lüeying” 《历史的褒奖——潮人抽纱行业与印花手帕业掠影》 [A Brief Introduction to the Drawn-thread Work and Printed Handkerchief Industries in Shanghai], *Chaoren xianbei zai Shanghai* 《潮人先辈在上海》 [Pioneer Chaozhou People in Shanghai], Shantou: Chaoshan lishi wenhua yanjiu zhongxin 潮汕历史文化研究中心 [Chao-Shan History and Culture Research Centre] & Shantou daxue chaoshan wenhua yanjiu zhongxin 汕头大学潮汕文化研究中心 [Chao-Shan Culture Studies Centre, Shantou University], 2001. (based on Zhan Yijian).

As I discussed in Chapter 3, Dana Robert emphasized the importance of the domestic training⁷⁶⁵ of Christian women to enable them to make a Christian Home: “Although domestic training and the Christian home were not the same thing, domestic training was always considered an essential part of the economy of the Christian home”.⁷⁶⁶ ... “Besides reading, sewing was undoubtedly the most popular subject taught by missionary women and sought by indigenous women. Doing one’s own sewing not only clothed the clean and orderly Christian family, but needlework provided income for women with children in economies that limited their options for gainful employment.”⁷⁶⁷ Robert provides a new perspective which helps to understand the ideological background of the needlework in the Christian congregation. She reminds the reader that “generalizations about the economic and social impact of girls’ domestic training must therefore be nuanced by examination of the context.”⁷⁶⁸ As spiritual bodies, the American Baptist Church, the English Presbyterian Church and the French Roman Catholic Church all kept remarkably silent about their relationship with the needlework industry but recently Lee Kam Keung and the other sources have uncovered that a large number of Christians, both men and women, were engaged in this industry. Therefore, my intention in this chapter is to trace the divergent policies adopted by the ABM and the MEP on the one hand and the EPM on the other in managing their needlework enterprises. This decision involves studying the economic and social impact of the needlework industry on the Christian and non-Christian needle workers, both male and female, in the Chaozhou region.

I shall do so by addressing the following questions: 1. What did needlework mean to a Christian woman? 2. What were the differences in policy between the ABM/MEP and the EPM in managing their needlework enterprises? 3. How did the Christian needlework entrepreneurs contribute to the self-support of the churches in the Chaozhou region? 4. What was the division of labour between the Christian men and women engaged in this industry? 5. How did it influence the migration routes of the Hoklo in the twentieth century? 6. How did it transform the lives of the Hoklo women? Besides the research already mentioned, I shall use a range of other sources, both primary and secondary. For the history of the American Baptist Church, the general histories by Lida Scott Ashmore (1920) and Emanuel H. Giedt (1946) have been consulted, in addition to the publications by the committee of the history of Lingdong Baptist Church (1932, 1936).⁷⁶⁹ In researching the matter in the English Presbyterian church, the Synod records of the English Presbyterian Church (1918-1948) provide information about Hou Yichu (侯乙初) and Zhang Guchun (张固纯), both of them leaders of the Swatow Needlework guild and at the same time either minister or elder of the Swatow Presbyterian

765 When referring to “domestic science” (家政课) in the Chaozhou context, both the American Baptist Church and the English Presbyterian Church meant doing needlework. For the former see the curriculum of the Women’s School listed by Ashmore: “Daughters in the Home; The Mother in the Home; Hygiene; First Aid; Sunday School Normal Work; Practice Teaching; Studies in Personal Work; Practical Work; Nature Study; Story Telling; Care and Feeding of Children; Child Study; Social Service; Sociology; Domestic Science; Instrumental and Vocal Music”, see Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, pp.95-96; for the latter see Zeng Derong’s account: “我们还有家政课, 学习手工, 例如绣花, (我们)学的是十二(字)绣...”, Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.59.

766 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home,’” p.155.

767 Ibid., p.156.

768 Ibid., p.155.

769 Ashmore, *The South China Mission. A Special Issue, The Good News for Lingdong*, Giedt, *Early Mission History*.

Church. These sources have been supplemented by the archives on the needlework industry in Swatow⁷⁷⁰ and biographies of Christians engaged in this industry.⁷⁷¹ Oral accounts provided by four graduates of the Presbyterian Shude Girls' School and recorded by Du Shimin (杜式敏) have also been quoted,⁷⁷² supplemented by five interviews I did with three non-Christian women (one a professional needlewoman, two who worked at this craft in their youth as a part-time job) and one Roman Catholic sister, Li Xuzhen (李绪珍) plus Huang Zhiren (黄志仁), the son of a Baptist Church leader.⁷⁷³

Before dealing with the details of the developments in the various missions, a general outline of the Chaozhou needlework industry is required. Between 1886 and 1900, Western missionaries taught their converts Western needlework as an enterprise which would make them self-reliant,⁷⁷⁴ in this period needlework products were sent by the missionaries as gifts or sold to the missionary institutes overseas. Between 1900 and 1914, the needlework industry began to grow and workshops were established in Swatow, mostly using investments by Chinese dealers.⁷⁷⁵ These first footsteps were taken against a background of dynastic decay and the establishment of the Republic of China, a time in which social unrest forced people to supplement their income.⁷⁷⁶ During World War I, Western needlework merchants switched their investments from Europe to China, which resulted in the fact that American investors gradually replaced their Chinese predecessors who had helped the missions and Chinese women were also taking the place of European women in producing the goods. The craft was pursued on a widespread commercial basis. The Western exporters controlled the production through their Chinese agents who distributed the raw materials and collected the finished products.⁷⁷⁷ Between 1919 and 1934, the needlework industry continued to develop and Western investment increased again around 1925.⁷⁷⁸ The period between 1934 and 1941 proved to be the heyday of the needlework industry.⁷⁷⁹ The growth of the industry was interrupted by World War II, between 1942 and 1945, but underwent a short revival between 1946 and 1949.⁷⁸⁰

The Origins of Needlework in Chaozhou

770 *Introduction*, etc.

771 For the biographies of Hou Yichu (侯乙初) and his wife, Yang Jingde (杨锦德) Huang Hao (黄浩) and his wife, Wang Peizhi (王佩芝, Fang Lang (方朗) and Su Hui (苏惠), see *Biographies of the Chaozhou People in Beijing*.

772 See note 95.

773 Li Xuzhen, born in 1931 in Yuecheng (月城) in Jieyang district, interviewed in early November, 2009; Chen Xuanzhen (陈璇贞), born in 1948 in Xianju (仙居) village, Chenghai district, interviewed in April, 2010; Lin Ruyin (林如音), born at the end of the 1970s in Paotai, Jieyang district and Huang Zhiren, born in the 1950s in Queshi, both interviewed on May 27, 2010; Lady Xiao (肖姐), born in 1960 in Shantou city, interviewed on January 30, 2011.

774 Herman, "Cultural Factors", p.122.

775 *History*, pp.2-3.

776 Chen says 1912-1914 was the first boom period of this industry in Swatow, Chen, *Origin*, p.334.

777 The *History* says the development of this industry was interrupted during World War I, p.3. Chen Zhuofan seems to support this viewpoint, Chen, *Origin*, p.334.

778 *History*, p.3.

779 Chen says between 1936 and 1941, *Origin*, p.334.

780 *History*, pp.2-3, p.11.

Herman, Chen Zhuofan and Lee Kam Keung have all signalled the important role Mrs Lyall (Sophia A. Norwood) played in introducing Western needlework to Chaozhou.⁷⁸¹ However, there are reasons to question the importance of Sophia Norwood in the actual introduction of this craft. A brief introduction to the “colonial revival”, a relevant cultural movement in the US might help to clarify who was actually the first missionary to teach needlework in Chaozhou. Beverly Gordon says, “The revival is most often spoken of as a particular period, running from about the time of the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia to the outbreak of WWI (some observers extend the period to the 1930s)”.⁷⁸² During this movement, in contrast to the women who were struggling to achieve suffrage and to enter the professional work force, “Needlewomen were identified as domestic homebodies because this craft was associated with a seemingly simpler and nobler American past, a literal embodiment of the colonial and of domesticity”.⁷⁸³ At around the same time, as affluence grew in the West, needlework was becoming an art appreciated by and within the reach of an increasing number of people both in the United States and in Great Britain.

Although Norwood left America for Chaozhou in 1877, one year after the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition, her busy work in Queshi (礮石), the Baptist compound, might well have prevented her from teaching needlework to her students. As assistant to Adele Fielde and William Ashmore Sr, she took part in the training of Bible-women (1878-1882), which was followed by the work of transcribing Mr Ashmore’s *Swatow Grammar Book* and she “superintended its passage through the press” (1883-1884).⁷⁸⁴ She met Dr Alexander Lyall (EPM) at the Hongxue xuan (鸿雪轩), the English Presbyterian Press in Swatow, where he was helping to revise the medical terms in the *English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Vernacular of the Spoken Language of Swatow*.⁷⁸⁵ Norwood and Lyall (see Figure 29) fell in love with each other and were married in 1885, effectively concluding her service with the ABM.⁷⁸⁶ All these activities must have consumed most of her time and energy; she might not have been able to teach her students the craft during her service in the ABM.

781 Herman adopted Mrs Speicher’s (ABM) account and attributed this technique to Mrs Lyall only. He says: “In 1894, a Mrs Lyall of the English Presbyterian Mission taught Mexican drawn-work to a girl who needed to earn extra money to complete her education at the mission school and from this start other girls soon learned.” See Herman, “Swatow Lace and Needlework Industry”, p.125. Both Chen Zhuofan (1980) and Lee Kam Keung (2007) agree that both Mrs Lyall (Sophia A. Norwood) of the English Presbyterian Church and Lida Scott Ashmore of the American Baptist Church introduced needlework into the Chaozhou region. Referring to when it was introduced, Herman says by Mrs Lyall in 1894; Chen Zhuofan says by Mrs Lyall in 1902 and Mrs Ashmore later; Lee Kam Keung put both of them in 1880s. He introduces Mrs Lyall first in detail, then simply mentions Mrs W. Ashmore Jr. He is inclined to suggest that these two ladies introduced needlework at more or less the same time.

782 Beverly Gordon, “Spinning Wheels, Samplers, and the Modern Priscilla: The Images and Paradoxes of Colonial Revival Needlework”, *Wintertbur Portfolio* 33:2/3, p.164.

783 Ibid., p.164.

784 William Ashmore Sr., *Swatow Grammar Book*, Swatow: English Presbyterian Mission Press, 1884, Preface.

785 Rudolf Lechler, William Duffus revised, *English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Vernacular of Spoken Language of Swatow*, Swatow: English Presbyterian Mission Press, 1883.

786 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, short introduction on Miss Sophia A. Norwood, p.183.



Figure 29: Dr and Mrs Lyall, Swatow (From Jas. Johnston, *China and Formosa*, 1897)

In view of her busy schedule, I suggest that it was in fact Lida Scott Ashmore, wife of William Ashmore Jr (see Figure 33) of the ABM, who, having been influenced by the colonial revival movement, introduced the art of drawn-work⁷⁸⁷ to the local Christian women in the compound between 1880 and 1885. Norwood learned this technique from Mrs Ashmore when they were colleagues in the ABM. When Norwood had more leisure after her marriage,⁷⁸⁸ she taught this craft to her maidservant Lin Saiyu (林赛玉) and her two daughters, Xu Shujing (徐淑静) and Xu Shuying (徐淑英),⁷⁸⁹ who were pupils at the Shude Presbyterian Girls' School.

Before continuing the discussion of the development of needlework, a few notes on its ideological background are important. Since the time of Mary Lyon, who founded Mount Holyoke Seminary as the first women's college in America in 1837, women's education had relied on the training of "head, heart, and hand." The training of the "hand" meant sewing one's own clothes, growing one's own food, washing one's own laundry and engaging in other tasks to support oneself. In the American context, domestic training was seen as the basis for self-reliance among women.⁷⁹⁰

787 Herman says Mrs Lyall taught "Mexican drawn-work", on the basis of information supplied by Mr Maloof, the manager of one of the three biggest needlework companies in Swatow. But Mrs Lyall's home country was Canada (then part of the British Empire) so she might not have been familiar with this type of needlework. On the other hand, Lida Scott Ashmore came from Santa Ana, California, which is very close to the Mexican border (Both she and her husband William Ashmore Jr. spent the last years of their lives there). It is very possible that Mrs Ashmore Jr learnt the Mexico needlework in Santa Ana and taught it to Sophia Norwood when they were colleagues in Queshi from 1880 to 1885.

788 With the rise in the numbers of single woman missionaries with the EPM from the 1880s, the married woman missionaries could retreat into the background. See Records of the Swatow Women's Missionary Association Council, 27th Meeting, Far East House, 30th Sept., 1915, Married ladies. Archives of EPM.

789 Lu Jiding, 2007. Lu Jiding mentions Lin Saiyu in his 2006 article, and Lee Kam Keung mentions Xu Shujing and Xu Shuying only in 2009. However, in his 2007 article, Lu Jiding says he has made the discovery that Xu Shujing and Xu Shuying were Lin Saiyu's daughters, because she had married a peasant whose surname was Xu.

790 Robert, *American Women in Mission*, p.93.

The American Baptist woman missionaries in the Chaozhou region were undoubtedly influenced by the Mount Holyoke educational model, upon which many other women's colleges in the United States and China were patterned. Some of the woman missionaries from Mount Holyoke among them Lucy Lyon, niece of Mary Lyon, decided to join the China mission. They were encouraged in their resolve by William Dean when he visited this college during his furlough in America between 1845 and 1846.⁷⁹¹ Other Mount Holyoke influence on China came through Matilda Calder Thurston and Alice Browne Frame, who occupied the positions of first president of Ginling College (金陵) in Nanjing (南京) and the Acting-President of Yenching College (燕京) in Beijing (北京) in the early-twentieth century.⁷⁹² Both were former students of Mount Holyoke. Under their supervision, both colleges were modelled on Mount Holyoke and were ranked the first class female colleges in China. Two general principles from Mt Holyoke in particular and the American missions in general can be identified in the teaching of needlework to Chinese Christian women: first, encouraging women's self-reliance; second, improving the economic situation in the Christian home.⁷⁹³ The missions in China also had two specific aims: "...to give an opportunity for catechetical instruction",⁷⁹⁴ something common to Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries who compiled various tracts in the form of Chinese traditional folksongs to be sung during communal needlework,⁷⁹⁵ and needlework was also regarded as a sphere of social service, which had been carried out by James and Eliza McMullan of the China Inland Mission in Qingdao (青岛), Shandong province, in the 1880s.⁷⁹⁶ In 1916 Chen Tianle (陈天乐), a male catechist of the Basel Mission, also pointed out that for the women who had no time to do evangelical work, there was always needlework for the orphans and widows.⁷⁹⁷ Gertrude Leclair (日多达), an Ursuline sister who supervised the lace and embroidery workshops in Chaozhou in the 1930s and 1940s, shared the same idea.⁷⁹⁸ Because of the close contact between the Christian missions in Chaozhou, it is likely that many of the same principles and practical aims guided the female missionaries in the Basel Mission and the French Roman Catholic congregation.

Chaozhou society offered advantageous conditions for the introduction of Occidental-style needlework, because this skill tied in well with one of the four traditional female virtues: "be diligent in

791 Lucy Lyon arrived in Hong Kong in April 28, 1847 with her husband Edward Clemens Lord, a missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union. They settled at Ningbo in June. She died in 1854. William Dean wrote an introduction to the book *Memoir of Mrs Lucy T. Lord, of the Chinese Baptist Mission*. Quoted from Robert, *American Women in Mission*, p.73. Biography of William Dean, p.86; biography of Edward Lord, p.163, both in Wylie, *Memorials*.

792 Robert, *American Women in Mission*, p.98.

793 The economic goal was also shared by the French Roman Catholic congregation: "to provide some economic aid in a country growing daily more impoverished", see Mahorney, *Snatow*, p.210.

794 Ibid.

795 The ABM published *Hymns for Worshipping the True Living God* (拜真活神的诗), the Basel Mission published *Hymns for the Little Girls of the Church* (教会小女歌) and the EPM published hymn books in Romanized text. See chapter 3.

796 Qingdao was in an area known for its silk, lace, and embroidery businesses. When the McMullans arrived in this area, they decided to rescue the abandoned children and established an orphanage. They began a school to teach their young orphans how to make lace and how to embroider, and by doing so, provided them with a livelihood. See http://jamesmcmullan.com/frame_brbiog.htm, consulted on 2011-1-27.

797 "所以今日, 好多女界爱当家, 唔得闲传道, 就做女工, 帮助信徒中嘅孤儿寡妇, 来感动人, 也话得系传道了。" Chen Tianle 陈天乐, *Yesu daoli yangbian zai nüjie zhong* faming 《耶稣道理样边在女界中发明》 [How to Instill the Doctrines of Jesus among the Women], *The Mirror for the Female Christians*, p.12.

