THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION.

1.1 PREFACE.

About 7 a.m. in the morning of 1 August 1895 eleven British subjects connected to the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society\(^1\) (CEZMS) were murdered by Chinese rebels, in an attack that lasted just half an hour, at a sanatorium (hill-station) adjacent to the small village of Huashan (Huasang, Hwasang, Whasang), above the district capital of (Kucheng, Ku T’ien, Kutien-today Gutian) in Fujian (Fukien, Fuhkien, Fuh Kien) Province, China.\(^2\)

The Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province, c 1895.

\(^{1}\) The CMS and CEZMS merged in England in 1957. A Victorian auxiliary of the CEZMS was formed in the mid 1880s and merged with the new Church Missionary Association of Victoria c1896. Australian women missionaries in Fujian Province were seconded to the CEZMS under a unique arrangement negotiated by the Rev. Robert Stewart.

\(^{2}\) In 1895 the legal status of people born in the British Empire, of which Ireland, England and Australia were members, was, “British subject.” Australians remained “British subjects” until 1984. A press report at the time of the murders referred to Nellie and Topsy Saunders as ‘Australian citizens’ an identity that did not exist. It may be among the earliest uses of the term. The Sydney Morning Herald, 7 August 1895.
1.2 THE SETTING

Kucheng (Gutian) District is located in a densely populated valley surrounded by steep mountains. The 19th century district administrative centre, fu (Kucheng City), was located about ninety miles northwest of Fuzhou and about a thirty mile walk in single file north from the junction of the Gutian River with the Min River (Minjiang) at the riverside town of Shuikou.

**Fujian Province, Showing Location of Gutian (Kucheng).**

The Old Walled Town of Kucheng, (Kutien, Gutian) c 1921.

Original Sketch by Dong Gieng Ciu, Wesleyan University Library, Connecticut, USA, 3

3 Do Gieng Ciu, a member of the Wesleyan Class of 1916, was born on February 11, 1888 in Foochow, China. He is listed under Ciu in the annual Catalogs of students for the years 1913/14 (sophomore) and 1914/15 (junior). In 1915/16, he is listed as Womin Chou. There is later, the name and picture of Donald Grove (Womin) Chou. Wesleyan sources use the name of Do Gieng Ciu. After receiving his Bachelor of Science from Wesleyan, Ciu gained a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Drew Theological Seminary in 1919; a Master of Arts from Columbia in 1920; and a Doctor of Pedagogy from New York University in 1921. Although he studied chemistry, political science and teaching, when he returned to his native country of China, he chose to be a missionary. He accepted an appointment in the city of Kutien and began his missionary work there in February 1921. There he started six preaching bands to work in the six city wards, in the city prison, and among the soldiers. He preached nightly. He set up a night school with 47 members, and a boys club with 23 members. Two nights a week, he lectured on hygiene, church history, or doctrine. Ciu became known as “The flaming evangel of Kutien.” While traveling to Kuliang, a summer resort near Foochow, Ciu was killed by bandits on August 20, 1921.
The Site of Old City beneath the Modern Shuikou Hydroelectric Lake.\(^4\)

![Image of the site of Old City beneath the Modern Shuikou Hydroelectric Lake.]


The Shuikou Dam Wall on the Min River.

![Image of the Shuikou Dam Wall on the Min River.]

http://www.ecidi.com/ECIDI_ENG/Hydropower.aspx

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\(^{4}\) The Shuikou hydroelectric dam was developed between 1987 and 1997 and is one of, if not the largest development in East China. The dam created a huge lake that drowned the River and the old town of above Shuikou.
Shuikou, c 1895.

Shuijow Riverbank from the River Min c1890.
The boat journey of about 90 miles (150 kilometres) from Fuzhou to Shuikou and the walk overland, single-file, along narrow footpaths to Gutian (30 miles, c50 km) usually took about two or three days but more than a week in difficult weather.\(^5\) Shuikou marked the beginning of rapids on the Minjiang that prior to the early 1990s, made the upper river, nearly 3000 kilometres long, impassable to anything larger than a motor launch, sailing sampan or oared sampan. Large ocean going ships were limited to the Pagoda Anchorage below Fuzhou.

