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## CHAPTER THREE: WOMEN'S WORK

### *Introduction*

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century missions often undertook a wide range of activities especially geared towards women. These included preaching in private, informal settings, separate educational tracts for girls and women, and various kinds of health care which were specifically focused on women, especially in the field of childbearing and child raising. These practices were the vehicle through which the missionaries' ideas about gender were transmitted, explicitly and implicitly. Commenting on the Chinese context, Ryan Dunch notes that the "importance of missionary institutions for Chinese women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has not always been acknowledged in the historiography of Chinese women in the twentieth century," because "it has been systematically downplayed or excised altogether from the standard modernist narrative of Chinese women's liberation as embodied in post-May Fourth nationalist/Communist historiography".<sup>220</sup> Focusing mainly on the Protestant movement around Fuzhou, his article "Mothers to our country" shows how the Protestant missions undertook educational work among women and girls at different levels of schooling. In the context of the Roman Catholic missions, Jean-Paul Wiest has described the Roman Catholic School education for boys and girls over the past 150 years in China<sup>221</sup> and R.G. Tiedemann has worked mainly on the training of Chinese Virgins in the late Qing period.<sup>222</sup> Both Dunch and Wiest's research reveals some of the ideology behind Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in this respect. Concentrating on educational work directed towards women, Dunch points out that "individual piety (the need for the converts to understand the Scriptures) and the demands of Christian domesticity (educated wives for the preachers, educated mothers to nurture the young in their faith)" were the impetus behind Protestant female education.<sup>223</sup> He describes how missionaries took up residence in more remote rural locations and that the mission education systems for girls and women became more formalized after 1880, "with three distinct components: elementary-level 'day schools', boarding schools in the county seats and higher boarding schools and ultimately colleges in major centers, and schools for adult women."<sup>224</sup> Was this also true of the situation in Chaozhou?

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is on the basis of Dunch, Wiest and Tiedemann's research that I shall investigate the Protestant and Roman Catholic mission work for women in the Chaozhou region.<sup>225</sup> Missionary Christianity was indeed the pioneer in promoting education for the female gender in Chaozhou in the late Qing period. The first non-Christian school for girls was established in Chaozhou only in 1904.<sup>226</sup> In this chapter, I single out three types of educational institutions for women established by the missions in the second half of the nineteenth century and follow their development in the first half of the twentieth century. These are the so-called "Little Girls' School", the "Old Women's School" and the orphanages. The first two types of institution were run by both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, but with women of different ages as their target group, providing a closed environment for a thorough training inspired by the twin aims of conversion and exerting a civilizing influence. The third, described as "oeuvres de charité (charitable works)"<sup>227</sup> in Roman Catholic sources, enjoyed a significant position in the Roman Catholic enterprise in China. Following suit, in the 1920s the EPM also established an orphanage. The educational work for women carried out in these institutions would not have been possible without the publication of the Bible, hymnbooks and tracts in the Chaozhou dialect. Although only a small proportion of publications were specifically produced for women and girls, women's education profited from the general interest in publishing and translating. In this chapter, medical work for women (in hospitals and dispensaries) is left aside, because it did not contribute to their systematic, long-term training, even though it played a significant role in attracting potential converts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The Little Girls' Schools*

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

One of the reasons that the ABM Girls' School was able to attract so many students was the fact that it did not charge any tuition fees in the early years. Another attractive feature was that the students were also offered a daily food ration. Understandably, some parents were happy to send their daughters to study there, leaving them one less daughter to support.<sup>236</sup> In the initial years, the ages of the students covered a wide range, the youngest girl was eight years old<sup>237</sup> while the eldest girl, Xu Yuefeng (徐月凤), was aged 20. Xu Yuefeng was already the wife of the Hoklo evangelist Li Yuan (李员) when she began to study at the school. Another girl married Chuan Xiansheng (川先生, i.e. Chen Da Chuan 陈大川), a teacher working for the Johnsons in Swatow; this marriage was arranged by Lumina.<sup>238</sup> These facts suggest that, as in Protestant missions elsewhere in the world, one of the aims of the girls' school was to train wives for the male evangelists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Why did Jesus love them?

Does Jesus love all people?

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

Does He love both the good and the evil?