798 Mahorney, *Snatow*, p.232.

weaving and sewing” (妇工) or “be good at weaving and sewing” (精于女工 or 女红). This was the yardstick by which the ideal wife was measured. The women in the Chaozhou region were already expert in the Chaozhou style of embroidery (潮绣), “thousands of women and girls [were] able to perform [the craft] with skill, speed and accuracy”.⁷⁹⁹ The prefectural city of Chaozhou had been the traditional centre of the fine needlework since the eighteenth century.⁸⁰⁰ The women missionaries were undoubtedly aware both of these ideological principles and of the flourishing local embroidery tradition when they introduced Occidental needlework into this region.

The work was obviously intended for the export market. Ashmore of the ABM, Lyall of the EPM and the Roman Catholic Ursuline sisters all sent the needlework products abroad for sale, but in doing this they adopted different policies. Ashmore was the first (in 1890s) to invest in needlework production for the benefit of the mission and it was clearly stated that the male Baptists were not allowed to engage in this profitable business. This policy was later adopted by the Roman Catholic mission. Lyall taught needlework to poor Presbyterian women and girls who needed money to support themselves. More liberally, the EPM allowed male Presbyterians to earn their living in this business, instigating a policy of private initiative. Now the scene is set, the time has come to see how these churches organized the needlework production among their different congregations.

The American Baptist Church and French Roman Catholic Church: Needlework for the Missions

Lida Ashmore was a woman with foresight. In the natural growth and development of the church, it fell to her to introduce the paying of fees and the founding of day nurseries at country stations when she took charge of the general educational work in 1885.⁸⁰¹ With the increase in the numbers of students at the Zhengguang Girls’ School (正光女学), “after consulting with others,... [she] asked the Society for the modest sum of \$1000 gold, promising to furnish an additional \$600 Mexican received from the sale of drawn work, the making of which she had introduced among our church members... the work on every piece was paid for at its full value.”⁸⁰² The new building was finished in 1899⁸⁰³ at a cost of \$3,658. The sum was completely furnished by Ashmore from her needlework earnings alone, and the sum of \$1,000 voted by the Society was never drawn on but returned to the Society.⁸⁰⁴ Ashmore’s achievement sheds light on two points: “drawn work”, drawn-thread work, was a Western needlework technique which was introduced into the Chaozhou region and needlework products,

799 Herman, “Cultural Factors”, p.122.

800 These two factors are mentioned by Herman, *ibid*.

801 Mrs Ashmore Jr said she took charge of the girls’ boarding school just before the death of the first Mrs Partridge early in 1882 (see Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.184; and *A Special Issue*, p.5). But Giedt said “Miss S. A. Norwood... carried on after the death of Mrs Partridge in 1882 till her own retirement in 1885 to marry Dr. Lyall of the E. P. Mission. Thereafter Mrs Ashmore, Jr. (12 years, 1885-1897), was in charge of the school.” Although Mr William Ashmore Jr took over the responsibility for the boys’ school from Miss Fielde in October 1880, it was not until 1886 that he began to charge Mex. \$2 a year for tuition. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that Mrs Ashmore Jr took charge of the general educational work from 1885. See Giedt, *Early Mission History*, p.17.

802 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.112.

803 The building was completed in 1899, just as the Ashmores left on furlough. They might have promoted the marketing of the Swatow needlework among their relatives and American businessmen.

804 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.112.

drawn-thread or otherwise, were sold to America through the missionaries' personal networks. Ashmore's successful policy was imitated by the French Roman Catholic Mission. In 1903 when Father Mérel was appointed priest and procurator of the mission in Swatow, where an independent Chaozhou mission had not yet founded, Father Douspis (Figure 30) was put in charge of sending and receiving expresses and packages for his colleagues. He foresaw the division of the mission in Canton and collected the resources with which to facilitate the erection of an apostolic vicariate in Swatow. For this purpose, he established embroidery workshops for Roman Catholic women and sold the products in Hong Kong, where the MEP press and sanatorium were located. To raise funds to finance his project, Douspis sent letters accompanied by Chinese knick-knacks, postcards and photographs of Chaozhou to benefactors in Europe and America, in a quest to elicit donations.⁸⁰⁵ At the same time Agathe Lo, a Roman Catholic Virgin in the prefectural city, introduced this handicraft to the Roman Catholic orphanage. Régis Gérvaix, a MEP priest who was sent to Chenghai, paid a visit to this orphanage in 1914 and wrote that, "The orphan girls learn sewing, weaving textiles and dyeing cloths, and produce artificial flowers, embroidery, etc."⁸⁰⁶ Anne Lim, another Virgin, supervised "the needlework school and the classes" (l'ouvroir et des classes), "she demonstrates all sorts of needlecraft to the older girls in the orphanage, and teaches the younger girls personally". "All sorts of needlecraft" refers to the limited techniques introduced in this initial stage, tablecloths, doily and patchwork were the main products. The basic material was linen (夏布) produced in Xinhui (新会) in the Pearl River Delta and in Jieyang.⁸⁰⁷

805 Antoine Douspis, *Notice biographique*, archives of MEP: "En 1903, Mgr. Mérel le nomma curé de Swatow, et procureur de cette partie de la Mission. M.Douspis eût donc la charge de faire les commissions des confrères, et de leur expédier courrier et colis, car la poste n'était pas encore organisée. A Swatow, ville portuaire florissante, il gagna la sympathie de tous, nouant de bonnes relations avec les consulats et les autorités locales. L'occasion lui fut donnée de réaliser ses grands projets. Il établit des ateliers de broderies pour les femmes dont les produits étaient vendus à Hong-Kong. Mais surtout, prévoyant la division de la Mission de Canton, il créa des ressources pour faciliter l'érection et la marche du nouveau vicariat apostolique de Swatow. Il chercha des fonds. Pour cela, il écrivit de nombreuses lettres en Europe et en Amérique. Il envoya à ses correspondants des bibelots chinois, des cartes postales chinoises, des photographies."

806 "Les orphelines apprennent la couture, le tissage des toiles, la teinture des tissus, la fabrication des fleurs artificielles, la broderie, etc. A ces travaux s'ajoutent la culture du jardin, la lessive, la préparation des aliments, la fabrication des cierges et des hosties, etc." Gérvaix, "Pour le Prix Montyon", p.136.

807 "1900 至 1914 年间主要商品以新会夏布、揭阳夏布及一些英国加纱（俗名胶只）制成的枱布、垫布（盘布、补布、几布等）等类为主，工种则有团花、水波痕、老大藤及很小部分的扎目、哥罗纱花边”。*History*, p.7.



Figure 30 (left): Father Douspis at Swatow. He sits for his portrait in a chair holding a Chinese fan in one hand and scrolls in the other, taken on March 11, 1910.

Figure 31 (right): Group of orphan girls engaged in needlework in the Chaozhou city

It was not long before the sale of drawn-thread work by Ashmore was misunderstood and incorrectly reported in the American press. Although Ashmore did not disclose the nature of the criticism leveled by her detractors, her defence that “this was a business venture of her own, and the work on every piece was paid for at its full value”⁸⁰⁸ implies that people had expressed doubts about the suitability of a missionary running a profitable enterprise. The Roman Catholic Ursuline sisters confronted a similar criticism fifty years later. The ministry of Gertrude Lechair of the Roman Catholic lace and embroidery workshops was seen by some people as transgressing the boundaries of Ursuline apostolate.⁸⁰⁹ Another criticism was that the desire that the schoolgirls earn some money would cause them to devote less time to their other duties. Ashmore responded by saying that the schoolgirls were not allowed to do this work because it would have put too much strain on their eyes.⁸¹⁰ If what she said was true, the Chinese women who did needlework in the American Baptist compound could only have been those who had studied at the Women’s School (明道妇学), which was founded by Adele Fielde in 1874. In the post-Fielde period, this school was run nine months a year and needlework was a new course added to the curriculum.

This craft benefited both the mission and the local Baptist women. In 1899, the first building

808 The Chinese history of Zhengguang Girls’ School also stressed twice that Mrs. Ashmore Jr. provided her own money to construct two buildings. See *A Special Issue*, p.35.

809 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.232.

810 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.112.

erected with the earnings from the needlework supervised Ashmore was finished. Later, when this building grew too small and the need for more classrooms for the growing number of classes became urgent, Ashmore put up another building with the help of two members of her family in the United States. This second building was completed in 1911.⁸¹¹ As has been mentioned in the chapter on Bible-women, the local women who studied at the Women's School, most of them poor widows or grass-widows, were in their forties or older. Some even pursued occupations forbidden by the precepts of the church, such as acting as a spirit-medium⁸¹² or earning a livelihood by making mock money.⁸¹³ After their conversion, these women had to find a new ways to support themselves. Doing needlework, they could earn about \$10 per month, three or five times more than their male peers.⁸¹⁴ The earnings were distributed to them with a lapse of several months, after the products had been sold overseas.⁸¹⁵

Contrary to Ashmore's intentions, the lucrative income also attracted the younger students from the Girls' School to engage in needlework. When Miss Myra Weld (卫每拉) replaced Ashmore as the president of the Girls' School in 1904,⁸¹⁶ she introduced a different policy: she allowed the girls in their teens to do needlework, and the resultant income was accumulated to sponsor the Zhengguang Girls' School Mission. A special mission which legitimated the girls' participation in needlework was founded in 1906. A large proportion of the income was used to sponsor this mission, but the girls could still earn some money for themselves.

According to her anonymous biographer, Weld taught the girls "to learn to be fair and pursue one's role quietly/decorously" (实行公道,安守本分).⁸¹⁷ Apparently, needlework fitted this adage perfectly. The girls under her training "disciplined themselves to be as virtuous as jade, eschewed vices and achieved great things" (圭璧自守,不染恶习,成绩斐然).⁸¹⁸ After a year or more had passed,⁸¹⁹ the income was sufficient to sponsor two Bible-women, Chen Jingchen (陈景澄) and Zhang Jingxin (张景馨), to run Bible Schools in the out-stations of Liugang (柳冈, 1897) in Chaoyang district, Haishan (海山, 1900) in Raoping district and Guihu (归湖) in Chao'an district, helping to promote women's literacy and to teach the Christian doctrine there.⁸²⁰

This indicates that the rapid development of the Baptist mission, organized by the local girls and women (妇女宣道会) under the supervision of the Western missionaries, was closely tied up with the

811 The building was called the Abigail Hart Scott Memorial by Ashmore in memory of her mother, *ibid.* Mrs Ashmore Jr enlarged the Zhengguang Girl School (also called the Kak-chieh Girls' school according to E. Giedt) twice, and dedicated it to her mother Abigail Hart Scott. See Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.112; and *A Special Issue*, p.35. Giedt also mentioned Mrs Ashmore Jr furnished funding for two Abigail Hart Scott Memorial buildings of the Kak-chieh Girls' school, see Giedt, p.17. Therefore Lee Kam Keung has made a mistake in saying that Mrs Ashmore Jr provided funding for the construction of the Kak-chieh Boys' School and Zhengguang Girls' School with the sale of needlework (Lee Kam Keung, 2009, p.50); for a correct rendering, see Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.329.

812 Such as Lotus (庄莲花), Bible-woman, Tolerance's mother, who was a spirit-medium in a temple before her conversion.

813 Bible-woman Cress (陈萍) from Guiyu (贵屿) in Chaoyang district earned her living by making mock money.

814 *History*, pp.3-4.

815 Oral account by Huang Zhiren, the Chairman of the Three Self Patriarchal Committee in Shantou, 27 May, 2010.

816 Biography of Myra Weld, *A Special Issue*, Biographies, p. 13.

817 *Ibid.*

818 *Ibid.*

819 The Chinese word "经年" could mean "for one or several years", it is hard to decide how long it means here.

820 "History on the Development of the Women's Mission" (妇女宣道会发达史), *A Special Issue*, p.33. The year mentioned refers to the time each Church was founded.

needlework enterprise run by the Baptist Church. When Weld passed away in 1911, the girls' mission she founded was taken over by Melvina Sollman (宋罗文). In 1912 M. E. Cruff (丘美华) was appointed the principal of the Zhengguang Girls' School by the ABM.⁸²¹ In the summer of 1912, the girls' mission sent a Bible-woman to Jinsha (金沙), a village in the environs of Swatow. When Cruff, Abbie G. Sanderson (孙安美, see Figure 27 in Chapter 4) and the Chinese matron, Bei Furu (贝馥如), supervised the Zhengguang Girls' School in the 1920s, they gave the girls' mission enormous support.⁸²² In 1912, Zhang Jingxin, a teacher at the Women's School, with Sollman and Edith G. Traver (荼福恩), founded the Women's Mission of the Queshi Church (礮石礼拜堂).⁸²³ Most of the members were village women who decided to settle down in Queshi after having been educated at the Mingdao Women's School.⁸²⁴

With the passing of time, new sorts of needlework were introduced. Lida Ashmore chose a photo (See Figure 32) to illustrate a group of local Christian women (probably in the compound, the photo was taken between 1911 and 1920) doing a variety of needlework: embroidering, beading, making tassels, making bead bags, crocheting.⁸²⁵ The first three techniques were part of the repertoire of traditional Chaozhou embroidery, but the last two, making bead bags and crocheting, were typical Western handicrafts.



Figure 32: Earning their way in the Women's School

(From Lida Ashmore's *The South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society*, p.94)

The mission work carried out by the local Baptist women expanded. Between 1912 and 1932, the

821 Ibid., Miss M. E. Cruff and Bei Furu's position see “卫女士已逝世（1911年），学校（正光女学）乏长，遂暂停办，翌年，美国宣道会派丘美华继任为校长，贝馥如、陈伟昆两女士相继为学监...,” *ibid.*, p.35.

822 Ibid., p.33.

823 Also called the Jiaoshi (角石) Church, “礮” and “角” have the same pronunciation in the Chaozhou dialect. “History of the Development of the Women's Mission” (妇女宣道会发达史), *A Special Issue*, p.33.

824 Queshi was an emigrant community gradually formed with the arrival of the ABM in 1860. The residents came from a variety of places in the Chaozhou region. For instance, the residents surnamed Hong (洪) came from Baita in Jieyang district.

825 Ashmore, *The South China Mission*, p.94.

women's mission of the Queshi church employed one Bible-woman per year to preach at the other out-stations. In 1928, acting on Mrs Anne K. Speicher's (江景梅) enthusiastic proposal, the Shantou (汕头) and Qilu (崎碌) churches jointly founded a Women's Mission, with a membership of more than eighty people. It could afford to employ two Bible-women with the money received from its subscriptions. The local Baptist women of the Chengzhong Church in Chao'an district (城中堂, 1906, the year indicates the establishment of the church), Xiancheng Church in Jieyang District (县城堂, 1865), the Longjing Church in Chaoyang district (隆井堂, 1868) and the South Gate Church in Chenghai District (南门堂, 1909), all founded their own Women's Missions. Their example was followed by the Paotai Church (炮台堂, 1878), Huanggang Church (黄冈堂, 1893), Guxi Church (古溪堂, 1885), Liugang Church (柳冈堂, 1897), and Lianyang Church (莲阳堂, 1916).⁸²⁶

Although the anonymous author who wrote the history of the development of the Lingdong Women's Mission reveals that the funding of the Zhengguang Girls' mission came from the earnings of the schoolgirls,⁸²⁷ he does not explicitly point out the origins of the subscriptions which supported the Women's Missions of the Queshi, Swatow and Qilu churches. A glance at the development of the needlework industry in the same period gives some clues which help to solve this puzzle. Foreign needlework dealers converged on Swatow during World War I. In approximately 1925, several big Western companies and scores of medium- or small-scale Chinese workshops mushroomed in Qilu, very close to the Queshi, Swatow and Qilu Baptist churches. As Yang Jianping says, "Needle workers were ubiquitous in Qilu" in this period.⁸²⁸ Hence it is not too far-fetched to suggest that the Baptist women in the Queshi, Swatow and Qilu churches might also have earned their livings from this craft and donated part of the income to fund the women's mission.

826 *A Special Issue*, p.34. The year attached referred to the time each Church was founded.

827 “正光女学女宣道会即告成立，乃提倡手工，积蓄金钱”，“History of the Development of the Women's Mission”, *A Special Issue*, p.33.

828 Yang Jianping, *Chaoshou Embroidery*, p.70.



Figure 33: Laying the Foundation Stone of the Jubilee Building in Queshi, Swatow, China, Dec. 26, 1924.