**Pagoda Anchorage below Fouchow (Fuzhou), c1880**

*Illustrated London News, 21 February 1880.*

The foreign settlement at Fuzhou was located on an island opposite the ancient Chinese city. Nantai Island (now Cangshan). The foreign missions and consulates were all located at Nantai.

**The Foreign Settlement on Nantai Island (Cangshan) c1883.**

*Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly, Vol XVIII, July-December 1884.*

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5 See illustration at page 111.
In the summer months, foreign missionaries retreated, in very small numbers, to an island known as Sharp Peak at the mouth of the Min River and later, following an entrepreneurial venture, to a major “hill-station” above Fuzhou where, within limits, they created a “suburban” style of European living. The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM mission), the American Methodist Episcopal mission, the Church Missionary Society with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, maintained rest houses on the island. This was later replaced by the Kuliang (Kuling) resort above Foochow and the CMS/CEZMS houses at Huashan. Kuliang remained the key recreational location for foreigners in Foochow well into the 20th century.

Map of Min River Estuary below Fuzhou showing Pagoda Anchorage and Sharp Peak Island.
Sharp Peak Island

Apart from the mission sanatoria, the island was the location where the international submarine telegraph cables came ashore and joined the domestic Chinese telegraph to Foochow (See below Para 1.21). Tipsy Saunders gave the following account of the island.

Sharp Peak is nearly a day’s journey down the river from Foochow. It is a rocky island about three miles round, just at the mouth of the Min, where it flows into the sea. We see the steamers coming in and going out. One of the tea steamers left for home the other day. The three missions, two American and one English, have houses here, and besides that there is the telegraph and cable house for Foochow and right up inland to Pekin, and those are all the foreign habitations on the island. It is bare rock, except for a few terraces of cultivation in the more sheltered parts of the island…

Before we came here I heard a good deal about the luxurious houses the missionaries had at this Peak, but the luxury is a thing of the past, if it was ever there at all. The houses are long, and two rooms deep, with a veranda along the front, and divided with wooden partitions into sets of two suites. Every sound can be heard right through, especially the babies squalling. Each inmate brings his own chair, table, &c. …

You know Sharp Peak is an island of rock, with a few pine trees on it at the mouth of the river Min. The three sanatoriums and the telegraph house are the only habitations, except for a little fishing village down at the landing. The only walks are narrow paths cut round the sides of the hills out of the rocks. As you turn round the points from where the American house stands, you see on the opposite hill the Church Missionary Society house, looking just about one hundred yards away, if you could walk straight there, but the hill is very steep, and below is a beach of high sand hillocks, and then a tough climb the other side, so no one ever goes that way, but follows the path around the hill for about half-an-hour. Now I never believe in going a long way round when there is a short way, so I made up my mind to crawl down that hill across the sand and get to the Church Missionary Society house that way; they told me not to attempt it, but that only added a little more desire to do it. So yesterday I went and did it in a quarter of an hour, and back in twenty minutes, which was a have for the folks who said I could not do it; so you see I have not improved much in that respect, but I hate being tied down to doing things in ordinary ways; it is much nicer to invent a way for yourself …

We went down to the cable-house the other morning to see the cables work. It was so interesting. I

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6 The American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, the Church Missionary Society.
could have sent you a message for fifty dollars in about half-an-hour. While we were there a message came in from New York that had only taken a few hours, and we saw the place where the cables come up out of the ground.\

The CMS House at Sharp Peak.

The Telegraph Station at Sharp Peak.

THE EASTERN EXTENSION CABLE STATION AT SHARP PEAK,
Buildings from left to right are lineman’s quarters, Chinese Government operators, office, company’s operators, company’s senior clerk.


