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**Author:** Cai, Xiang-yu

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## 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.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> 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 China<sup>115</sup>. Hu Weiqing pioneered using the Chinese records of the English Presbyterian Synods at the Shantou Municipal Archives.<sup>116</sup> 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.

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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see: Speicher, *The Conquest of the Cross*; Ashmore, *The South China Mission*; Giedt, “Early Mission History”, unpublished.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. *150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Tsung Tsin Mission, 160<sup>th</sup> 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 shunwang*《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".<sup>117</sup> 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*.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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*<sup>120</sup>. 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).<sup>121</sup>

#### *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.<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> The village of Baileng (百冷) in Huilai district (惠来) housed a Roman Catholic parish as early as in the seventeenth century.<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup>

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*.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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),<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> In 1844, Wu Dong (吴东), who converted to Roman Catholicism in Malaysia, introduced this religion

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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.<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> 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,<sup>137</sup> 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,<sup>138</sup> including Dayang, Liangtian (良田), Anyang (岸洋) and Buzhai (埔寨).<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> Jacquemin continued his preaching and settled down in the ancient Roman Catholic village Baileng from 1856 to 1860.<sup>141</sup>

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,<sup>142</sup> 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

Society<sup>143</sup> and John Taylor Jones (约安西) and William Dean (憐为仁)<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> Two close associates of Gützlaff were William Dean and his wife, Theodosia Ann Barker (为仁者之女).<sup>146</sup> 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.<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

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

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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 24<sup>th</sup> 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 zhushu* 《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).<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Place of birth</b>
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 Jiahui<sup>151</sup>)

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.<sup>152</sup> 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."<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup> During the investigation of the damaging rumours about the Chinese Union,<sup>155</sup> Chen Kaitai still continued to preach with Vogel in the vicinity of Hong Kong.<sup>156</sup>

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).<sup>157</sup> 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.<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> 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.<sup>160</sup> 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)<sup>161</sup> and his wife, who died on

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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 24<sup>th</sup> of the fifth month.

June 9 that same year after a brief illness.<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup> After her marriage, Wakker's membership switched from the Rotterdam Ladies' Association to the Amsterdam section of the Dutch Foreign Mission<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup> In 1858, they were joined by William Ashmore who had been engaged in the Bangkok station for eight years.<sup>166</sup>

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.<sup>167</sup> 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).<sup>168</sup> 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.<sup>169</sup>

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

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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.<sup>170</sup>

With the help of Dr William de la Porte (博德医生),<sup>171</sup> 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.<sup>172</sup> 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.<sup>173</sup>

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.<sup>174</sup> 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).<sup>175</sup> 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,”<sup>176</sup> and “Gützlaff's dream of evangelizing all China by employing Chinese catechists collapsed in shambles. He died in disgrace, his missionary career

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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.”<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup> This was mostly a matter of personal relationships, which can be visualized as a circle with Gützlaff at the centre (see Figure 6).

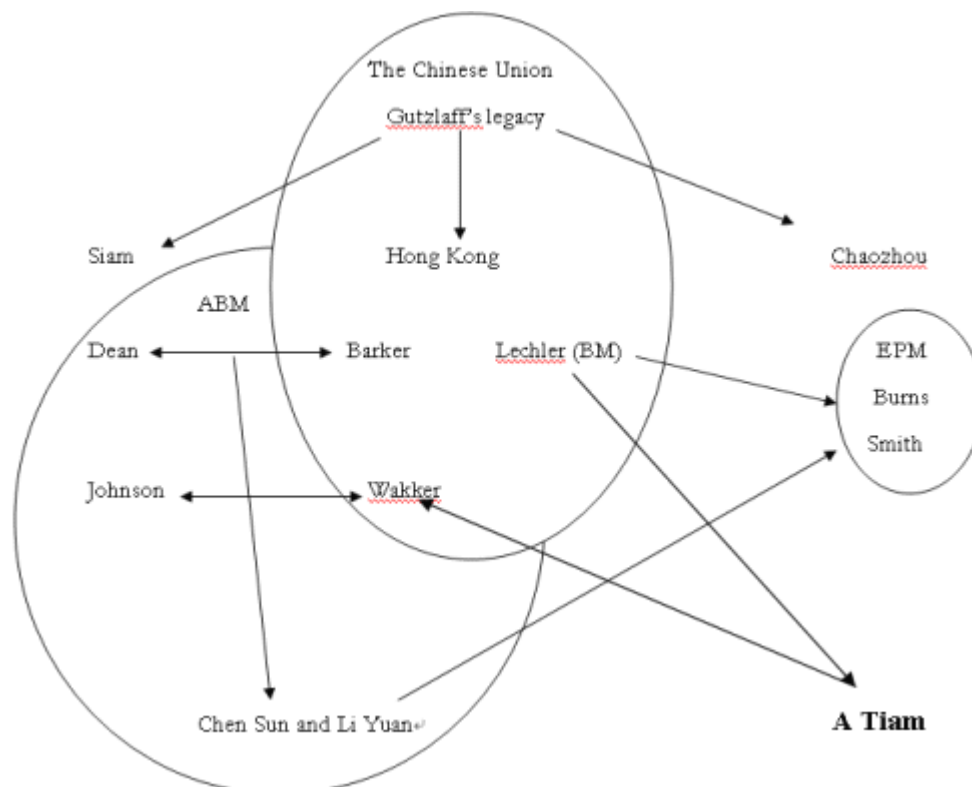


Figure 6: Personnel network of the ABM, Basel Mission and EPM missionaries in Siam, Hong Kong and Chaozhou, with Gützlaff as a charismatic figure at the centre, before 1860

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.<sup>179</sup>

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.<sup>180</sup> 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.<sup>181</sup> 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.

