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## **Christianity and gender in South-East China : the chaozhou missions (1849-1949)**

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## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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 Mountains<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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."<sup>9</sup> 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.

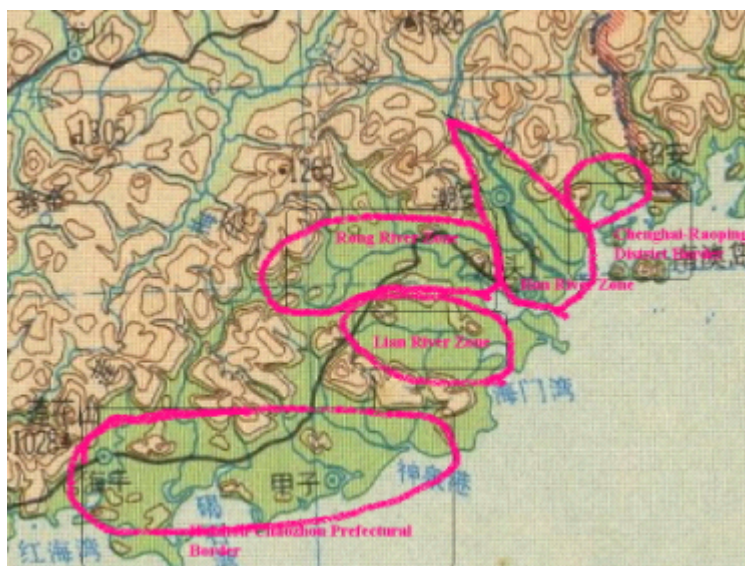


Figure 2: Five river zones in the littoral Hoklo region (according to Joseph Tse-Hei Lee)

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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 1767<sup>13</sup> to the first half of the twentieth century, with Siam as the main destination.<sup>14</sup> 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

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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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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

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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.<sup>18</sup>



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.”<sup>19</sup> 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, 13<sup>th</sup> 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洲》[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”.<sup>20</sup> 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,<sup>21</sup> 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).<sup>22</sup> 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.”<sup>23</sup> 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.

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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 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>24</sup> 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,<sup>25</sup> 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”,<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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."<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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".<sup>30</sup> 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

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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.”<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> 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.”<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.”<sup>35</sup> Ling Oi Ki comments that the presence of Bible-women in various Protestant missions<sup>36</sup> 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

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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.”<sup>37</sup> 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”.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> This ideal of womanhood stressed self-sacrifice but permitted women to adopt active social roles in such areas as teaching and moral leadership.<sup>40</sup> 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”.<sup>41</sup> This view also resonates in Ulrike Sill’s new book.<sup>42</sup> 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.”<sup>43</sup>

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

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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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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."<sup>47</sup>

The 'femininity' the local Christian women learnt from the women missionaries was exemplified in the concept of "the Christian Home".<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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."<sup>50</sup> 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."<sup>51</sup> Dana Robert traces the development of "the Christian home",<sup>52</sup> 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."<sup>53</sup> 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."<sup>54</sup> Both of them agree that woman missionaries facilitated the breakdown of certain forms of gender segregation (such as separate eating)<sup>55</sup> and also transformed and improved the lives of the female converts.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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',<sup>60</sup> 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

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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.<sup>61</sup> 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."<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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

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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."<sup>66</sup> 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."<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

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.<sup>69</sup> 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,

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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."<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> She explores the various ways in which Mary Lyon and her students revitalized the New England tradition of female piety in different places.<sup>72</sup>

Rhonda Anna Semple's book on the professionalism of the British woman missionaries and their Victorian ideas is another excellent example of this theme.<sup>73</sup> 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."<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, her book is more about the missionary-local interaction than about the mission-missionary interaction.

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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*.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

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."<sup>78</sup> This discovery comes as no surprise, as Lutz says, because "Christian missions and Christian schools provided avenues of social and economic mobility for women."<sup>79</sup> Education in general has received a good deal of attention from Gael Graham to Ulrike Sill.<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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."<sup>83</sup> 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

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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”<sup>84</sup> 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.”<sup>85</sup> 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.”<sup>86</sup>

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

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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.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> Dana L. Robert points out that the Roman Catholic missionary sisters shared the careers of “teacher” and “nurse” with their Protestant contemporaries.<sup>90</sup>

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.”<sup>91</sup> 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

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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.”<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup>

### *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*.<sup>95</sup> 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

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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,<sup>96</sup> 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”<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup>

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.<sup>99</sup> Very few Chinese sources exist on the French

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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 jinian 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;<sup>100</sup> b. The archives on the needlework industry in Swatow;<sup>101</sup> and c. Biographies of the Christians who were engaged in this industry.<sup>102</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup>

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.<sup>104</sup>

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

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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.”<sup>105</sup> I have also perused the autobiographies of the first group of Bible-women<sup>106</sup> recorded in Adela M. Fielde (斐姑娘, or 旨先生娘)’s *Pagoda Shadows: Studies from Life in China*<sup>107</sup> in order to reconstruct their life stories.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup>

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.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, fourteen maps drawn by Dr William Riddel (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.<sup>112</sup>

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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.