Kuliang Sanatorium, c1895, inset showing Dr Rennie's House.

The walls surrounding the houses were built as protection from typhoons. Beard wrote on 30 October 1898: “One week ago I went to Kuliang and arranged to have the typhoon wall rebuilt so that the wind could not blow it down. The wall will be 100 feet long. At one end it is 9 ft. and at the other 15 ft. high. The first 30 ft. of the lower end will be of stone only. The rest will have a stone face next to the house 15 ft. high. The back face will be only 8 ft. high and the space between filled with earth. This style of wall can not be blown down unless the workmanship is very deficient. The man guarantees the wall for three years. I am to give him $100 silver for building it.”

Photo from the collection of John and Nancy Butte. Letter by Willard Livingstone Beard, Foochow, 21 August 1898.

Beard was a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.
Coolies carrying loads along a mountain path.
Gutian District was a tea-growing area, self-sufficient in food and basic necessities, exporting to the world through the Pagoda Anchorage with Australia a key destinations for tea exports. Some foreign goods penetrated to the wealthy but foreign imports did not disturb the traditional socio-economic balance of Fujian. Two young Australian women who are among the central figures in this collection, Nellie and Topsy Saunders of Melbourne, mentioned the need for foreigners to import items otherwise unavailable. Topsy told her mother, Eliza Saunders in Melbourne, of the initiative taken by the Rev. William Banister, Stewart’s predecessor at .

Oatmeal you can get, but don’t want; at least I don’t… China is a funny place, and the things that it has are far better than the imported things. Now every morning, instead of porridge, we have a great plateful of plain boiled rice, with buffalo milk and sugar, and it is just tipping! I could not possibly do without my rice in the morning now! It is not a quarter as heating as porridge, and it tastes much nicer. Now, the wheaten meal touches a point on which I feel deeply. You can get heaps of wheat here as cheap as anything. On the other hand, if you buy flour in Fuzhou it is very expensive — first, its own cost, and then the cost of carting it up, and it is such heavy stuff. But Mr. Bannister is a wonderful man; I do admire him very much. He got a grinding machine out from England, and bought his wheat for next to nothing, and made one of the men grind it up. So there he has his own little mill on the place; and I propose to adopt the same plan when we are settled at Ning Taik.

Amy Oxley, a young Australian nursing sister from New South Wales, who arrived in Fuzhou a few months after the Huashan Massacre in which the Saunders sisters died, said that foreign groceries were the major import item for missionaries. Oxley highlighted sweets, (candy or “lollipops” (lollies’ in colloquial Australian usage), among items of deep emotional value to the expatriate community. Unlike the Saunders sisters, Amy Oxley received some training from the Church Missionary Association of New South Wales (CANSW), in a short-lived college sponsored by Miss Eliza Hassall, of a well-known missionary family.

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8 The potential impact of foreign commercial activity on the overall life-style of the people of Fujian Province needs be seen in the context of the growth of the population during the first half of the 19th century. Ho Ping-ti suggests that the population was 300 million in 1800 and 430 million by 1850. Ho Ping-ti, (1998), ‘In Defense of Sincization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s ‘Reenvisioning the Qing’,” pp 123 –155 in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol 57 No 1, February 1998, see comments at pp 123 and 145. The connection between population growth and Chinese overseas emigration has been discussed in many places. The standard Australian work is Wang Sing-wu, (1978), The Organisation of Chinese Emigration, 1848-1888, with special reference to Chinese Immigration to Australia, San Francisco, Chinese Materials Centre Inc. The issue is referred to in Welch, Ian (1980), Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia, MA (microfilmed), Monash University.