What should we learn from this?<sup>239</sup>

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

When the ABM moved to Double Island in 1860, the school transferred with the mission. The new teacher, Chuan Xiansheng, was a young Christian man. His wife, Wu Longluan (吴龙卵), who had studied in the Girls’ School in Hong Kong helped with the teaching. One of the girls under Lumina Johnson’s supervision at this time was Lu Kuai (陆快, Adele Fielde called her “Speed”), who later became an efficient teacher first at the Mingdao Women’s School and afterwards in the hospital.<sup>243</sup> The school moved to Queshi (礮石), known as Rocky Corner in the missionary literature, in 1864. Lumina Johnson continued teaching in the bottom storey of her house until her departure in 1874.<sup>244</sup>

It is known that the English Presbyterian Mission commenced education for girls in Yanzao village in the early 1860s, but the sources were insufficient to carry out any further investigation. Mrs Mackenzie<sup>245</sup> of the EPM opened Shude (淑德) Girls’ School in Swatow in 1873, taking Mrs Johnson’s Girls’ School as her prototype, that is: the wife of the missionary took charge of the administration of the school and the doctrinal instruction of the students; a local male teacher taught the girls Chinese characters, with a local female teacher as assistant; a matron looked after the daily welfare of the girls.

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

240 Ibid.

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

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

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

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

245 Her first name is not known so far.

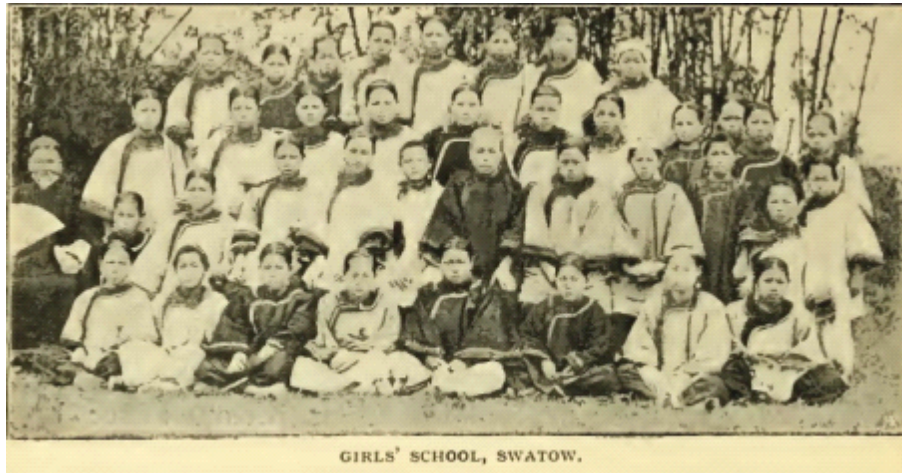


Figure 11: Shude Girls' School (From James Johnston, *China and Formosa*, 1897)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

257 *Ibid.*, p.210.

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

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

260 *Ibid.*, p.211.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

266 Ibid.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

272 Synod Records of Swatow Presbyterian Church, September 22:

卅四: 议西教士会议将中会属各堂小女学可归中会统一管辖较便云云。

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *The Old Women's Schools (老妇学)*

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

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



Figure 12: Adele Marion Fielde

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

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

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

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

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

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

of seven students. Lu Kuai, whose parents were both evangelists (Lu Caiqi and Tang Feng), worked as teacher in this school. Wu Zhenbao (吴真宝, Chin Po, Treasure), a Christian woman who had received training in the Mingdao Women's School, worked from 1880 as matron and assistant teacher at this school. After two or four months' training,<sup>284</sup> the students were sent out to practise what they had learned, accompanied Fielde. During the autumn, Fielde travelled up and down the entire Chaozhou field in her houseboat with this group of Bible-women. In the field, Fielde would test the ability of each student and give each of them practical suggestions about speaking to ordinary Chinese women.<sup>285</sup> When the Bible-women had learned the Gospel thoroughly, Fielde would send them out, two by two, into the rural areas to teach the Christian or non-Christian women. When the fieldwork, which lasted for two months<sup>286</sup> on average, was finished, the women were gathered in the compound in Queshi (畧石) and taught another portion of the doctrines. When they had mastered a thorough grasp of it, then they went out to continue the evangelism. Bible-women became an effective and independent force in carrying the evangelism to the countryside of Chaozhou.<sup>287</sup>