The school staff and some of the American guests at the Laying of the Foundation Stone

Lida Ashmore: Sitting, the second from the right); Edith Traver: Back row on the left; Melvina Sollman: Back row on the right; Bei Furu (Helen Pue, in the middle holding her clothes)

The American Baptist and French Roman Catholic churches never deviated from the policy of “needlework for the missions” and the needlework workshops of these two congregations were organized under the supervision of the church leaders. Mrs Ashmore was the first leader to take charge of the management of the Baptist needlework. When she retired in 1916, her duties were probably taken over by Lin Zhensheng (林振声), a Chaozhou male Baptist who had received a higher education in America. Chen Zhuofan says that Lin managed a needlework company at the end of the 1910s.⁸²⁹ This might not have been a coincidence. Lin Zhensheng was probably entrusted either by the Baptist Church to run the needlework enterprise or by Mrs Ashmore herself to continue her “personal” investment. Lin also worked simultaneously for the Swatow Christian Institute (汕头普益社), a Baptist foundation.⁸³⁰ Considering that there was only one private needlework businessman who had studied at the Baptist Boys’ School (Queguang School, 馨光中学) compared to the seventeen entrepreneurs who had graduated from the Presbyterian Boys’ School (see Appendix D),⁸³¹ it seems that the American Baptist Mission forbade its male leavers of its school to engage in the needlework industry. This hypothesis is supported by Huang Zhiren, who told me that the Baptist school required the male students to devote themselves to the welfare of the society, not to the pursuit of making a personal fortune. Therefore, when the Communist government was set up, it was not difficult to find a fair

829 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.329.

830 *A Special Issue*, p.18.

831 汕档 12-9-351: 汕头抽纱业工业同业协会会员名册, 中华民国三十七年十月三十日.

number of ex-Baptists who had been denied any entrepreneurial role ranked among the first two generations of local officials in the 1950s and 1960s.⁸³²

The story of the needlework enterprise in the Roman Catholic congregation between 1922 and 1949 is easier to trace than that in the Baptist congregation. When the first three Canadian Ursuline sisters arrived in Swatow at the end of July, 1922, they were astonished to find that needlework was “a popular undertaking for Western missionaries”.⁸³³ Bishop Rayssac put them in charge of the workshops in Swatow and Chaozhou city.⁸³⁴ Soon after the catastrophic tsunami on August 2, Rosaire travelled to Jieyang “to see whether she could commission some needlework she could sell in America.”⁸³⁵ If this plan could be carried out successfully, she could earn 5 to 7.5 per cent of the cost as commission.⁸³⁶ This plan was aborted because the local needlework agents raised the price when they saw that Rosaire was “a white person” [a Westerner, CXY]. She had to return home without any orders.⁸³⁷ In Chaozhou, the workshop in which orphan girls could be trained in needlework continued to produce work.⁸³⁸ In 1924, Ste Croix, the Ursuline sister who took over the Virgins’ work in this city, opened a workshop for poor women.⁸³⁹ She wrote to Standstead in Canada, where the headquarters of the Canadian Ursuline order to which she belonged were located, that: “Despite our poverty we would dearly love to help another class of persons: women who are unsuccessfully looking for work. We would like to build a workroom for these poor women who become so discouraged that they commit suicide.”⁸⁴⁰ At the end of 1929, Bishop Rayssac reported to Paris that the workshop in Chaozhou had accepted about 200 women.⁸⁴¹ In 1932 in the wake of the rising social unrest, at Sister Marie de Lourdes’ suggestion, the older orphan girls in Chaozhou were brought to Hepo, an important station for the Ursuline Order founded in 1926. These girls began “their training in lace-making and embroidery in the workshop” in their new home.⁸⁴²

In 1923, the Ursuline sisters in the Swatow mission joined the Roman Union attached to the vice-province of Java in the Netherlands East Indies, which had been founded by the Tildonk Ursulines of Holland in 1856.⁸⁴³ This opened the door for wider participation and after this Western sisters came to Swatow from different continents. There is no sign that this transition hindered the needlework enterprise in the Roman Catholic congregation. Before 1949, Western sisters who were proficient at needlework were sent to Swatow. Sister Maria Luisa Geminati is a good example. An

832 Oral account by Huang Zhiren.

833 Mahorney, *Swatow*, pp.71-73.

834 Adolphe Rayssac, *Notice biographique*. “En 1922, peu de temps avant le violent typhon du 2 août, arrivèrent à Swatow, les Ursulines canadiennes; Mgr. Rayssac leur confia l’éducation des enfants des européens et des eurasiens, puis l’œuvre de la Sainte Enfance ainsi que des dispensaires et ouvroirs.”

835 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.73.

836 *History*, p.7.

837 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.73.

838 *Ibid.*, p.74.

839 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1924.

840 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.75.

841 *Rapport annuel des évêques de Swatow*, 1929: “Nos dévouées Ursulines viennent de construire là une école avec ouvroir, qui pourra recevoir 200 élèves.” See also Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.115.

842 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.150.

843 *Ibid.*, p.23, p.43.

Italian, Geminati was a skilled needlewoman. After spending four years in Siam, where there were many Chaozhou emigrant workers, she exchanged positions with Sister Kunigunde Bajczar in Swatow in 1931. In Swatow she helped to supervise the workshops of the Swatow mission.⁸⁴⁴ The Roman Catholic women produced a variety of needlework products which were sold through an American company to Standstead in Canada and Boston in America via Shanghai.⁸⁴⁵ The name of this company has still not been ascertained.

The years between 1934 and 1941, especially those between 1939 and 1941, were the heyday of the needlework industry in Chaozhou. Needlework production increased dramatically in the wake of the panic and chaos which ensued after the Japanese invasion of North China. In Yantai (烟台) in Shandong province, one of the earliest and biggest needlework centres in North China, production was forced to stop and, although Swatow was occupied by the Japanese army in June 1939, the Western needlework companies were allowed to continue their businesses.⁸⁴⁶ Therefore, the merchants in North China who had been forced to close their businesses thronged into Swatow where needlework became one of the most important commodities for speculators. The invasion of South-East Asia by the Japanese army also caused an interruption in the remittances sent to Chaozhou from there by emigrant workers.⁸⁴⁷ Many sojourner families found themselves facing poverty and parents could no longer afford the education for their children. The upshot was that more and more women needed to earn their living by doing needlework. The Ursuline sisters in the city of Chaozhou complained that they were no longer able to keep all their classes going. Instead, they enlarged their workshop, in which the number of workers increased from 200 women in 1929 to 750 in 1939.⁸⁴⁸ One year later, the Ursuline sisters had had to close their school and were no longer able to take care of the babies from Swatow because of the deterioration in the condition of the roads between Swatow and Chaozhou. Despite the appalling infrastructure, the number of needlewomen in their workshop tripled, an expansion which enabled the women to earn at least a little money.⁸⁴⁹ In fact, the needlewomen in the Roman Catholic workshop swelled to such a number Sister Ursule Blot reported to Rome in 1941 that it was increasingly difficult to supervise them with only two sisters.⁸⁵⁰ Soon the course of the war caused a deprivation in basic provisions and in the raw materials required for production. In the spring of 1940, Sister Clotilde Holloway wrote that, "Here, crowds of people are starving, as there is no rice to be sold. Many other things are running out, for instance, it is impossible to buy needles."⁸⁵¹ As conditions worsened the needlework industry gradually declined. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7 1941, America entered the Second World War on the side of

844 Ibid., p.128.

845 Ibid., p99, p.210.

846 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.334.

847 Cai Hongsheng pointed this out to me. He also told me that quite a large number of people who depended for their living on remittances starved to death in this period.

848 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.210.

849 Ibid., p.211.

850 Ibid., p.214.

851 Ibid., p.212.

the Allies. Not long after, the Imperial Japanese army invaded the foreign concession in Shanghai and many needlework export companies which were located in the concession were forced to shut down.⁸⁵² The needlework production in the Chaozhou region, which depended heavily on export via Shanghai, was therefore interrupted.

With the end of the Second World War in August 1945, the needlework industry began to revive. Sister Gertrude Leclair supervised the needlewomen in this period; her most prized occupation was engaging “with women working in lace and embroidery factories”.⁸⁵³ When she saw that the needlewomen were labouring “under appalling conditions” and were “generally treated no better than slaves”, Gertrude acted “as a kind of entrepreneur with the factory owners and managers, thus winning better wages and condition for the women.”⁸⁵⁴ This description by Mahorney gives a clue hinting that the management of the workshops was no longer in the hands of the Roman Catholic Ursuline sisters. Li Xuzhen, who entered the Roman Catholic Chenxing Girls’ School in 1946 and joined the Ursuline order in the early 1950s, told me that she never saw or heard of the existence of needlework workshops run by the Roman Catholic church. Considering the criticisms heaped on Leclair asserting that the ministry of the workshop was beyond the boundaries of the Ursuline apostolate,⁸⁵⁵ it is very possible that the Roman Catholic church changed its policy and put the workshops out to contract. The membership roll of the Swatow needlework guild preserved in the Shantou Municipal Archives shows that a needlework factory named “Guangtai” (光泰), which was opened in May 1947, was located next to the Cathedral in Swatow.⁸⁵⁶ Earlier, this factory might have been run by the Roman Catholic sisters.

Needlework and the English Presbyterian Church: Private Initiatives

Robert states categorically that, “doing one’s own sewing not only clothed the clean and orderly Christian family, but needlework provided income for women with children in economies that limited their options for gainful employment.”⁸⁵⁷ In the Chaozhou region, employment was the mainspring in teaching the local Christian women to do needlework. As a Christian and a widow with two daughters in Yanzaoyuan, the first village in Chaozhou which accepted Christianity, Lin Saiyu (林赛玉) was recommended to work as maidservant for the Lyalls. Lu Jiding says that she was very skilled at traditional Chaozhou embroidery. Coming into close contact with Mrs Lyall (Sophia Norwood), Lin Saiyu also learned Western needlework techniques, including Mexican needlework and crochet.⁸⁵⁸ It did

852 Shigan, Liu Yonglan, “A Sketchy Introduction”, p.182.

853 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.231.

854 *Ibid.*, pp.231-232.

855 *Ibid.*, p.232.

856 汕档 12-9-351: 汕头抽纱业工业同业会会员名册, 中华民国三十七年十月三十日.

857 Robert, “The ‘Christian Home’”, p.156.

858 “1896年福音医院英籍医生‘莱爱力’迨同其妻来汕头时, 途径日本, 在日本学到一些抽纱技术, 并购备样品; 抵汕后, 再行传授; 由此抽纱工作比较充实, 除团花、美希哥、水波痕等工种外, 还补充了扎目、哥罗纱花边(钩针花边), 打定花边(梭仔边)等”, *History*, p.1.

not take her long to master these new skills. In 1894, Xu Shujing (徐淑静) and Xu Shuying (徐淑英), Lin's daughters, learnt the craft from Mrs Lyall and their mother and they used the extra income to pay the fees their studies at the Shude Girls' School.⁸⁵⁹ Outside school, Mrs Lyall also taught needlework to the Christian women as a way of making them self-reliant. Li Dexi (李得惜)⁸⁶⁰ who came from Neixinxiang (内新乡), a suburb of Swatow and was baptized in 1895 at the age of thirty-two, also learned needlework from Mrs Lyall, with whom she studied in the company of the Xu sisters. Lin Saiyu taught her neighbour, Aunt Zhu (祝婶), this craft.⁸⁶¹ Before the turn of the century, only some twenty women in the Swatow Presbyterian Church did needlework, with the Shude Girls' school as the centre of the enterprise.⁸⁶² Since the production was limited, the finished needlework, including both Western and Chinese styles, would be sent by the EP missionaries as gifts or sold to the missionary institutes in Great Britain and Germany.⁸⁶³



Figure 34: Traditional Chaozhou embroidery: Chinesische Dank Tafel (Pin, 屏) für Miss. Lechler

To commemorate Rudolf Lechler's retirement, 1899⁸⁶⁴

Presented by the English Chaozhou-Huizhou Presbyterian Church before his departure, probably made by the Presbyterian Christian women in Chaozhou

859 Herman says: "In 1894, a Mrs. Lyall of the English Presbyterian Mission taught Mexican drawn-work to a girl who needed to earn extra money to complete her education at the mission school", see Herman, "Cultural Factors", p. 125. This girl might have been someone like Xu Shujing (徐淑静) or Xu Shuying (徐淑英).

860 Li Dexi's personal information, see Baptismal Register, Shantou Archives.

861 Lu Jiding, "The contribution Chaozhou gave to the Industry of Drawn-thread Work in Chaoshan". "祝婶" might probably have been "足婶", another name for Li Dexi. Her husband's name was "足", which is pronounced the same as "祝" in the Chaozhou dialect. See membership roll of the Swatow Presbyterian congregation, Shantou Municipal Archives: 12-11-18. No.18, information for Li Dexi's baptism.

862 *History*, p.3.

863 *Ibid.*, p.2.

864 The English Presbyterian Church in the Chaozhou region used the name "Chao-Hui Zhanglao Hui" (Chaozhou-Huizhou Presbyterian Church) from 1881-1900. During this period, Rudolf Lechler of the Basel Church went back to Germany for furlough twice, in 1886 and 1899. He planned to return permanently in 1899, therefore, besides visiting every Basel church in the Hakka hinterland, he also visited the English Presbyterian Church in Yanzao, which was his first foothold in mainland China. See *150th Anniversary of Tsung Tsün Mission*, p.44.

Lyll did not forbid the pupils at the Girls' School to do needlework, as Ashmore had done. On the contrary, doing needlework was integrated into the curriculum of the school as part of the training of the girls to be clean and orderly. Four alumnae—Zeng Derong (曾德容), Aunt Laughing (笑姨), Xie Xuezhang (谢雪璋), Lady Lin (林氏)—who entered this school in about 1917, 1924, 1925, 1933 respectively, recalled that the school placed great emphasis on teaching the girls to do all kinds of needlework, including cross-stitch,⁸⁶⁵ weaving, drawn-work and making their own school uniforms as required.⁸⁶⁶

The lucrative income (\$10 per month)⁸⁶⁷ to be earned from needlework attracted other girls to the Shude Girls' School to learn. Soon, women and girls from many inland places were making their way to Swatow for training. Some returned home where they spread the craft, others remained in Swatow after persuading their families to join them.⁸⁶⁸ This population mobility first became visible in the Christian communities. Especially those graduates of the Shude Girls' School who went on to work as teachers, Bible-women or the wives of the ministers contributed to the transmission of this craft in the Presbyterian out-stations, including Yanzaio in Chenghai district, the prefectural city of Chaozhou, Wujingfu (五经富) in Jieyang district.⁸⁶⁹ From these centres, the skill was disseminated to the adjacent villages. So potent was the spread of needlework that new out-stations actually emerged because of the transmission of this craft in 1900s. These included Jinghai (靖海),⁸⁷⁰ Paotai (炮台),⁸⁷¹ Guangmei (广美)⁸⁷² and Yuhu (渔湖).⁸⁷³ Huang Shude (黄树德), baptized in the Guangmei Church at the age of fifteen with her mother, learned the craft of needlework from this congregation.⁸⁷⁴ Chen Zhuofan states that: "The places where the Christians were more concentrated were meanwhile the main processing centers of needlework products."⁸⁷⁵

There was a significant difference between the ABM and the EPM in their management of needlework enterprises. The former monopolized the management of the needlework enterprise and

865 Zeng Derong specialized in cross-stitch (十字绣). "我们还有家政课, 学习手工, 例如绣花, (我们)学的是十二(字)绣, 我还绣过'木兰从军'; 我(后来)剪裁(裳裤的能力)很强。" See Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls' School*, p.59.

866 According to Lady Lin, "每个人按照(学校规定的)样式自己做, 大家做衣服都很在行的。...而番仔都是穿他们自己的服装。...在学校读书的时候, 家里有时还弄点活让你干, 给弟弟缝衣服, 打毛衣什么的; 学校放假的时候回家乡, 回家了就要做抽纱挣钱帮助家庭。" See *ibid.*, pp.88-89.

867 *History*, pp.3-4.

868 Herman, "Cultural factors", p.126. See also Lee Kam Keung, *A Centennial History*, p. 50.

869 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.334.

870 Synod Record of the English Presbyterian Church, May 2, 1902: "安饱德等复征收大会费, 将各堂会分作六等:每年半元者仙门城、碣石、庵埠、惠来、遮浪、塘心邱(?)、龙湖、留隍、东山、鲤湖、靖海。" See also Chinghai (靖海) in Herman, "Cultural factors", p.125.

871 Synod Record of the English Presbyterian Church, Aug. 25, 1907. See also P'aot'ai (炮台) in Herman, "Cultural factors", p.125.

872 Synod Record of the English Presbyterian Church, Aug. 25, 1907. See also Lee Kam Keung, "Came from the same place of birth", Note 6 and 15; and Liu Lizhi 刘理之, Wang Xingyuan 王杏元 eds., *Jieyang Xiangtu lu* 《揭阳乡土录》, Jieyang xiangtulu bianweihui 揭阳乡土录编委会, December, 1984.