9 One foreign (American) item observed by Nellie Saunders during a visit to the District Magistrate’s yamen or official house, was a pair of high quality ‘Rochester’ lamps, an American glass funnel kerosene lamp. Millions were manufactured and sold worldwide, including Australia and, obviously, China. See online 1 December 2010, http://www.thelampworks.com/lw_companies_rochester.htm

10 For an account of the Saunders sisters and Annie Gordon see Welch, Ian, (2004), ‘Nellie, Topsy and Annie: Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895,’ Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. URL-rspas.anu.edu.au/paths/TransTasman/papers/Welch_Ian.pdf

11 Topsy Saunders, April or May 1894, Berry op cit, p 96.

Eliza Hassall inherited considerable wealth from her father, a farmer and evangelical minister, the Rev. Thomas Hassall. The Hassall family had a long history of missionary involvement with overseas missions in the South Pacific. Eliza Hassall established the ‘Marsden Training Home’ for single women missionaries in the period 1892-1903. Her handwritten prospectus provides a curriculum outline of the course of study that CMANSW required for women candidates. The picture below shows the first class to attend the “Marsden Training Home” in Sydney. The young woman standing at left rear is Amy Oxley, the first post-massacre Australian to Fujian Province.

The CMA of NSW Marsden Training Home, Sydney, New South Wales

Amy Oxley, shown left standing, joined the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province in 1896. The uniforms worn by the students were modelled on those of deaconess institutions in Britain. Amy Oxley married Dr. George Wilkinson, an English medical doctor, of the CMS. The couple had a daughter but little else is known of them or where they went when they left China although they may have settled in New South Wales. Amy Oxley Wilkinson became internationally famous for her work with blind children. Among other ideas she established a brass band that was one of the few instances of missionary work in China involving children of mixed ethnic origins, with at least three Eurasian boys being shown in a photograph of the band.
The village of Huashan, the site of the murders, is about twelve miles to the southeast of the old town of Gutian and is about 1000 feet higher than and a population of around 300 at the time of the murders. It was marginally cooler in the summer months of July-August and the CMS and CEZMS built houses to provide a local rest and recreation site during the hot weather while still resorting to Sharp Peak and Kuliang. The senior American Methodist Episcopal woman missionary, Miss Mabel Hartford, rented a Chinese house near the British residences for the summer months and the Rev. H.S. Phillips (CMS) rented a room in a Chinese house closer to Huashan village.

Huashan Village, Fujian Province, c 1890.

Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

The early morning attack ended with the death of nine British adults, the fatal wounding of two small children, and the burning of the two missionary houses incinerating the bodies of five of the victims. The event is generally recorded as the Kucheng Massacre as a result of press reports that wrongly located the massacre in Gutian City, (in Foochow dialect Kucheng), the administrative centre of the District, rather than at the actual site—Huashan. Getting to Huashan in 1895 involved an eight-hour climb up an unpaved and unformed mountain track. Nellie Stewart gave a graphic description of the journey.

The distance between Hua Sang and Ku Cheng is a little over twelve miles, the last six going up, and up, and up liangs\(^{17}\) most terrific to behold and worse to ascend… About seven we reached the foot of

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\(^{17}\) Liang in Fuzhou dialect means steps cut into a very steep hill or mountain slope.
what we call the clay liang, which is just a mountain of red clay with steps cut in it, so forming a path up the side. The rest of the mountain and all around is thickly covered with bamboo, tall thick bushes, with fern and grass and flowering shrubs… we could get up and go on up those fearful liangs with renewed strength. At the top of each there is usually a rather flat place, and you can walk along on the flat for a short way. On reaching each of these places we sank on to a bank or stone in utter exhaustion, and begged for some … water. We had a rest half way up the liang that last and terrible one and at last reached the top in a very exhausted state.

Huashan Village, 2010.
The British and American Mission Stations of Gutian District - East and South to Shuikou.

Based on Sketch Maps prepared by Rev. Robert Stewart.
The British and American Mission Stations of Gutian District- West and North to Dong Gio.

Based on Sketch Maps prepared by Rev. Robert Stewart.
1.3 THE VEGETARIAN ATTACKERS.