The success of Fielde's Women's School was extensively discussed during the 1877 Protestant conference in Shanghai and consequently became a model for the work of Bible-women throughout China. In November 18, 1881, Catherine Maria Ricketts (李洁姑娘) of the EPM commenced the training of her first class of Bible-women, which became her life-work. Her colleagues, Eleanor Black and Mary Harkness, continued the work when Ricketts left in 1907.<sup>288</sup> Being an English lady and had probably attended Girton College in Cambridge, Ricketts called this school "The Swatow Girton". Its Chinese name was Peide Women's School (培德妇学).<sup>289</sup> In fact the Chinese rendered it the "Old Women's School" because the youngest student was forty-seven and the eldest sixty-three.<sup>290</sup>

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

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

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

287 *Ibid.*, p.116.

288 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.27.

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

290 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.27.



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

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

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

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291 Ibid.

292 Ibid., p.30.

293 Ibid., p.27.

294 Ibid., p.29.

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

296 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 14: Agathe Lo

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

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

301 Mahorney, *Synoton*, p.30.

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

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

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

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

whom were women.<sup>306</sup> Like the Bible-women in the Protestant congregations, Roman Catholic lay women and Virgins were an important force in evangelism. The Western priests needed the help of the Virgins. In Bishop Charles Vogel's (和敬谦) words, the Virgins were something "keenly desired by our brothers for many years".<sup>307</sup> Tiedemann reveals the fact that, despite the importance of local Virgins, tensions between them and the authority of the male Western priests might easily flare up in Shandong province. Although unflatteringly perceived as "a necessary evil" by these nineteenth-century priests, they were of crucial importance to the Chinese missions, at least until the arrival of Western Roman Catholic sisters in 1910.<sup>308</sup> The lack of sources prevents me from testing this viewpoint in the Chaozhou context.

When these Western Roman Catholic sisters did arrive, their most important work was to train local Virgins as catechists. In 1910, two French sisters from the order of St Paul des Chartres were sent to Swatow, where they opened an orphanage and a school. Owing to a lack of funding, they left in 1913.<sup>309</sup> It was not until 1922 that the first three sisters from the Canadian Ursuline Order (吴苏辣会), Marie du Rosaire (玫瑰姑娘), Marie de l'Incarnation (葛玛利) and Marie de Ste. Croix (十字架姑娘), were sent to Swatow. They commenced thirty years of work (1922-1952) and opened stations in Swatow (1922), Chaozhou (1924) and Hepo (*Regina Cordium*, 1926) successively.

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

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

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

308 Tiedemann, "A Necessary Evil".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

316 *Ibid.*, 1938.





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

### *Orphanage*

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

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

318 Ibid.

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

329 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.53.

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

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

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

### *Publications*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

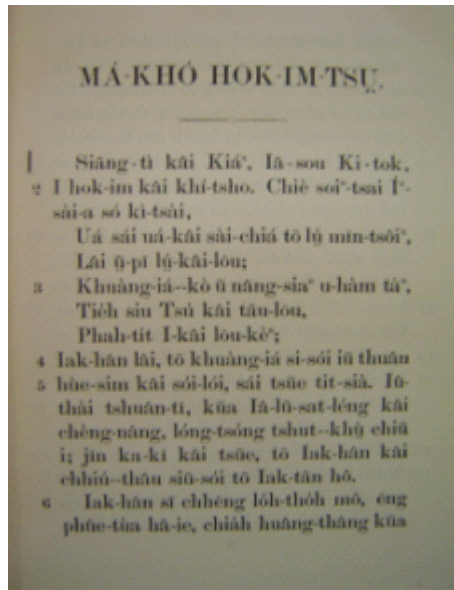


Figure 19: Bible in Chaozhou dialect translated by the EPM: Mark I: 1-6, Romanized, printed in the Praying Hall Hongxue Xuan (鸿雪轩) in Swatow, 1890.

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

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

Mark I: 1-6, printed in Chinese Character, 1898<sup>338</sup>

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

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

338 Ibid., p.7.

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

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

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

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

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

341 Ibid., p.17.

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

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

丙：小学改用语体文，五经富中会复改用语体文，汕头中会复未便举行。……

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

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

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

347 Collected in the Sinological Library, Leiden University.

348 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.17.

349 Ibid., p.25.

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

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

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

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

352 Mahorney, *Swatow*, p.41.

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

354 Mann, *Ricketts*, p.25.

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

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



### *Conclusion*

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

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