873 Synod Record of the English Presbyterian Church, Sep. 14, 1915: "划归学区, 即揭邑、棉湖、枫口、登冈、顶埠、广美、大窖、流沙、龙港、新寮、炮台、新亨、东寮、竹桥、京冈、灶浦、陂头、玉溪、龟背、果陇、鲤湖、蔡口, 共二十二堂。"

874 Huang Shude and Huang Zhongshan (黄仲山), who also came Guangmei village, became needlework entrepreneurs in Hong Kong. See Lee Kam Keung, "From the Same Birthplace".

875 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.334.

kept it under the control of the missionaries. This was also true of the local women's missions. Although funded by the needlework income of the local Christian women, the missions were supervised by the Western women missionaries. The English Presbyterian Church had other ideas and allowed its flock to earn a living from this craft and accumulate money. This policy helped to create a boom in the needlework production in the Chaozhou region. In collaboration with the skilled Presbyterian needlewomen, male Presbyterians, as said earlier in contrast to their Baptist counterparts, played an important role in this significant stage. How did this gender collaboration between the Presbyterians at the turn of the century contribute to the formation of the needlework industry which was so significant to the history of the city of Swatow?

Although it was the young women who were the producers of the needlework targeted for the oversea markets, these same young women were not allowed to travel freely to the treaty port of Swatow where many foreigners, sailors, businessmen and officials employed in the maritime Customs service congregated. Their exclusion meant that the promotion of the sale of needlework products devolved into the hands of the men. This group was also narrowed down because since the purchasers were Westerners, only those men who could speak English could market this product among the foreigners. Chief among them was a group of peddlers who used to board the foreign vessels in the port to sell the foreign soldiers and sailors their daily necessities. They also seized the opportunity to vend some of the local specialties and embroidery. They were called *bei nang zai* (背囊仔) since that they carried their commodities in a bamboo basket on their backs. Weng Caiyuan (翁财源), who used to be a barber, and Xu Zixiang (徐子祥), a Presbyterian, were said to have been among the first generation of *bei nang zai* to sell needlework.⁸⁷⁶ Be that as it may, the story of Lin Jiahe, who was also a *bei nang zai*, offers a better illustration of the relationship between a male peddler and a needlewoman in the initial period. Lu Jiding says that Lin Jiahe was a fellow villager of Lin Saiyu, who like he was a member of the Yanzaao congregation. Having acquired some knowledge of English from the missionaries, Lin Jiahe went to Swatow to work as a *bei nang zai* around 1902. As he marketed his wares, Lin Jiahe discovered that the needlework products made by the Presbyterian women were in great demand among the foreign visitors. He therefore contacted Lin Saiyu, who had already returned to Yanzaao during the furlough of the Lyalls, and ordered more needlework products, which he was able to sell at a great profit. His example was soon imitated by the other *bei nang zai* (背囊仔), who also frequented the villages near Swatow where women were producing fine needlework. Naturally, their orders stimulated the needlework production around Swatow.

After accumulating some capital, *bei nang zai* Weng Caiyuan and Xu Zixiang founded their own companies. Between 1903 and 1907, four needlework companies named “Weng Caiyuan”, “Swatow & Co.” (汕头公司), “Huazhang & Co.” (华章公司) and Zhenchao & Co. (振潮公司) were founded in Swatow. Most of the entrepreneurs, for instance Cai Hanyuan (蔡汉源) of Swatow & Co., Xu Zixiang

876 *History*, p.2.

and Lin Junliang (林俊良), another needlework dealer, were Presbyterians.⁸⁷⁷ At that time no foreign company yet dealt with the export of needlework products in Swatow itself. Cai, Xu and Lin followed the traditional emigrant route to Hong Kong to promote their products. Others travelled to Shanghai. In that period, both cities had considerable Western communities.

As this trade with foreigners was being developed, the art of needlework was being steadily transmitted from Swatow into the hinterland. Ding Huilong (丁惠龙) played an important role in introducing the craft into the prefectural city. Born in the village of Chenqiao (陈桥)⁸⁷⁸ near the west gate where the traditional embroidery centre of this city was located, Ding's first career was as an embroidery dealer. Promoting traditional embroidery products among Western customers meant that he frequently travelled between Chaozhou and Swatow. In Swatow, he sought close contact with the missionaries from whom he learned English. He eventually converted in later life. He met Lin Saiyu in the same congregation. Blessed with intelligence and eloquence, Ding made a great impression on Lin, from whom he learned various needlework techniques. His knowledge of the craft of needlework, his experience in promoting embroidery and his knowledge of English made him an ideal candidate to be a needlework comprador. When the opportunity presented itself, he was introduced to the Zhenchao Company by the missionaries. Ding obtained his raw materials, including white cloth and fine embroidery thread, from this company and distributed these prerequisites among the female embroidery workers in the vicinity of *Bushu* (布梳, 'Cloth and Comb') Street, the traditional embroidery centre. He also resorted to Lin Saiyu for help. Under Lin's supervision, these embroidery workers combined traditional and Western techniques to create original needlework products. The Zhenchao Company continued to supply the raw materials and took charge of the promotion and sale of the finished products abroad via channels in Shanghai and Hong Kong. In his turn, Ding Huilong distributed the raw materials among the workers and collected their finished products.⁸⁷⁹ He did not work exclusively with the Zhenchao Company, but also acted as a comprador for some other needlework companies. When business expanded and the needle workers along Bushu Street could no longer handle all the orders for their products, Ding Huilong found new centres of production in the rural areas, where the labour force was much cheaper. This was the beginning of the "putting-out"

877 Biographies of Cai Hanyuan, Lin Junliang and Xu Zixiang are as follows:

蔡汉源(?-1953), 开设“汕头抽纱公司”, 并曾于汕头组织基督教青年会

林俊良(?-1952), 汕头崎碌堂(伯特利堂前身)执事。青年时期于汕头从事抽纱业, 并往来上海、香港营商, 偕蔡汉源、黄浩等筹组汕头青年会。晚年任尖沙咀堂顾问, 至1952年离世。

徐子祥(?-1963), 生于富户, 亦为抽纱业者, 其弟为汕头贝理神学院首位华人院长徐腾辉牧师, 妹夫为陈泽霖, 皆为汕头教会的要员。先后担任汕头堂长老、执事等职, 为汕头教会核心人物。20年代由于非基运动, 使汕头堂会分裂, 部分长执要求自立, 攻击堂牧郭景云的纷争, 最终分裂产生要求独立的汕头新中华基督教会。而徐子祥于其时拥护堂牧郭景云中扮演重要角色。

林俊良、徐子祥原于汕头教会担任要职, 二人辗转南迁香港, 遂以其长才协助旅港潮人基督教会发展, 于“惨淡经营, 不遗余力”中, 使“会务突飞猛进”。See Lee Kam Keung, "Came from the same place of birth".

878 He was also said to be a native of Xinpu (新浦) village, *History*, p.4.

879 According to Mr Maloof, the types of needlework exported from Swatow were "handkerchiefs, with smaller quantities for tea sets and runners; some lace was also made, especially for large tablecloths. The bulk of the handkerchiefs, both men's and ladies', were of medium quality but contained a variety of work: drawn-work, embroidery, and a hand-rolled hem." See Herman, "Cultural factors", pp.124-125. Handkerchief and table linen were two main products.

system which dominated the needlework industry throughout most of the twentieth century. The relationship between Lin Saiyu, Lin Jiahe and Ding Huilong clearly shows a division of labour based on gender: as a woman and an expert in needlework, Lin Saiyu supervised the needlewomen thereby in fact becoming the first woman manager. With his language skills, “retailer” Lin Jiahe sold the needlework products to the foreigners. “Comprador” Ding Huilong worked in close co-operation with the needlework companies in Swatow. Lin Saiyu went even further and ran a joint-venture needlework shop, *Ding Fa He* (丁发合号), with Ding Huilong in Chaozhou City. Following in her mother’s footsteps, in 1925 her daughter, Xu Shuying, became manager of the Dechang Hang (德昌行), another needlework company in Swatow. Despite their connections with missionaries and Christianity, Lin Saiyu, Lin Jiahe and Ding Huilong had not received any formal education at a Christian school but from 1910, graduates of the Presbyterian Boys’ and Girls’ Schools in Swatow did begin to enter the needlework business (see Appendix. D). Before 1949, some leaders (either ministers or elders) of the Swatow Presbyterian Church were working simultaneously as directors of the Swatow Needlework Guild, proof of which is demonstrated by the experiences of Hou Yichu (侯乙初) and Zhang Guchun (张固纯).⁸⁸⁰

Hou Yichu was born in the town of Fengjiang (凤江镇) in Jieyang district⁸⁸¹ in 1867. He married Yang Jingde (杨锦德), a graduate of the Shude Girls’ School, who engaged in needlework in order to keep her family. Hou Yichu became a minister of the Swatow Presbyterian Church sometime after 1910. He was in charge of various important affairs in the Swatow Intermediate Synod (汕头中会), including marriage,⁸⁸² the migration of Christians,⁸⁸³ the management of girls’ primary schools run by the affiliated churches,⁸⁸⁴ the division of the Lingdong Presbyterian parish⁸⁸⁵ and the revision of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church.⁸⁸⁶ Zhang Guchun was born in Swatow in 1871 and was baptized by George Smith (施饶理) on November 11, 1887.⁸⁸⁷ He became an elder of the Swatow Presbyterian Church after 1910, and immersed himself in such issues as school affairs, membership, the appointment of evangelists and ministers,⁸⁸⁸ and church repairs.⁸⁸⁹ Around 1930, Hou Yichu and Zhang Guchun were close colleagues in the church, and worked together on the register of the Yuhuai

880 汕档: 12-9-415: 1929年1月5日的文件显示, 汕头抽纱公会常务委员是侯乙初、张固纯、赵资光。

881 Now Jiexi district (揭西县).

882 September 26, 1919; May 7, 1920; June 20, 1921; October 2, 1923, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Presbytery.

883 Sent letter to the South Siam Synod June 20, 1921 and October 24, 1922; sent letter to the Taiwan Presbyterian Synod, *ibid*.

884 September 22, 1925: 卅四: 议西教士会议将中会属各堂小女学可归中会统一管辖较便云云。邱家修举须派人与西教士会委办商酌以复后会。即派侯乙初、郭潭恩、吴国维、许修翎、洪美珠。中会准。 *Ibid*.

885 April 22, 1930: 八十二: 分区聘牧委办侯乙初等复经将各堂划为二十区。 *Ibid*.

886 April 26, 1932: 六十二: 提名委办复派人复查公例案。经派定邱家修、侯乙初、廖献诚、林受天、林章光、陈作瑞、施雅各。区会纳。 *Ibid*.

887 Zhang Guchun’s mother was also baptized on April 1, 1900 by the Chinese minister Wang Lieji. She lived in Qilu (崎碌), where most of the needlework companies were located. She probably did needlework to support her family and, like other sons engaged in this line of work, Zhang Guchun inherited his career from her interest. More examples of this pattern can be found in the Presbyterian congregation, see short biography of Huang Shude (黄树德): “十五岁与母亲一同受洗于广美村礼拜堂, 其母于教会习得抽纱手艺。黄氏因而从事抽纱业。1920年于香港弥敦道创办‘复荣公司’ (Fook Weng & Co.), 致富后奉献甚多, 历任值理多届。” See Lee Kam Keung, “Came from the same place of birth”.

888 September 26, 1918: 张固纯等重复编委办之事经酌议如左: 学校: 张固纯; 鼓励布道: 侯乙初; 人数总单: 张固纯; 小学束修: 张固纯; 传道收银并分发: 张固纯、汲约翰、华河力, 执簿: 许修翎; 牧师束修: 张固纯。Record of the Swatow Elder and Deacon Synod (汕头长执会记事册).

889 See April 22, 1929; August 2, 1931; June 26, 1932; August 26, 1934; May 9, 1948; July 15, 1948, *ibid*.

Boys' School (聿怀中学) from 1929 to 1931.⁸⁹⁰ They are both listed in the standing committee of the needlework guild,⁸⁹¹ an important institute which assisted in negotiations with the government affecting the interests of the needlework merchants. Zhang Guchuan was the chairman of the guild for twenty years between 1929 and 1949. His important position in the needlework industry helped him in his office as treasurer of the Swatow Presbyterian Church. Directly and indirectly, the Presbyterian needlework entrepreneurs gave the churches enormous financial support. When the National Government required the Yuhuai Boys' School to be registered, three needlework companies, Xiecheng (协成),⁸⁹² Swatow (汕头) and Yihan (益汉), stood guarantor. Cai Hanyuan, Xu Zixiang, Lin Junliang and Huang Hao(黄浩), who also held office in the Swatow Presbyterian Church, later emigrated to Hong Kong where they continued their businesses and gave financial support to the founding of churches for the Chaozhou Christian sojourners.⁸⁹³

Before the First World War, because of a reliance on the personal connections of the English Presbyterian missionaries, such European countries as Great Britain and Germany were the main market for the Chaozhou needlework products. Only a small portion of this work was sold in America via Ashmore's personal network. This situation changed when the European market seriously shrank during the war, thereby opening the way for America to surpass Europe as the main needlework market. In 1920, Mallouk Brothers of New York was the first foreign company to establish itself in Swatow: a Swiss designer was employed to produce new patterns, new Italian needlework techniques were introduced, linen made in Ireland and *Zuochou* (柞绸, a kind of undressed silk cloth known as pongee made in Shandong and often known as shantung) replaced the local linen cloth (made in Nanhai and Jieyang) as the new basic materials.⁸⁹⁴ Mallouk Brothers was followed by Roese Brothers (新昌洋行, Ashville, Ohio, USA), George (乔治洋行), Shalom & Co. (双隆洋行, New York City), Jabara & Bros, F. M. (倍利洋行, Wichita, KS, USA), Kohlberg, Inc. (柯宝洋行, Mt. Kisco, NY, USA), and Maloof (马禄孚洋行, Columbus, OH, USA). According to *The History*, the majority of the owners of these foreign companies were American Jews or Syrians.⁸⁹⁵ Although less competitive than the American merchants, European merchants also established companies in Swatow, among them Bradley & Co. (德记洋行, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, UK) and Melchers (美最时洋行, Bremen, Germany). The establishment of Western companies in Swatow integrated the Chaozhou region into the world economic system, the global context in which these emerging industries operated. The compradors of these foreign companies were usually graduates of the Presbyterian Anglo-Chinese School, some of

890 For Hou Yichu, see April 30, 1929; December 16, 1930; September 1, 1931; For Zhang Guchun, see April 28, 1931, Records of the Swatow Intermediate Presbytery.

891 See note 888. Zhao Ziguang was also an elder of the Swatow Presbyterian Church in the 1940s.

892 Owned by Xie Xuezhang's (谢雪璋) brother, see her oral account, Du Shimin, p.70. Xie Xuezhang was the first female minister in July 1982. See *History of Protestantism in Shantou* (draft), p.3.

893 “其时发起重组教会，获得蔡汉源、黄树德、黄仲山、孙佳广、陈润生、柯宏楠、吴宠荣、林兆禧 8 位支持。八人多业抽纱。” See Lee Kam Keung, “Came from the same place of birth”.

894 “工种又增加了意大利式扎目及对丝等”，*History*, p.1.

895 “这些洋行的老板大部分是美籍犹太人或叙利亚人，精明圆滑，资力雄厚”，*ibid.*, p.3. In the membership roll of Swatow needlework guild (1948), a manager named M.R. Dahrouge (达鲁祺) is listed. This might be French-oriented spelling of an Arabic name.

them had even enjoyed a tertiary education in Great Britain and America.⁸⁹⁶ A Presbyterian Zhang Tingjian (张廷鉴) was the comprador of Kohlberg, Inc. He was also president of the Gospel Kindergarten & National Girls' School in Qilu (崎碌福音幼稚园女子国民学校), which he funded with the help of charity institutions.⁸⁹⁷ Like Zhang, Dai Weilian (戴威廉, William Dai), the comprador of the Maloof Company, was a Presbyterian.⁸⁹⁸

The Wider Economic and Social Impact

The 'putting-out' system was the crucial factor in the rapid growth of the needlework industry in the Chaozhou region. When Western dealers arrived in Swatow during the First World War, their initial plan was to set up workshops where they could directly supervise women working full-time. This plan was doomed to failure because of the local economic and social conditions during the 1910s. Herman explains that needlework could be done more cheaply in the inland areas where the women and their daughters lived at home than in factories in Swatow. Another spanner in the works was that the needlewomen preferred to work at their own speed and among their own family members, opting for informality and less routine working hours to the rigid regularity of supervised factory life. In all likelihood, this preference was reinforced by male kinsmen who preferred the women to work at home where they would not be subject to close contact with strangers, especially men, as they would have been in the factories. Therefore, contrary to all "rational"⁸⁹⁹ industrial planning, most of the production was carried on outside the city limits of Swatow, one centre (Jinghai in Huilai district) being as far as 30 miles away.⁹⁰⁰

Eventually the divergent policies adopted in the production of needlework by the ABM (and the MEP) and the EPM ushered in different sorts of social influences. Heeding the criticism of their peers at home who believed that missionaries should not engage in profit-making businesses, the production of needlework in the American Baptist and the French Roman Catholic congregations was supervised by the missionaries solely for the benefit of the missions. Eschewing any attempt to make personal benefit, the local male Baptists and Roman Catholics were sternly forbidden to participate in this industry as a commercial business, because they were required to devote themselves to the welfare of the society, not to the pursuit of making a personal fortune. As it did not feel constrained by these about profit-making considerations, the EPM did not itself organize formal workshops for Presbyterian women but allowed the male Presbyterians to run the needlework business. In return, the wealthy needlework merchants provided donations to fund the development of the EP Church. In this case, as a wholly Chinese enterprise the craft was rapidly transmitted throughout the out-stations of the

896 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.329.