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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.

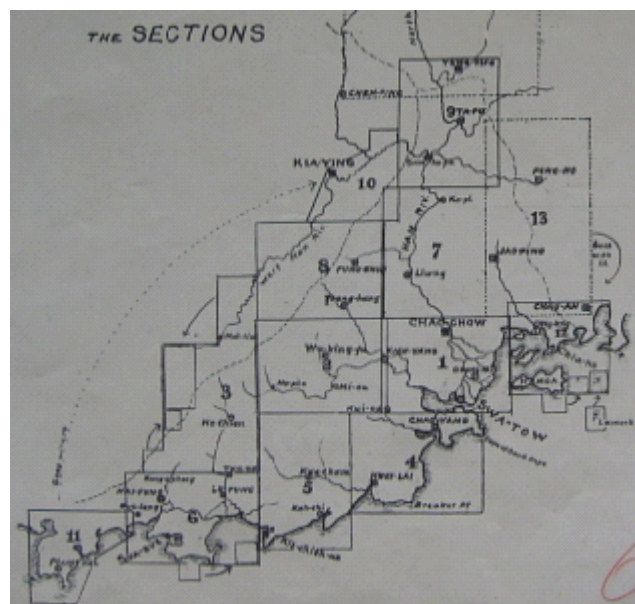


Figure 7: EPM & ABM field: 1899



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.<sup>182</sup> 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.<sup>183</sup> 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*).<sup>184</sup> 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).<sup>185</sup> 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,<sup>186</sup> 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.<sup>187</sup>

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 Kiyng 嘉应州 et de Houitchow 惠州:

1. Tchanganing 长宁县 2. Lufeng 陆丰 3. Lungchün 龙川 4. Liénping 连平 5. Hoping 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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup> 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,<sup>190</sup> and that the conflict in Guxi was the fiercest.<sup>191</sup> 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.<sup>192</sup>

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.<sup>193</sup> 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.”<sup>194</sup> 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.<sup>195</sup> 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.”<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> 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.<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> It facilitated the medical evangelism of the EPM in Swatow,<sup>200</sup> 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.<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup>

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.<sup>204</sup> 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.<sup>205</sup>

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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.

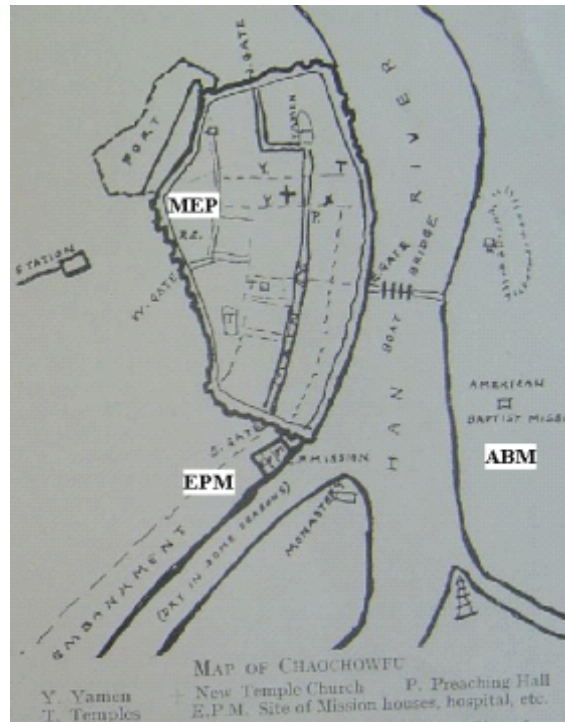


Figure 9: Distribution of the Catholic and Protestant missions in the Chaozhou city

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,<sup>206</sup> 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.<sup>207</sup> Huang Jiying also offered the big hall of his privately owned post office, *Piguan* (批馆),<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> 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.<sup>210</sup> 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 Boussac<sup>211</sup> founded a chapel in Zhanglin (樟林)<sup>212</sup> 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.<sup>213</sup> 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.<sup>214</sup> In 1908, there were about 2,000 Roman Catholics in Chenghai district.<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup>

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.”<sup>217</sup> 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.”<sup>218</sup> 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 m<sup>2</sup>. 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.<sup>219</sup> 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.

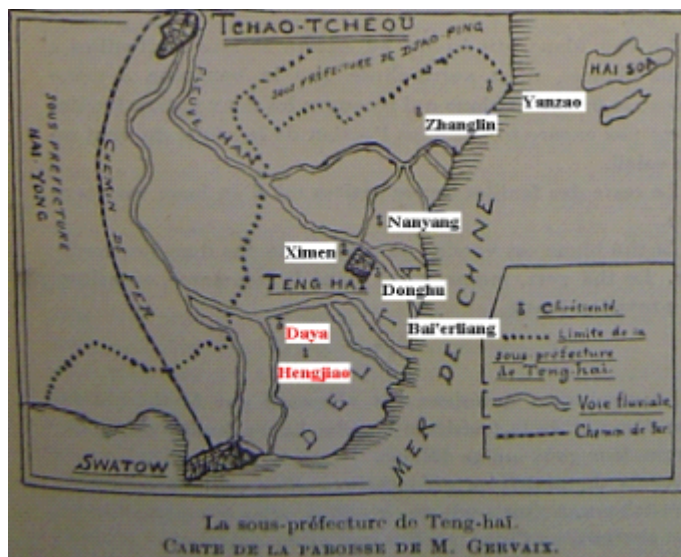


Figure 10: Roman Catholicism in Chenghai District, Han River Zone

### 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.