A local rebel movement labelled “Vegetarians,” (Chinese: 齋教; pinyin: Zhāijiào; Pêh-ôe-jî¹⁸: Tsai-kàu), under the leadership of Liu Hsiang-hsing began recruiting in Gutian and Ping Nang Districts in 1892 and was exerting significant local influence in 1894 with the events reported in Part Three. It was reported in early 1895 that about 3000 people had joined the society although the statistics are uncertain with other suggestions of over 10,000 recruits. The Kucheng and Ping Nang group recruited by Liu claimed links to an “Eight Dragon Society” which in turn had uncertain connections to a “White Lotus” Society that had staged an unsuccessful rebellion at the beginning of the 19th century in North China.

In March 1895, following a series of incidents during 1894, the District Magistrate informed the foreign missionaries that an attack by the Vegetarians on Gutian (Kucheng) was expected and he invited the foreigners outside the city (essentially the CMS and CEZMS) to move across the river and inside the city for safety while he closed the city gates for three full days, causing much irritation to the local merchants. Three days later the city was re-opened but both the American and British Consuls in Fuzhou urged the foreign community in Gutian to evacuate to the safety of the treaty port. The foreign women and children moved to the comparative safety of Fuzhou (Foochow) where they remained until May-June when the British returned to Gutian. The American women and children remained in Fuzhou until April 1896.

The 1894-1895 episodes involving the Vegetarians are discussed many times in the collection and also in the publications of Berry and Watson listed in the footnotes and readily accessible online through Internet Archive.¹⁹ The letters of Rev. Robert Stewart, Mrs. Louisa Stewart and several other missionaries describe attacks on nearby villages and an episode in Kucheng itself that resulted in the removal of the District Magistrate. Robert Stewart gives a particularly interesting passage on the need for the missionaries to climb the city wall after the city gates were closed. His letter, written on 8 April, states:—

We have been having some rather exciting times here lately. Ten days ago I was called up at four O’clock in the morning by our native clergyman and other Christians, who had crossed the river to our house to bring the startling news that the Vegetarian rebels were expected at daylight to storm Kucheng and that the gateways of that city were being blocked with timber and stone as fast as possible. We have for a considerable time been aware that the Vegetarians were recruiting in large numbers, and the expectation that something of this kind might happen led the better-class people to subscribe large sums for the rebuilding of the city wall, which in many places had fallen down; the

¹⁸ Pêh-ôe-jî is a Romanised form of Southern Min dialect developed by Western missionaries in the 19C but is now used almost exclusively in Taiwan. The term Tsai-hui was used in Part Eight: Hixson, James Courtney, US Consul, Report No 48. Consulate of the United States of America, Foochow, China, August 31, 1896. J Courtney Hixson to the Department of State, Report on the Huashan-Kutien Massacre. See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pêh-ôe-jî

 gates, too, had been either broken or were gone. At the time when the alarm was given, we had, with women, girls, and children, nearly one hundred sleeping in our compound. The rebels expected in an hour! What was to be done? As we talked, and prayed, and planned, the dawn began to break; then came the rain in torrents. What part this played in the matter I don’t know; but as we saw it falling heavily, and remembered the Chinese fear of getting wet, we said to one another, “The rain will be our protection.” At daylight we roused the schools, and, after a hasty meal, all left in a long, sad procession to make their way across the river in a small ferry-boat, which came backwards and forwards for them, until at last the whole party had reached the other side.

**The Ferry Boat on Gutian River showing city wall.**

It was a long business, all in the rain, and then the wall had to be climbed by a ladder, for by this time the blocking of the gateways was complete. Near our chapel the wall had not been rebuilt to its full height; and the chapel ladder, the only one to be obtained, just reached to the top…. The next day that part of the wall was built to its proper height, and the ladder would have then been several feet too short, and we could never have got the women with their cramped feet and the children over the wall. For the next three days the wall was guarded by bands of citizens, posted at short intervals from one another, and armed with the best weapons they could find; but, indeed, they were poor things old three-pronged forks, centuries old, to judge by their appearance, with movable rings on the handles to shake, and so strike terror to the hearts of the foe. Rusty, too, were their swords, and rarely to be seen; we watched the proud possessors washing them in a pool and scraping them with a brick. The majority had no scabbards; not that the “braves” had thrown them away, but they had lost them. … Those three days whilst the city was straitly shut up were anxious ones. Then the gates were opened. What took place between the Mandarin and the Vegetarian leaders we do not know; but no one believes that we have seen the end of the matter.20