897 Ma Yuhang 马育航, *Shantou jinkuang zhi yiban* 《汕头近况之一斑》 [Sketch of Recent Circumstances in Swatow], 1921, p.33.

898 “汕头的张廷鉴、戴威廉，都是学英文后成为第一等洋商买办的”，Chen Zelin, “The Presbyterian Mission in Chaoshan”, p.440.

899 Herman, “Cultural factors”, p.126.

900 *Ibid.*

EP Church, first to Yanzaio in Chenghai district and then to the district of Jieyang, with the town of Paotai (炮台) as its centre. Soon afterwards, it had been disseminated to Chaoyang, of which the town Zaopu (灶浦) was the pivotal point. In 1910, the craft was introduced to the prefectural city, Chaozhou, by Ding Huilong. With the commencement of the mission work of the Presbyterian Church in the district city of Chenghai in 1922, needlework also began to be produced in this city.⁹⁰¹ It would be fair to say that, after 1900 to a certain extent the spread of the craft certainly seems to have contributed to the planting of new Presbyterian stations, for instance, those in Paotai, Jinghai and Chenghai city. Very soon, the non-Christian women around these stations also mastered the craft and a systematic needlework industry gradually evolved in the Chaozhou region, with Swatow as the centre of the importation of raw materials and the export of the finished products.

A piece of needlework required a number of different techniques, which resulted in a regional specialization in certain types of work. A Chaozhou folksong succinctly summarizes this division of labour as follows: “Chao’an women do fine embroidery, Jieyang women are good at cross-stitch, every woman in Chenghai is skilled at French knots (蕾花),⁹⁰² Chaoyang (women) are famous for their drawn-thread work, Guangbu (关埠) (women) are experts in weaving ramie grass cloth (苧葛布), people in Yanzaio excell at crocheting.”⁹⁰³ The needlework industry reached its zenith between 1934 and 1941. During its heyday, at a moderate estimate, 500,000 people,⁹⁰⁴ most of them women and girls,⁹⁰⁵ were engaged in this industry in the rural areas. In 1930, an intricate circuit was established on the basis of the regional specialization. Both Herman and Chen Zhuofan illustrate how ladies’ handkerchiefs were made in the Chaozhou region (see Figure 35, an area covering 50 miles from north to south, and extending 30 miles inland).⁹⁰⁶ Based primarily on Herman, supplemented by Chen

901 The *History* says around 1925, pp.4-5.

902 Also called “插花”, see Ke Yudan, “Research on the Artistic Characteristics”, p.94.

903 在潮汕大地上, 有着这样抽纱技艺的民谣传颂: “潮安长垫绣(embroidery), 揭阳会十字花(cross-stitch), 澄海人人会蕾花, 潮阳雕窗 (drawn-thread work) 上出名, 关埠擅长苧葛布(grasscloth), 盐灶拿手‘哥罗纱’ (crochet, 即通花) ...,” See Yang Jianping, *Chaozhou Embroidery*, pp.78-79.

904 Herman estimates the number to have been 300,000 in the period 1936-1941. This number was “a generalized compromise between an estimate of 200,000 in U. S. Department of Commerce, China Monthly Trade Report, Feb. 1, 1935, p.15, and 400,000, a medium estimate by Mr Fred Maloof, former exporter-importer of Swatow work for 25 years, in a personal interview in New York, April 21, 1952;” Herman, “Cultural factors”, p.124. However, the statistics provided in the *Introduction* (p.2) suggest numbers ranging from 500,000 to 900,000 (excluding 10,000 employees who worked in Swatow). The statistics in 1938 provided by The *History* (pp.4-5) are more detailed: Jieyang district: 250,000; Chaoyang: 100,000; Chao’an: 300,000; Chenghai: 50,000; 700,000 needlewomen in total (excluded 6,000 employees worked in Swatow). I have adopted the moderate number of 500,000 Chaozhou needlewomen in the heyday of needlework industry.

905 Men constituted certain percentages among the needle workers. Lady Xiao (肖姐), who did needlework at the end of 1970s, told me that 10% of the workers were male. Interview with Lady Xiao, 2011-1-30. This is not a strange state of affairs in the Chaozhou region, because men had also worked as embroiderers for as long as the traditional craft of embroidery had existed in Chaozhou city. They specialized in embroidering the costumes for the officials and for the actors and actresses in traditional Chaozhou drama. This work was not allowed to be done by women. When Western needlework was introduced into this city, it was said that most of the workers who began to learn this craft were male. With the development of this industry, women gradually became the majority. See *History*, p.5.

906 Herman, “Cultural factors”, p.127. The place names and the Chinese terminologies for the types of work in brackets have been added by the author. See also *Introduction* (pp.1-2): “抽纱制造繁复之过程中, 大别可分为两大部份及地域, 汕头为收发之枢纽, 各县农村为制造之中心, 农村妇女以抽纱为副业, 汕头市男女工人专司漂洗、烫熨”. Chen Zhuofan also said: “抽纱业的经营, 把加工的工种, 分门别类就各地区的专长, 分布送去加工. 其中名贵的抽纱品种, 都要包括几个不同的工种, 而且还要经过几个不同的地区, 进行不同的加工. 例如白花绣手巾的加工先送揭阳县抽纱, 次送潮安县绣花, 后送汕头市郊卷边, 然后制成.” Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, pp.333-334.

Zhuofan and *The History*, below an overview is given showing the regional specialization, the processing circuit and the number of needlewomen in each needlework centre during the heyday:

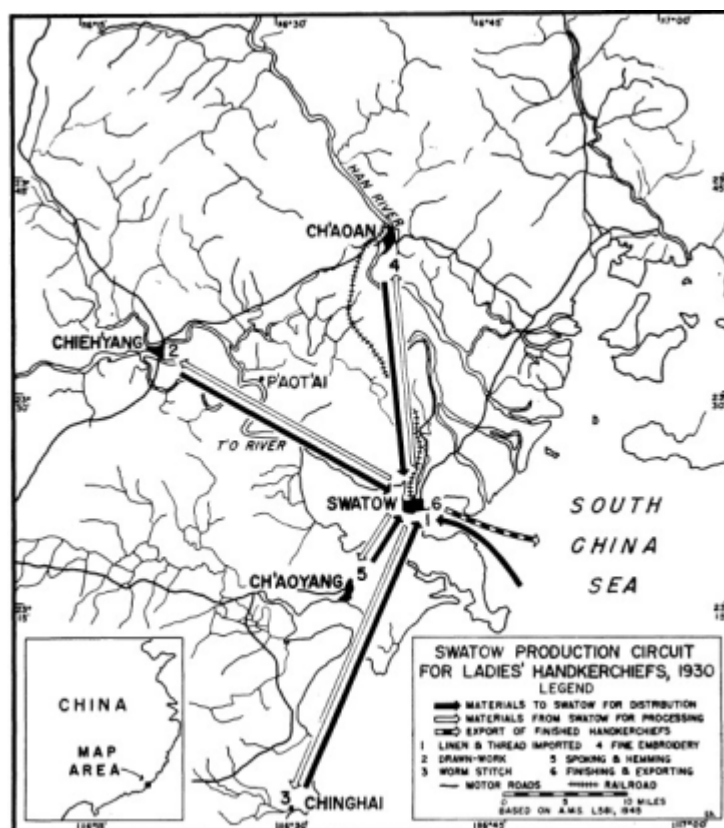


Figure 35: Swatow Production Circuit for Ladies' Handkerchiefs, 1930

(From Theodore Herman, "Cultural factors", p.123)

Step 1, in Swatow: Pieces of imported linen were stamped with the design in Swatow, often four copies on one large piece.

Step 2, Jieyang district was home to 250,000 needlewomen. The agents carried bundles of the pieces of cloth and the thread up the Tuo River (鮎江) by launch or sampan to the district city of Jieyang and its satellite villages, notably Paotai (炮台), where the women and girls specialized in drawn-thread work. When their work had been completed, the pieces were collected and returned to Swatow for inspection by the agents. The agents were paid and took the bundles to another area for the next step in the process. Besides drawn-thread work, the women in Jieyang had mastered a wide variety of other techniques, for instance picot or purl work (对丝), eyelet stitching (网眼), embroidery (绣花), hemming (卷边), binding (扎边), appliqué (贴布) and so forth.⁹⁰⁷

Step 3, in Jinghai (靖海) in Huilai district: If simple worm or bullion stitch was required, their destination was Jinghai, on the coast 30 miles south of Swatow, where girls of seven or eight were employed to do this work. When finished, the pieces came back again to Swatow. (Worm or bullion stitch)

Step 4, the district of Chao'an (潮安) had 300,000 needlewomen. To be assured of the finest embroidery, the

907 “揭阳县抽纱工作较为全面，如绣花、抽纱、网眼、卷边、扎边、贴布均能做，而以对丝、网眼、龙眼花、三山边、托地花为特长。” Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.334.

material was transferred north to Chaozhou by river, rail or road. (Embroidery)

Step 5, in Swatow and Chaoyang (潮阳): Upon completion, the work was again returned to the environs of Swatow and sent south to Chaoyang for spoking across the drawn-thread work, cutting the large pieces into four separate handkerchiefs and hemming them all by hand—each process undertaken by a different group. Among the villages in the environs of Swatow which were good at hemming were Outing (鸥汀), Dongdun (东墩), Fulong (浮垌), Jinsha (金沙), Huawu (华坞). They were located in the southern part of Chenghai district. In the northern part, the villages of Yanzaio, Zhanglin and Dongli (东里) had a reputation for crocheting. The Chenghai district had 50,000 needlewomen in total. In Chaoyang there were 100,000 needlewomen whose specialty was patchwork or appliqué.⁹⁰⁸

Step 6, in Swatow, in the workshops of the contractors or exporters, local women did the final processing which included inspecting, washing, ironing, folding, labelling, and packing. Some 5,000 women were employed in the factories in Swatow.⁹⁰⁹

In 1938, a year in which there was regular production, 3,600,000 dozen handkerchiefs, 1,050,000 tablecloth sets, 18,000 kilograms of lace and 42,000 kilograms of crochet gloves were exported.⁹¹⁰ The value amounted to US\$ 7 million. Seventy per cent of the products were exported to the United States (see Figure 36):⁹¹¹

908 “潮阳县专工贴布，澄海县的鸥汀乡以绣花及卷边为长，盐灶、樟林、东里等乡以织花边（又名珂罗纱）驰名，汕头市郊之东墩、浮垌、金沙、华坞等乡则专长卷边。” Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.334.

909 The number in *Introduction* was 10,000; The *History* says the number of needle workers in Swatow was 6,000, 90% of them (5,400) women. This number is very close to Herman's estimate.

910 See *History*, p.7. The statistics in *The Introduction* (p.3) are: during 1937-1941, 3 million dozen handkerchiefs and 1.75 million tablecloths were exported. However, the number given by Herman (p.127) is very low, “between 150,000 and 200,000 dozen handkerchiefs were exported annually.”

911 Herman says the number was as high as 90%, see Herman, “Cultural factors”, p.127.



Figure 36: Routes of Import⁹¹² and Export⁹¹³ of the Chaozhou Needlework Industry
(From *The History*, p.6)

As indicated by Herman, before needlework had been introduced to Swatow, this craft was well established in other ports along the Chinese coast, as among them Ningbo (宁波) and Changshu (常熟) near Shanghai, Yantai (烟台), and Qingdao (青岛) in Shandong province. At the time, these cities were more regular ports of call for ocean-going ships from around the world.⁹¹⁴ Despite the established reputation of the craft in these port cities, Swatow was eventually chosen as a centre of needlework production during and after the First World War. Why was this choice made? Herman does raise this question but does not answer it.⁹¹⁵ Two factors might be considered in searching for an explanation:

912 The foreign counties from whom imported the raw materials:

Materials	Made in:
linen 亚麻布	GB, Switzerland, Belgium
cambric 细洋纱布	Switzerland, GB, US
Argentine cambric 亚根地纱布	Switzerland, GB,
crewel yarn 绣纱线	GB, France, Switzerland,

Introduction, p.3.

913 Herman says 90% of the products were exported to the US, *ibid.* However, the statistics provided in *Introduction* are:

	The US	GB	Australia	Canada	South Africa	South America	Others: Philippine and East Indies, etc.	Total
Before WWII: 1937-1941	70%	3%	7%	5%	3%	2%	10%	100%
After WWII: 1948-1949	80%	Import restricted	4%	6%	Import restricted	2%	8%	100%

914 Herman, "Cultural factors", p.124:

915 *Ibid.*, p.122.

needlework was already the principal profit-making craft in the Chaozhou region which could provide a ready labour force composed of a large number of unemployed village women, a circumstance it has to be said it shared with Shandong province. Although needlework was also introduced into the Yangtze and Pearl River Deltas, the women there had already found employment in the traditional cloth and silk weaving industries, especially after these were mechanized in the mid-nineteenth century. As the population expanded, a certain number of village women in the Yangtze River Delta also earned their living from plying this craft. This change in employment did not occur in the Pearl River Delta. Apart from being engaged in the silk-reeling industry, the village women in this delta were more likely to be found employed as migrant workers in Guangzhou, Hong Kong or even South-East Asia, where some of them worked as *amah* (female servants) in rich Chinese and Western families. Others earned their livings as peddlers or even coolies.

The second reason for the prominence achieved by the craft in this region was that as it was located between Hong Kong and Shanghai, the two biggest port cities, Swatow was an ideal place to become a centre of needlework production. Enterprising Chaozhou merchants followed the emigrant tradition and went off to establish needlework export companies in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The companies which had their headquarters in Swatow and branches in Shanghai, illustrated in Appendix D, were One Price lace Co. (一价行), Loo Brothers (卢伟记), Kaiji Hang (凯记行),⁹¹⁶ Guangcheng (光成商行), Chaoshan Drawn thread Work Company (潮汕抽纱商行), Hengfeng Hang (恒丰行); those which had a branch in Hong Kong was the Swatow Company Fook Weng & Co. (复荣抽纱商行). The branches outside Swatow also served as a “hostel” where the emigrant workers who moved to the big cities from their hometowns might feel at home.⁹¹⁷ In the 1920s, a new network of Chaozhou emigrant workers began to take shape, which is reflected in an old saying: “Shanghai first, Hong Kong second, Singapore third, Siam fourth” (一上二香三叻四暹)”, listing the first four favourite destinations of emigrants from the region. By this time the flourishing ports of Shanghai and Hong Kong had surpassed the overseas choices of migration, Singapore and Bangkok, as the first two destinations. The commercial networks for needlework products either overlapped with or helped to form this new emigrant network.

The Chaozhou needlework merchants were also interested in the internal market and also searched assiduously for marketing opportunities in Qingdao, Beijing and the other inland cities. The Housheng Drawn-thread Work Company (厚生抽纱公司) in Swatow had a branch in Yantai.⁹¹⁸ Huang Hao (黄浩) and his wife, Wang Peizhi (王佩芝), also ran the “Chongchi”⁹¹⁹ needlework and embroidery

916 The Chinese characters “Hang” (行, pronounced “Hong” in Cantonese), “Ji” (记), “Hao” (号) or “Gongsi” (公司) were often used as suffix to indicate a shop, factory or company. Sometimes the first two characters were used in conjunction, such as “Kaiji Hang”.

917 谢牧师她家有几个要好的朋友, 虽然相隔很远, 但合办了一家“志成抽纱公司”, 协助接待家乡的牧师、长老。那时候不是轻易能住上旅社的, 所以有乡下的亲人往来就(在志成公司)歇一晚或一天, 就像(住)旅社一样; 如果是信主的家庭, (志成公司)招待也就是请吃一餐。Account of Aunt Laughing, Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.81.

918 汕档 12-9-351: 汕头抽纱业工业同业会会员名册, 中华民国三十七年十月三十日。

919 “Chongchi” (宠锡) was her husband Huang Hao’s old name given by his parents. See the biography of Huang Hao in *Biographies of the Chaozhou People in Beijing*.

factory (宠锡挑补绣花工厂) in Beijing in 1927. The uncle (her mother's brother) of Aunt Laughing, an ex-student of the Shude Girls' School, also ran a needle work atelier in Beijing where her second brother (二哥) worked as an apprentice. In the summer, the season of retreat for the Westerners (most of whom were missionaries), her brother travelled to Beidaihe (北戴河), one of the well-known summer resorts for Westerners in North China, to solicit sales of needlework products and build up contacts with these potential customers.⁹²⁰

Conversely, this flourishing commercial network also stimulated immigration to Swatow from the other provinces. Young men came from the Yangtze River Delta and as far away as Shandong province to set up a needlework business and they spent the rest of their lives there. Most outstanding among them was Zhang Yunsheng (张运生, also called Y. S. Chang). He had grown up and was educated in Ningbo. In the 1920s, he came to Swatow where he worked as a comprador for the German company Melchers.⁹²¹ In 1934, he launched his own needlework factory called Yueming (月明厂, meaning Bright Moon). In November 1945, he was also employed as deputy-manager of the Chaoshan Drawn-thread Work Co-operation (潮汕抽纱工业品产销合作社)⁹²² and also worked simultaneously as the administrative director of the Needlework Guild, collaborating with the Presbyterian Zhang Guchun who was the head of this guild.⁹²³ When James McMullan Ltd opened a branch in Swatow around 1925, the requisite management personnel were dispatched to the Swatow branch from its headquarters in Yantai. This meant that some company personnel had to migrate from North to South China.⁹²⁴

The experiences of Weng Jingtong (翁锦通), one of the most successful Chaozhou needlework merchants of the twentieth century, are a textbook example of both the rise of a needlework dealer and of a typical domestic and international emigrant whose commercial network was provided by the needlework trade. Weng was born in Pengzhou (蓬洲) village in Chenghai. In 1927, when he was a teenager, Weng first worked for the Housheng Drawn-thread Work Company in Swatow as an apprentice, carrying the water to wash the finished needlework products. Three years later, when the head of this company opened a branch in Yantai, Shandong, Weng was appointed its chef. He also helped to deliver goods and miscellaneous pieces of work. In traditional Chinese society, an apprentice should perform all sorts of chores before he could become a manager. In 1933, he took over the work as pattern designer and assessor. One year later, he took over the management of the needlework company. In around 1940 when similar companies in Shanghai began to adopt the techniques of mechanized embroidery, Weng was sent to Shanghai to learn about this process. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, the needlework industry in mainland China declined and Weng lost his job and returned to his hometown.⁹²⁵ After working as a peasant for sixteen years, in 1957 Weng was granted

920 Aunt Laughing, Du Shimin, *The Christian Girls School*, p.77.

921 Chen Zhuofan, *Origin*, p.331.

922 汕档 12-9-351: 汕头抽纱业工业同业会会员名册, 中华民国三十七年十月三十日.

923 July 26, 1947: 汕头市抽纱特产改善意见书, 理事长张固纯、常务理事林承之、常务理事张运生

924 See http://jamesmcmullan.com/frame_brbiog.htm, consulted on 2011-1-27.

925 Kang Weiguo, "Weng Jingtong, the King of Needlework", p.37.

permission by the Chinese government to migrate to Hong Kong. There he worked in a needlework company run by one of his ex-colleagues (they had met in Yantai and now met again in Hong Kong). Five years later, he had accumulated enough capital to open his own company.⁹²⁶ When this company was successfully established in Hong Kong, Weng moved on to explore the European market. In 1966, he investigated the needlework markets in West Germany, Italy, Belgium and Greece and discovered that needlework products were cherished by the Italians as an important item in a girl's trousseau. Therefore, the decision was made to open a branch in Rome the next year. With the normalization of relations between China and America in 1972, Weng took the initiative to explore the vast market in America, which had been lost to the Chaozhou needlework products for more than a decade. He set up Senxing (森兴) Co. Ltd, which had 200 branches in America in the 1980s, in the New York city in 1974.⁹²⁷

Although compared with the male needlework dealers, the lives of the Chaozhou needlewomen were less adventurous, this craft still exerted a great influence on their lives. The introduction of the craft of needlework provided the countrywomen with a new way of earning a living. They learnt to “support themselves with a needle” (一支针求生存). Importantly, needlework also provided new forms of communal activity. Watching their mothers or elder sisters, some little girls aged only five to six years old mastered the craft and assisted their mothers.⁹²⁸ Lu Jiding depicts it in an almost nostalgic pastoral setting: “For needlework all one needed was a ‘*gou hua zhen*’ (勾花针), a needle made of stainless steel more than 10 centimetres long and a bamboo basket for carrying the threads. With these tools and materials, women could crochet or do drawn-work wherever they went. In the past, wherever the women folk assembled, they all had such a ‘*gou hua zhen*’ in their hands, including women as old as fifty or sixty and the little girls as young as eight to nine years old. They skillfully plied their shiny needles, chatting away at the same time. This was the typical scene in the cities and rural areas in the Chaozhou region.”⁹²⁹ Lady Xiao also told me that at the end of the 1970s, the schoolgirls (she was one of them) invariably did needlework in the breaks between classes. Some of them even did it during class, managing to escape being caught by the teacher. Lady Xiao could earn three Yuan per day, a significant amount considering that the average salary for an adult at that time was 18 Yuan per month. Her younger brother also helped her to do needlework. Both of them were therefore able to pay for their own tuition throughout secondary school. The tuition fees at that time were two Yuan each semester.

926 Ibid., p.38.

927 Ibid., p.39.

928 Yang Jianping, *Chaozhou Embroidery*, pp. 78-79.

929 Lu Jiding, “Embroidery and Drawn-thread Craft in Chaoshan”, pp.69-70.



Figure 37: Inspection on the needle workers by the Shantou Customs, photo by Huang Yongzhe (黄勇哲), 2005
(From Guan Shan, “A Letter of Requisition Revives an Industry”, p.49.)

Even though the image of the needlewomen was a feminine one, the economic independence of women in the private sphere (family) impelled them to go in search of their own social values. As a result of the feminist movement in the 1920s, some Christian women had already begun to become involved in Church affairs. Take Yang Jingde (杨锦德) as an example: she was a graduate of the Shude Girls’ School, excelled at needlework and later married the Reverend Hou Yichu. She not only supported her family with her needlework but was also sent by the church to attend the Presbyterian South China Synod in Guangzhou in April 30, 1929, where she was the only woman among the church leaders.⁹³⁰ Another Shude graduate, Xie Xuezhong (谢雪璋), whose elder brother managed the Zhicheng (志成) Needlework Company, was ordained the first female minister in the Chaozhou region in 1982.⁹³¹

Some women also followed in the footsteps of Lin Saiyu and her daughter, Xu Shuying, and became managers of needlework companies. In Beijing in 1927, Wang Peizhi (王佩芝) ran the “Chongchi” Needlework and Embroidery Factory in conjunction with her husband, Huang Hao. Her anonymous biographer claims that she was a good manager, taking care of her female workers’ education, marriages and paying attention to the physical and mental problems besetting their daily lives. In return she won their respect.⁹³²

The needlework factories also produced some important figures in the first generation of Communist party cadres, as among them Su Hui (苏惠)⁹³³ and Fang Lang (方朗). Su Hui was born

930 “八四：胡若霖举宜派人筹备进行华南区会议，要点，并禀报大会。即派林重三、汲多玛、刘泽荣、陈则起、谢德茂、林之纯、邱家修、吴国维、侯乙初太太。区会通过。” See Record of the District Synod, April 30, 1929.

931 See *History of Protestantism in Shantou*, p.3.

932 In *Biographies of the Chaozhou People in Beijing*.

933 Her original name was Zhuang Qisu, 庄起苏, *ibid*.

into a well-to-do Baptist family in Tianqian (田墘) in Haifeng (海丰) district. Her father, Zhuang Yaoting (庄耀庭), was an active member of the Peasants Union (农会) organized in Haifeng district by Peng Pai (澎湃). She married Fang Fang (方方), grandson of the famous general Fang Yao (方耀). Influenced by Marxist thought, both Fang Fang and Su Hui joined the Communist party. Fang Lang (方朗), born in the district city of Huilai (惠来县城关镇) in 1923, completed only two years at the local primary school. After she dropped out, she supported her family by doing needlework. At the age of thirteen, she worked as a cotton spinner in the Great China Spinnery (大中华纺纱厂), Swatow, where she joined the “Anti-Japanese Resistance People’s Army in the South China” (华南人民抗日义勇军), a peripheral organization of the Communist party. Dispatched to work in the needlework companies “He Tai” (和泰), Melchers (美最时) and “Xiecheng” (协成), she spread Communist propaganda among her fellow workers. She joined the Communist Party in February 1937. Su Hui and Fang Lang agitated together for the welfare of the female workers (double wages at New Year) in the needlework companies run by Fred Maloof (马禄孚, or 马禄夫).⁹³⁴

Conclusion

In the Western world, needlework was regarded as one of the domestic skills required of women, who played an essential part in managing a Christian home. In the mid-nineteenth century, Western style needlework was introduced to various coastal ports such as Ningbo (宁波) and Changshu (常熟) near Shanghai, Yantai (烟台) and Qingdao (青岛) in Shandong province by Western missionaries. After the arrival of Western woman missionaries in the Chaozhou region, it was Lida Scott Ashmore who introduced this craft to the American Baptist congregation in the 1880s. Later, when Sophia A. Norwood switched her membership from the ABM to the EPM, this craft also spread among the Presbyterian congregation. The examples of the Protestant ladies was followed by the French Roman Catholic priests and the Ursuline sisters. The missionaries also used their personal and international networks through which they promoted the sale of needlework in their own countries.

Confronting the criticism of their peers in the West who were adamantly convinced that missionaries should not engage in profit-making businesses, different policies were adopted, the ABM and MEP assuming one position and the EPM the other, to manage their needlework enterprises. The production of needlework was carefully organized by the American Baptist Church and the French Roman Catholic Church solely for the benefit of the churches. The local male Baptists and Roman Catholics were not allowed to participate in this industry. This policy meant that the spread of the craft was limited to within their own congregations. The EPM did not organize workshops for Presbyterian women but allowed the male Presbyterians to participate in the needlework business. This policy resulted in the fact that Presbyterian merchants made up a considerable percentage of the needlework

934 Fred Maloof not only invested in a needlework company in Swatow, he was also a wealthy oilman, timber owner and art collector who established a museum for fine art and John Hanson memorabilia, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxon_Hill_Manor, consulted in 2011-01-27. Maloof gave Theodore Herman an interview and gave him information about trade flows and business practice in 1952.

merchants in Chaozhou and that the leaders of the Swatow Presbyterian church took charge of the Swatow Needlework Guild for a number of decades prior to 1949. In return, the wealthy Presbyterian needlework merchants provided donations for the EP churches in the Chaozhou region and Hong Kong.

Exceptionally well-suited to the code of the four traditional female virtues which decreed that an ideal woman should “be good at weaving and sewing”, this craft was not only welcomed by both male and female Christians, it was also greeted with open arms by the non-Christians in the Chaozhou region. Needlework was the first profitable craft in the Chaozhou region which was able to absorb the pool of labour formed by the large number of unemployed village women. In the 1920s a putting-out system gradually took shape. Its formation should be attributed to the local ethic prevailing in pre-industrial Chaozhou society that needlewomen preferred or it was preferred that they work at home rather than in the supervised factories in Swatow. The craft of needlework developed into a booming industry in the 1920s, and in 1930 an intricate circuit utilizing the geographical specialization of certain types of work was formed, with the port city of Swatow at the centre. This industry was in fact the main impetus for the development of this city and exerted a significant influence on the economic landscape and social life of the Chaozhou region all throughout the twentieth century.

The division of labour on the basis of gender in the needlework industry was clear cut: women were the main producers. This craft not only provided a new way of livelihood for women in the countryside, it also ensured them of social and cultural networks. It would certainly not be wrong to assume that, in the initial phase, in the places where the churches took the initiative in teaching this craft, some women converted simply because they wanted to learn the techniques. Apart from financial independence, another advantage of acquiring the skill was that they could easily find companionship there with the other needlewomen. The craft might have also been used strategically by the churches to attract a group of women to listen to preaching. In the eyes of the Baptist and Roman Catholic congregations, a needlework workshop was an ideal place to carry out evangelism: a Bible-woman or Virgin could preach to the needlewomen or they could sing hymns together, in the same vein as the non-Christians sang folksongs while doing embroidery. Even though the image of needlewomen was feminine, the independence of women in the economy of the private sphere (family) impelled them to search for new social values. The combination of needlework expertise and schooling enabled gifted women to deploy themselves as church leaders, managers and Communist party cadres.

In contrast to the women, the men engaged in this industry took the role of the agents who distributed raw materials to the workers and collected the finished products or worked as comprador for a Western company or even as manager of their own company. The enterprising Chaozhou merchants actually followed the well-trodden path of the emigrant tradition and established needlework companies in Shanghai, Hong Kong and the other coastal or inland cities. This commercial route overlapped with, or even helped to form, a new emigrant network in the 1920s: Shanghai and Hong Kong surpassed Singapore and Siam as the first two favourite emigrant destinations. Emigrant workers

and foreign investment also followed the inter-provincial and international routes to Swatow. All of these helped to integrate the Chaozhou region into the world economic and colonial systems.

CONCLUSION

Located in the south-eastern corner of China, Chaozhou is a region with a long tradition of migration and internecine clan strife. In the early nineteenth century Western missionaries first met Chaozhou male emigrant workers in Siam, Singapore and Pinang. Later, they followed the emigration route in a reverse direction back to China and planted a mission station in Hong Kong, when it became a British crown colony after the First Opium War in 1842. After Swatow was opened as a treaty port in 1860, the missionaries reached the Chaozhou region itself and began to spread the Gospel among the local population.

Generally, when Chinese men chose to convert to the Christian religion, many of their female kin, wives, sisters and daughters followed. Hence although male authority could lead to women's conversion, it also barred women from conversion should her husband or father choose to adhere to Confucianism or the other religions. In Chaozhou, the chronic absence of male householders in the migrant families did give women some autonomy to determine whether to convert or not. This explains the fact that not a few widows and grass widows converted after coming in contact with female missionaries. Among other possible reasons for conversion, the biographies of these Chaozhou women indicate that in their eyes the choice of Christianity was closely related to their belief that this new faith had the potential to mitigate their sufferings and promise them a happier, more secure life.

Christianity enabled the local Chaozhou women, including (grass) widows, to embark on a new spiritual path. This embraced not only the basic tenets of the Christian religion, repentance and grace, but also a new lifestyle which was different from their earlier lives. The Western missionaries offered them the opportunity to receive an education and gain new experiences as Bible-women. In this way, they became the first generation of 'professional women', supporting themselves by the evangelical skills they acquired at the Women's School. This career gave them a sense of success and confidence and, even more importantly, they won the esteem of other people. Besides the spiritual benefits of Christianity, female converts learned all sorts of needlework skills from the Western women missionaries, thereby acquiring a new occupation to buttress the income of their family, allowing them some degree of economic independence.

The Christian doctrine of marriage which honoured the marital principles of monogamy and the indissolubility of marriage safeguarded the position of married Chinese women. In times of marital crisis, the Church offered the female partner a certain degree of protection. The Christian churches also propagated the idea of equality and companionship of husband and wife in marriage, prescribed regulations which forbade concubinage, bigamy and divorce. Christianity played a pioneering role in helping to introduce new marriage patterns into Chaozhou in the late Qing and the Republican period. Although Christian values about the sanctity of the bond of marriage in many respects conflicted with traditional Chinese customs pertaining to husband and wife, their aim was not to challenge male

authority in the Christian home. The self-denial and self-sacrifice expected of the ideal Christian wife by her husband in many respects harmonized well with Confucian ideas on the role of the female gender in the family.

In a similar fashion, the new careers of Bible-woman and needlewoman did not challenge male authority in the local society. Though Bible-women were not afraid to spread the Gospel outside their own family environment, in fact they had no power in the male-dominated hierarchy of the church not until the 1920s. To avoid conflict with the traditional customs which impeded the mobility of young women in the public sphere, most needlewomen preferred to work at home. Nevertheless, these new careers created occupational opportunities and new possibilities for emancipation among Chaozhou women. Many of them took advantage of these opportunities to develop their own, 'modern' identity, carefully making sure that they did not challenge male authority, or more exactly, that their doing so was welcomed by their male partners. Being a 'modern' Christian wife meant being well-educated, self-supporting and skilled in household management.

There were manifold differences and connections between the various Western missions at work in the Chaozhou region. Coming from different countries and attached to different churches, each mission placed different emphases, be these to do with a Christian lifestyle or with the management of the church. The discussions about concubinage are a good example to demonstrate the former aspect. The Basel Mission, the English Presbyterian Mission and the French Roman Catholic Mission each tolerated the existence of concubines, but their approaches were different. There were also divergences between the three missions in how a concubine should be dismissed. The differences can be largely explained by the different views Roman Catholics and Protestants entertained on marriage. In all churches, monogamy was seen as essential to the divinely constituted institution of marriage, but in the Roman Catholic Church marriage is seen as one of the seven sacraments and hence confirmed in heaven. This makes divorce impossible, not just an unfortunate incident as in the Protestant churches.

This study has also stressed how deeply the church was engaged in the needlework industry in the Chaozhou region. The craft was introduced by women missionaries in the mid 1880s but within thirty years it also became prevalent among non-converts. The differences and connections between the various Western missions were also reflected in the management of the needlework industry, with the ABM and MEP on the one side and the EPM on the other. This example reveals that the line of division not necessarily existed between the Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. It also demonstrates that copying successful strategies was another key characteristic of the rivalry, alongside the acknowledged rivalry between the missions for each other's converts.

The needlework business turned into a booming export industry, which changed the economic landscape of the Chaozhou region in the first half of the twentieth century. There was a clear gender division of labour in the putting-out system of this industry: needlewomen worked at home, while men worked as agents distributing the raw materials to the workers and collecting the finished products, as comprador for Western companies or even as manager of their own company. The enterprising

Chaozhou merchants even followed the emigrant tradition and established needlework companies in Shanghai, Hong Kong and the other coastal or inland cities in China. This commercial route overlapped with, or even helped to form, a new emigrant network in the 1920s. Emigrant workers and foreign investors also followed the inter-provincial and international routes to Swatow. All this helped to integrate the Chaozhou region into the world economic and colonial system.

Undoubtedly the missions were an important factor in stimulating Chaozhou women to rethink their roles in their family and society in a period of profound political and social transformation. Self-support in the economic sector and equality with their husbands in the family were key concepts in the lives of the female convert. In my point of view, the story of Auntie Xu whose conversion was highlighted at the very beginning of this study is exemplary of the first generation of women who chose to accept the Christian creed as the road to salvation as much as to an independent and self-sufficient life in this world.

Appendix A: The Bible-women of the ABM

Sources* No.	A. <i>Pagoda Shadows</i>	B. Photos in <i>Pagoda Shadows</i> , fifth edition	C. “Annual Letter to Helpers in America”	D. <i>Lingdong Good News</i>	Membership roll					
					Name	Place of Birth	Year of Baptism	Age of Baptism	Year of Narrative	No. in the roll
1	Aunt Luck				杜瑞	普宁南陇 Nam Leng	1871		64, age of her narration	215
2,3	Speed (Snow was mentioned shortly)	Speed	Khue Speed		陆快, 陈雪花	澄海樟林 Chung Lim	1863 1863	16 45	About 1876	38 31
4	Gold Getter		Tit Kim Gold Getter		李得金	揭阳锡场 Silver Plains	1876	40	1879	444
5	Keepsake	Keepsake			林救	澄海樟林 Chung Lim	1871	41		248
6	Orchid	Orchid			陈惠兰	揭阳玉塔 White Pagoda, or Peh Tah	1877	27	1880	549
7	Love Fragrant Love (mentioned in Silver Flower’s autobiography, p.189)	Love Love in the photo “Tolerance’s kin”		纺惜	吴攀惜	揭阳坎下 Kam E	1874	28	1876	343
8	One Night’s Work	Minute	Mui, Mue		王美	揭阳玉塔	1877	44	1878	551

	The name "Minute" is mentioned at the very beginning. Peh Tah was her birthplace		Minute							
9	Herb	Herb	Sui Lang Herb	顺梅	吴瑞兰	潮阳巡梅 Sun Bue	1874	47	1877	349
10	Tapestry		Kem Pheng Tapestry	墟埠	林锦平	揭阳墟埠	1877	34		501
11	Out of the Depths Innocent		Lao Sit Innocence		林老实	揭阳玉塔	1879	45		778
12	The Mists of Morning Long		Long Opulence		丁铃	普宁光头	1868	41		111
13	Light at Eventide Cress, came from Kui Su, son Kim Kek	Cress	Phie Cress		陈萍	潮阳贵屿 Kui Su	1874	53		329
14	Tolerance	Tolerance and her kin (Lotus, Completeness, Cake, Love and Tolerance)	Yong Tolerance	宝容	黄宝容	潮阳桥头 Kie-thau	1877	39	1880	595
15,16	The pillars of the Church at South Spur Lily and Treasure	Treasure, Treasure and Lily			黄秀莲, 吴 真宝	揭阳南陇 South Spur	1878 1879	32 38	1882 (Treasure)	652 736
17	Silver Flower	Silver Flower	Ngun Hue Silver Flower		吴银花	揭阳坎下 Kam E	1869	44		130
18	Siu Kein (mentioned by Ling Oi Ki)				林绣花	揭阳尖浦 (玉 浦)	1868	49		116

Know name but no biography										
19			Gek Gem		袁玉		1875	59		
20			Chia Rectitude	蔡晶	蔡晶		1881	48		958
21			Gueh Eng Moonlight		朱月英/ 澳姨		1868	39		104
22			Sai Kio Grace		林赛娇		1878	53		616
23			Niu Button		黄钮		1874	75		323
24			Chut Guide		徐糯? 林祝?	揭阳玉塔	1875 1875	61 44		408 383
25	Pearl, mentioned in Out of the Depths (Innocent)		Tien Chu Pearl		林珠珍?	揭阳月城 Kue Sia	1875	44		382
26			Sui Khim Lute		黄瑞琴?		1886	12		1374
27		Builder			彭灶?	揭阳潭前, 属锡场	1875	45		388
28				李美凤	李美凤		1883	42		1093
29				荳姆	郑荳		1878	81		654
30				潘奶	潘桃		1881	44		950

Appendix B: Reconstruction of the Names in Appendix A

Of the four sources (A, B, C, and D), the third one was important in the reconstruction of the Chinese names of the Bible-women in the membership roll. In that letter, Fielde simultaneously recorded the native and English names of each Bible-woman, which allowed me to restore their names as Chinese characters. It also clarified the rules Fielde adhered to in giving a certain English name to her students. The first of these was that Fielde preferred to name the student using an English word which translated her Chinese name, such as: “Speed” for “Khue” (快, in Chaozhou dialect, the same in the following), “Goldgetter” for “Tit Kim” (得金), “Herb” for “Sui Lang” (瑞兰), “Tapestry” for “Kem Pheng” (锦平), “Innocence” for “Lao Sit” (老实), “Silver Flower” for “Ngun Hue” (银花), “Moonlight” for “Gueh Eng” (月英). All of these names, presumably referring to the same women, correspond with their names in Chinese characters and the date of their baptisms in the membership roll of the American Baptist Church in the Chaozhou region (see column 5, App. A). The most interesting name is “Fragrant Love” (shortened to “Love”) to “攀惜” and “纺惜”. In the Chaozhou dialect, “惜”, not “爱” (this character has a very “modern” meaning) is the original character of “Love”; and “攀” or “纺” has the same pronunciation with the character “香” in Chaozhou dialect, which means “fragrant”. “Siu Kein” is the transliteration of “绣金”. Only a portion of people in Jieyang pronounced “金” as “Kein”, the most prevalent pronunciation of “金” is “Kim”, as “Tit Kim” (得金, Gold Getter).

In the case of other names, such as “Cress”, “Phie” (萍), and “Tolerance”, “Yong” (容), only other detailed information in the autobiographies, such as the place of birth, the name of a certain relative (brothers, sisters, husbands or sons), the year of baptism enables us to trace back the original names in Chinese characters. For instance, Phie (Cress) came from Kui Su (贵屿), only the name “陈萍” in the membership roll fits; Yong (Tolerance) came from Kie-thau (桥头), only “黄宝容” fits to this situation. The names of her brother Po Heng (黄宝兴) and mother “Lotus” (庄莲花) and the other family members can also be found in the membership roll.⁹³⁵ The name of Aunt Luck (杜瑞) has been made clear only with the help of the name of her place of birth Nam Leng (the transliteration of “南陇”). “Lily” is “莲”, and “Treasure” is “宝”, both of them were neighbours and came also from South Spur (the free translation of “南陇”), hence their names “黄秀莲” and “吴真宝” can be found. “Gem”(Gek, 玉), “Grace” (Sai Kio, 赛娇) and “Button” (Niu, 钮) are very common names for women. Without the autobiographies, their complete names could only be chosen from among a cluster of names of women who were baptized between 1873 and 1882.

Sometimes, Fielde gave a Bible-woman an English name which was different from her original Chinese name, but whose English pronunciation was very similar to that of her Chinese name. For example, Long (Opulence)—“隆”—“铃” (丁铃), and Minute (Mui, or Mue)—“微”—“美” (王美). “Long” is the pronunciation of “铃” in Chaozhou dialect, as shown in the Chaozhou dialect dictionary compiled by Fielde herself.⁹³⁶ Long’s two

935 See Membership roll of the American Baptist Church, appendix of *The Good News of Lingdong* (1936):

566	孙宝兴	男	32	1877	揭阳京岗
662	庄莲花 (Lotus)	女	60	1878	潮阳桥头
864	蔡周 (Completeness)	女	25	1880	潮阳桥头
1014	黄枝笏 (Cake)	女	13	1882	潮阳桥头

936 Adele M. Fielde, *Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect*, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1883. p.362.

daughters, “Light Follower” (顺光—姚顺观) and “Jewelled Branch” (姚玉枝) can also be found in the membership roll.⁹³⁷ “Mui” is also the pronunciation of “美” in Chaozhou dialect, however, the English name “Minute” (微, also pronounced “Mui”) which Fielde gave her is really misleading. It may also possible that her original name is “微”, but it was written down as “美” by the registrar. In Minute’s autobiography, she mentioned “Linden Chapel” (霖田堂) several times, and she had a nephew, called Gek, who lived in the same village 7 miles away from Linden Chapel. In the membership roll, a man called “何玉” from Gutang (古塘) in Jieyang district, near Linden, fits this condition. Fielde mentioned in one of her letters that “Peh Tah (白塔, Baita) was the childhood home of Mue, the only one of our Bible-women whose native tongue was Hakka”,⁹³⁸ and that the people there “propose to build a chapel entirely at their own expense, if teachers can be sent them from Swatow.... I called Sister Mue from a neighborhood station and left her to ‘hold the fort’, and instruct the women.”⁹³⁹ Therefore, I checked those who came from Baita and found a woman called “王美”, whose age fits all these conditions. She mentioned her son aged eleven (in 1878), a boy called “何毛弟”, who lived also in Gutang with the same surname as Minute’s nephew Gek.⁹⁴⁰ Minute recalled that her son urged her to convert when he was nine years old,⁹⁴¹ i.e. 1876, which was the year of Gek’s baptism. It was from Gek Minute and her son heard the Gospel. Therefore, “Minute” must be “王美”.

The narrator of the autobiography entitled “Out of the Depths” proved the most difficult to find out. No information can be found about her name, age and year of her baptism. She only mentioned she came along to the Linden Chapel with Pearl’s mother, her friend. I found out that Innocent came from Baita, a village near Linden; and Tien Chu (Pearl) came from Yuecheng (月城), near Baita. Pearl’s mother might have also lived together with Innocent in Baita, therefore they could go together to Linden Chapel to worship. More information is needed to bring the narrator of “Out of the Depths” into the light.

The Chinese Christian usually addressed these Bible-women directly by their names, or added a “che” (姐, means “elder sister”; in Chaozhou dialect, the same in the following), or “So” (嫂), “Sim” (婶), “M” (姆) at the end of these names. These suffixes indicate that these women were married. “So” refers to those in their 20s or 30s, “Sim” in their 40s, and “M” at their 50s, 60s or older. The ABM seldom recorded these expressions in its membership roll, but the EPM did note them down, as shown in Appendix B. Both the EPM and ABM used “Sin-se nie” (先生娘) to indicate the wife of both the Western and Chinese ministers.

937 See Membership roll of the American Baptist Church, appendix of *The Good News of Lingdong* (1936):

110	姚宗	男	46	1868	普宁光头
111	丁铃 (Long)	女	41	1868	普宁光头
619	姚顺观 (Light Follower)	女	14	1878	潮阳光头 110 号的女
1016	姚玉枝 (Jewelled Branch)	女	11	1882	潮阳光头

938 Stevens, pp.138-139.

939 Ibid., p.140.

940 See Membership roll of the American Baptist Church, appendix of *The Good News of Lingdong* (1936):

409	何玉 (Gek)	男	40	1876	揭阳古塘
551	王美 (Mui, Minute)	女	44	1877	揭阳玉塔
657	何毛弟	男	12	1878	揭阳古塘

941 *Pagoda Shadow*, p.133.

Appendix C: Local Female Helpers of the EPM

No.	Baptism No.	Name	Baptism		Address
			Age	Year	
1	299	Kueh Kiam-sim 郭 Kiam-sim			
2	12	Lâm Hâng M 林翰姆			Yanzao 盐灶
3	92	Lâm Khèng-hûa-sím 林庆花姆			Ibid.
4	167	Tân Tshú M 陈 Tshu 姆		1869	Lau-e?
5	181	Tân Uāng M 陈 Uāng 姆			Quantoushan 拳头山
6	220	Siau Thiām-tī-só 萧添弟嫂	44	1870	Huanggang 黄岗
7	250	Lâu Iú-sù-sím 刘 Iu-su 姆			Fushan 孚山
8	301	Hèng Hiáp-só 王 Hiap 嫂			Dahaobu 达濠埠
9	374	Lí Hô-sím 李(河)好姆			南门?
10	508	Tân Kiā-só 陈崎嫂		1875	Chencuozhai 陈厝寨
11	638	Iê ⁿ Zú-hèng-sím 杨 zu-heng 姆	55		Mianhu 棉湖
12	802	Lâm Jī-só 林二嫂		1880	Yanzao 盐灶
13	808	Tie ⁿ Bùn-sím 张文姆			Chaozhoufu 潮州府
14	885	Tsang Sūn-ì-só 曾 Sun-i 嫂		1881	Ibid.
15	919	Tân Au ⁿ -só 陈欧嫂	15		Yuetan 月潭, 在潮安归湖附近
16	985	Hâu Chiā-sím 侯谢姆	56	1882	Honggou 鸿沟
17	1049	Lí Tsu-lân 李芝兰	16	1883	Toa-hng
18	1052	Lâu A Mái	15		Fushan

		刘阿勿			孚山
19	1178	Hâu Bùn-â ⁿ -sô 侯文营嫂	19	1884	Honggou 鸿沟
Source above: <i>Congregational Rolls for use in the Swatow Mission</i>					
Continue, Source: Records of WMA Council					
No.	Name	Position	Notes	Records of WMA Council	
20	Li Kim-ki 李金枝 Baptized at 17 in 1892, came from Neixinxiang (内新乡) in the environs of Swatow			5 th Meeting, 24 th April, 1906, Resident teacher appointed 13 th Meeting, 13 th & 14 th April, 1910 21 st Meeting, 24 th October, 1913	
21	Chhui-kui Sim 翠闺婢	Probationer		1 st Meeting, 19 th May, 1904	
22	Tuan-Sim 端婢	Probationer		1 st Meeting, 19 th May, 1904	
23	Chhiau-Ke Sim	Bible-woman		4 th meeting, June 30, 1905	
24	Iu-Sim 友婢	Matron of the Girls' School		5 th Meeting, 24 th April, 1906	
25	Hah-sim 合婢	Daily teacher of Daily teacher		Ibid.	
26	Tai-gu-Sim 大顾婢	Bible-woman		6 th Meeting, 27 th Sept., 1906	
27	Kim-sia-sim 金声婢	Probationer		Ibid.	
28	Siang-ngak-Sim 祥岳婢	Ibid.		Ibid.	
29	Peng-siang Sim 炳祥婢	Ibid.		Ibid.	
30	Kha-tsu che 巧珠姐	Ibid.		Ibid.	
31	Gu-Sim 顾婢			7 th Meeting, Chaochowfu, 1 st March, 1907 10 th Meeting, Swatow, 23 rd September, 1908	
32	Bai-Sim 眉婢			10 th Meeting, Swatow, 23 rd September, 1908	

33	Kaih sim 凯娣			11 th Meeting, Swatow, 1 st April, 1909
34	Mrs Lim		Passed away	12 th Meeting, 14 th October, 1909
35	Kang-Leng-so 江玲嫂			13 th Meeting, 13 th & 14 th April, 1910
36	Chheng-Kun sim 清君娣			Ibid. 14 th Meeting, 26 th September, 1910
37	Bue-sim 梅娣			14 th Meeting, 26 th September, 1910
38	Kuan Sin-se nie 关先生娘			Ibid.
39	Lai-chiu Sim 来周娣			Ibid.
40	Khai-kui Sim 凯闰娣			Ibid.
41	Tsu-mui sim 主美娣			Ibid. 27 th Meeting, Far East House, 30 th Sept., 1915
42	Hok-leng sim 福玲娣	Probationer In CCF		21 st Meeting, 24 th October, 1913
43	Hong-lim Sim 鸿林娣	Probationer To Bible-woman	\$4	24 th Meeting, Far East House, 20 th Mar. 1914
44	Tshun-Khuang Sim ? 叔娣	Bible-woman in the Women's Hospital	\$4	Ibid.
45	Tsu-iong Sim 主荣娣	Bible-woman	\$4	
46	Chhie-ta ⁿ M 笑啖姆	Bible-woman	\$5	
47	Tai-zu Sim 大珠娣	Bible-woman	\$5	
48	Hok-heng Sim 福兴娣		\$3.50	27 th Meeting, Far East House, 30 th Sept., 1915

Note: Ricketts also gave English names to the Bible-women she trained, such as “love”, “joy”, “peace”, but they cannot be identified so far. See C. Mann, *Catherine Maria Ricketts of Brighton and China*, p.58.

Appendix D: Managers of the Chinese Needlework Factories⁹⁴²

No.	Name	Age	Place of birth	Year when entered middle school	Education or work experience	Name of needlework company	Year when the company was opened	proprietorship	staffs
	Weng Caiyuan 翁财源					Weng Caiyuan 翁财源			
	Xu Zixiang 徐子祥				Presbyterian	Zhenchao Company 振潮公司			
	Cai Hangyuan 蔡汉源				Presbyterian	Swatow Company 汕头公司			
	Lin Zhaoxi 林兆禧		Chaoyang 潮阳		Presbyterian	Hong Kong & Shanghai Lace Co. 香港公司 Headquarter in Hong Kong, branch in Shanghai			
2	Lin Zhangrong 林章荣	58	Chenghai 澄海	1903	Anglo-Chinese School 汕头华英大学预科毕业	Chao chow Co. 汕头潮州行	1922	own investment	70
	Huang Shuguang 黄树光	55	Jieyang 揭阳	1906	Presbyterian	Hong Kong: Fook Weng & Co. 复荣抽纱商行	1919	own investment	65
2	Wu Jimin 吴济民	53	Jieyang 揭阳	1908	Yuhai Middle School, Swatow 汕头聿怀中学	One price lace Co. 一价行 Shanghai: One price lace Co. managed by		joint venture	61

942 Only included the companies that are mentioned in Chapter 7.

						Hou Wuheng 上海侯吴恒的一价花边行			
3	Lu Renwei 卢任伟	50	Chaoyang 潮阳	1911	Anglo-Chinese College, Amoy 厦门英华书院	Loo Brothers 卢伟记 Shanghai: Wei Ji Brothers managed by Lu Jianwei 上海卢建伟的伟记行(兄弟行)		own investment	
	Zhang Yunsheng 张运生	47	Ningbo, Zhejiang 浙江宁波	1914	Chengzhong Middle School, Ningbo 宁波澄衷中学	Yueming (Bright Moon) 月明厂 (Y. S. Chang)	June 1, 1935, reopened on Jan. 1, 1947	own investment	73
	Zhu Chuguang 朱初光	47	Chaoyang 潮阳	1914	Shizhong Middle School, Swatow 汕头时中中学	Guangtai 光泰 Located next to the Cathedral 天主堂一巷	May 1947	own investment	61
4	Liu Zhangming 刘章铭	47	Chenghai 澄海	1914	Anglo-Chinese School 英华专科学校	Union Needlework Company 联通行		joint venture	66
5	Lin Chengzhi 林承之	47	Raoping 饶平	1914	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Swatow Needle Art Co. 兴华行	1930	joint venture	65
6	Zhang Zhongxian 张宗宪	47	Swatow 汕头	1914	Anglo-Chinese Middle School 华英中学	Jack T. Chang & Bros. 启华行	1941, reopened in 1948	joint venture between brothers	70
	Lin Shaokai 林绍凯	46	Jieyang 揭阳	1915		凯记行	Found Kaicheng (凯成商行) in Shanghai in the 1930s	own investment	

7	Zhang Siyuan 张似源	40	Swatow 汕头	1921	Amoy University 厦大毕业	Zhang JianJi 张鉴记号		own investment	83
8	Yang Daocheng 杨道成	40	Jieyang 揭阳	1921	Anglo-Chinese Middle School, Swatow 汕头华英中学肄业	The Chinese Embroidery Co. 仁德洋行/中华行		own investment	90
	Yang Xianghua 杨祥华	40	Chaoyang 潮阳	1921	Ex-treasurer of the Chaogong Company (潮工 公司帐房), Vice-manager of the Chaoshan Drawn thread Work Company in Shanghai	Chaoshan Drawn thread Work Company 潮汕抽纱商行 Branch in Shanghai: managed by Lin Yifang 林义芳	1948	own investment	64
	Zhu Tingfang 朱庭芳	39	Huilai 惠来	1922	Graduate of high school	Guangcheng 光成商行 Branch in Shanghai: managed by Zhao Zhiwen 赵质文	1909	joint venture	69
1	Xu Shuying 徐淑英 (Manager)		Chenghai 澄海	1894	Shude Girls' School 淑德女校	Dechang Hang 德昌行	1926	own investment	66 ⁹⁴³
	Zhang Qisong 张其松	35	Fengshun 丰顺	1926	Queguang Middle School 碧光中学	Dacheng 大成商行	1937	own investment	63
	Sun Guizhang 孙贵章	35	Jieyang 揭阳	1926	Manager of Shanghai Needlework Company 上海针艺公司经理 Manager of the Guanghua newspaper office, etc.	Hengfeng 恒丰行 Branch in Shanghai: managed by Zhang Dasan 张达三		joint venture	68

943 This number includes 20 male workers, 16 female workers and 30 child workers.

					光华报社经理等职				
9	Chen Changrong 陈长荣	33	Chenghai 澄海	1928	Anglo-Chinese Middle School 英华中学毕业	Mei Yi 美艺(洋)行		joint venture	61
10	Zhang Zaizhi 张载治	33	Swatow 汕头	1928	Anglo-Chinese Middle School 英华中学	Xie Li Chao Yi 协利潮艺行	June, 1948	joint venture	65
11	Wu Ruisheng 吴瑞生	32	Jieyang 揭阳	1929	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Ping Sha 莘莎行		joint venture	
12	Su Jianming 苏剑鸣	32	Chaoyang 潮阳	1929	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Wei Hsiang & Co. 伟祥行	January, 1948	joint venture	64
13	Chen Weiguang 陈伟光	31	Chaoyang 潮阳	1930	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Wei Guang 伟公行, or 伟光抽纱公司	1946	joint venture	92
14	Zheng Denian 郑得念	29	Dabu 大埔	1932	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Fu Si 福斯行		joint venture	
15	Li Huangjie 李焕杰	22	Chenghai 澄海	1939	Yuhai Middle School 聿怀中学	Fancy Store 焕记行	April 1948	own investment	72
	Lin Zuonian 林作念					Housheng 厚生抽纱公司 Established Yisheng (宜生商行) in Yantai, Shandong province in 1930	Weng Jingtong (翁 锦通) worked successively in Housheng and Yisheng		
	Lin Chengzhi 林承之				Vice-director 副理事长 Zhang Yunsheng 张运生	Chaoshan Drawn-thread Work Cooperation 潮汕抽纱工业品产销合作社	Nov. 1945	Ltd. Co.	75

Appendix E: The Foreign Needlework Companies in Swatow: 1920-1949

Company name ⁹⁴⁴	Company name in Chinese	City, Country	Chinese comprador
In USA			
Mallouk Brothers	美乐洋行	New York city, USA	
Roose Brothers	新昌洋行	Ashville, Ohio, USA	
George & Co.	乔治洋行		
Shalom & Co.	双隆洋行	New York, USA	
Jabara & Bros., F. M.	倍利洋行	Wichita, KS, USA	
Kohlberg, Inc., Alfred	柯宝洋行	Mt. Kisco, NY, USA	Zhang Tingjian 张廷鉴
Not known	爱双龙洋行		Li Guozhang 李国璋
Maloof, Fred	马禄孚洋行	Columbus, OH, USA	William Dai 戴伟廉
Not known	适时洋行		Wu Hualong 吴化龙
In UK			
James McMullan Ltd.	仁德洋行	Cheefoo (Now Yantai, Shangdong province)	Yang Daocheng 杨道成
Bradley & Co. Bradley & Co., Ltd. ⁹⁴⁵	德记洋行	19 Kilverston Road, Sandiacre, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, UK	Li Wuguan 李务官
Johnston	佐士顿洋行		Wang Fuyuan 王孚远
In Germany			
Melchers	美最时洋行	Bremen, Germany	Zhang Yunsheng 张运生

944 The English names of these companies based on Huang Guangyu ed., *Waiquo zaibua gongshang qiye cidian* 外国在华工商企业辞典 [Dictionary of the Foreign Industrial and Commercial Enterprises in China], Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1995.

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SAMENVATTING

Vier zendingsorganisaties, de American Baptist Mission (ABM), de English Presbyterian Mission (EPM), de Baseler Mission en de Missions Etrangères de Paris (MEP), waren vanaf het midden van de negentiende eeuw actief onder de Hoklo in Chaozhou in Zuid-China. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt, op basis van de archieven en publicaties die door deze zendingsorganisaties geproduceerd zijn, vanuit een vergelijkend perspectief hoe het christendom niet alleen het dagelijks leven van de lokale protestantse en rooms Katholieke vrouwen veranderde, maar ook breder de traditionele genderverhoudingen in de late Qing en Republikeinse periode beïnvloedde.

Het inleidende hoofdstuk bespreekt de geografische context, de lokale migratietradities en de belangrijkste kenmerken van de heersende genderverhoudingen in de regio Chaozhou. Hierna wordt de recente historiografie op het gebied van zending/missie en gender geïntroduceerd, als opmaat voor de bespreking van het analytische framework dat door eerdere onderzoekers op het gebied van de negentiende- en vroeg twintigste-eeuwse zending, in het bijzonder in China, wordt gehanteerd. Tot slot worden de primaire bronnen die voor deze studie zijn gebruikt, nader besproken.

Hoofdstuk twee biedt een overzicht van de ontmoeting van de Hoklo met de protestantse zendelingen en Katholieke missionarissen in Zuidoost Azië in het algemeen en de Chaozhou-regio in het bijzonder. Hierbij speelt de introductie van het christendom door eerder gemigreerde Hoklo een belangrijke rol, net als de onderlinge verhoudingen tussen de vier genoemde zendingsorganisaties. Naast conflicten en rivaliteit is hierbij ook sprake van samenwerking. Verder wordt aandacht besteed aan de regionale verdeling van deze vier organisaties binnen het grotere gebied dat het onderwerp van deze studie vormt.

In hoofdstuk drie worden de activiteiten besproken die de protestantse en Katholieke organisaties specifiek voor vrouwen en meisjes organiseerden. De kern hiervan vormen drie typen van instituten die met verschillende vormen van onderwijs en kennisoverdracht experimenteerden: de meisjesschool ("Little Girls School", ABM, EPM, MEP), het volwassenonderwijs ("Old Women's School" bij ABM, EPM, de training van "Chinese maagden" bij de MEP), en de weeshuizen (alle organisaties, maar sterkst ontwikkeld bij de Katholieke MEP). In het onderwijs aan vrouwen en meisjes speelde de Bijbel in de volkstalen (Hokla en Hakka, de belangrijkste talen van de Chaozhou-regio) een centrale rol. Deze vertalingen werden lokaal door zendelingen en missionarissen geproduceerd en gedrukt, soms in geromaniseerd schrift, soms in Chinese karakters.

Vrouwelijke zendelingen als Adele Field en Catherine Maria Ricketts leverden hieraan een belangrijke bijdrage. Samen met gezangboeken en eenvoudige christelijke teksten in de volkstaal, gebruikten zij deze bijbels in het onderwijs.

Hoofdstuk vier bespreekt het fenomeen van de ‘bijbelvrouwen’ (Bible-women), de eerste lokale vrouwen die als professionals in dienst van de protestantse zending meehielpen bij de verspreiding van het christendom in de regio. Een nauwkeurige lezing van de autobiografieën die door zendinge Adela M. Field (ABM) waren verzameld en geëditeerd, waar mogelijk geconstrueerd met gegevens uit andere bronnen, levert een verfijnde prosopografie op. Deze vormt de basis voor een genuanceerd begrip van de socio-culturele achtergrond en latere levensloop van deze eerste generatie vrouwen die zich tot het christendom bekeerden. Hun redenen zich te bekeren, de manier waarop ze getraind werden, en hun professionele carrières in de protestantse zending worden verder gecontextualiseerd, net als hun impact op de bredere ontwikkeling van het Zuid-Chinese christendom.

Hoofdstuk vijf concentreert zich op het ideaal van het christelijk huwelijk zoals dat in verschillende vormen door zowel de protestantse zending als katholieke missie werd gepropageerd. Hierbij spelen onderwerpen als de onverbreekelijke huwelijksband, monogamie, wederzijds respect en liefde tussen de echtelieden, en de rol van de vrouw in het gezin een belangrijke rol. De verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen de missionaire organisaties worden verduidelijkt aan de hand van een bespreking van de verschillende reglementen die de christelijke zendelingen over dit onderwerp opstelden.

In hoofdstuk zes wordt aan de hand van de EPM-archieven bekeken hoe deze idealen in de praktijk uitwerkten. In deze archieven is terug te vinden hoe deze Britse organisatie in de jaren tussen 1880 tot 1948 omging met gevallen van bigamie, scheidingen, en concubinage en de praktijk van de ‘jonge schoondochters’ (waarbij meisjes opgroeiden in het gezin van hun toekomstige echtgenoot). De episcopale zending toont hier een tamelijk flexibele houding, rekening houdend met de problemen die voor Chinese bekeerlingen ontstonden in de confrontatie van lokale normen en de nieuwe christelijke idealen.

In hoofdstuk zeven wordt een tweede type van vrouwelijke ‘professional’ besproken, dat van de borduurster (‘needlewoman’). Ook deze groep dankt haar bestaan aan de zending/missie, die deze nieuwe vormen van handwerk in de Chaozhou regio introduceerden. Ook hier worden de verschillen tussen ABM, EPM en MEP besproken, naast de impact van deze nieuwe industrie op de bredere sociaal-economische ontwikkelingen in de regio.

Op basis van het voorgaande wordt in het slothoofdstuk geconcludeerd dat de missieorganisaties in belangrijke mate hebben bijgedragen aan nieuwe visies van de

vrouwen in Chaozhou op hun rol in gezin, familie en samenleving, in een tijd van diepgaande politieke en sociale transformaties. Deze studie onderstreept daarbij de eigen actieve bijdrage van deze vrouwen en hun vermogen autonome economische, sociale en religieuze ruimte voor zichzelf te creëren. Daarmee doet deze studie een poging dichotomieën die in eerdere gender-georiënteerde literatuur tussen ‘empowerment’ en verzet worden gepostuleerd, te overstijgen. Het accent ligt hierbij vooral op het perspectief van de christelijke vrouwen, vrouwen die via de zending en missie hun zoektocht naar gelijkwaardige relaties tussen man en vrouw en het noodzakelijke onderhoud van hun gezinnen en families dachten te kunnen verwerkelijken. Oudere weduwes of vrouwen wiens man overzee was, vonden nieuwe hoop in de christelijke kerk, zowel spiritueel via de steun die het christelijk geloof bood in moeilijke dagen, als materieel, in de praktische steun van christelijke vriendinnen en zendelingen, de mogelijkheden een nieuwe christelijke partner te vinden, en mogelijkheden een eigen inkomen te verwerven.

Deze studie concludeert daarmee dat voor vrouwen in Chaozhou, in het bijzonder voor de groep die er om verschillende redenen in het traditionele systeem minder goed vanaf kwamen, het christendom, of het nu de katolieke of de protestantse variant betrof, een blijvend aantrekkelijke optie was.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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