The attack on 1 August 1895 occurred without warning although the local Chinese knew of it at least a day earlier. A letter of warning from Liu Hsiang-Hsing, the original leader, who had vague connections with the CMS mission through his wife, was delivered in the late evening of the last day of July, but as it was late, the recipient did not take it to the CMS Mission until the morning of 1 August, by which time it was too late.

20 Watson, op cit, pp 42-44.
Sketch Map of Huashan Murder Site.

+ Where CEZMS ladies were killed.

*Dublin University Missionary Magazine*, Memorial Edition, 17 October 1895,
National Library of Ireland.
Dublin University Missionary Magazine, Memorial Number, 17 October 1895.
THE VEGETARIANS OF KU CHENG.

Many questions have been asked as to the Vegetarian sects of societies in China since the terrible massacre at Ku Cheng, and it is important that we should understand as clearly as possible, the real nature of the combination of men which sent eighty of their number to murder the missionaries at Hwa-Sang. Was their action due to fanaticism aroused by the preaching of Christian doctrines distasteful to them, or had they any other motive in their cowardly attack? Was the movement purely local, or did it extend to other districts in Fuh-Kien or to other provinces?

Vegetarian sects exist in all parts of China, and are composed of those who, for various reasons, have abstained from animal food and banded themselves into societies. An admirable and very complete account of them will be found in the current number of the Sunday at Home, by the Rev. C. G. Sparham, of Hankow. He says with regard to their general reputation:—“The rites of the Vegetarians are celebrated in private houses, and consist chiefly in the chanting of litanies. The more earnest among them will occasionally stand up in the streets and exhort men to virtue. The sects all set high values upon purity of life, and many members are celibates. By the people at large, the rank and file are regarded as simple and harmless folk, but the motives of their leaders are suspected.”

This exactly expresses the general opinion in Fuh-Kien of the Vegetarians. They are not generally anti-foreign or anti-Christian; indeed, as Mr. Sparham proves in the case of Hankow, so it is in Fuh-Kien, some of our most earnest converts have been drawn from their ranks. One of the leading Christians in Ning-Taik was for many years a strict Vegetarian, and had risen to be a leader among them before he heard of the Gospel. But the so-called “Vegetarians” who planned and executed the attack on the Ku Cheng missionaries, were quite different in the objects, and in the nature of their organization. Their leaders came from the neighbouring province of Kiang-Si, and were commonly reported to be members of a much-dreaded secret society called by a euphemistic title “The Elder Brothers Society.” On their first appearance in Ku Cheng city two years ago, they began business as curers of the victims of opium-smoking and attached a large number of men to them by insisting on their cure before enrolling them as members of the Vegetarian Society, under cover of which organization they were maturing plans of rebellion. That they were rebels appears from the fact, that the mandarin in Ku Cheng refused for a long time to give them leave to hold their meetings and establish headquarters in the city. Another indication of this fact is, that the wealthy Heathen feared them as much as did the Christians; and themselves subscribed to build again the broken-down city wall of Ku Cheng, telling Mr. Stewart that “they feared the Vegetarians would rise in rebellion.” This does away with any argument that they were actuated by fanatical religious feelings, as their co-religionists feared them as much as the Christians did. It has also since come out that after the massacre occurred no violence was used to the native Christians, though they had them in their power.

London Missionary Society.
That they were rebels is proved by their actions. A very able writer in *The Times* of August 5th, dating his letter “Han Kau, June 18th,” says with regard to the Szw-Chuan riots that they were not the work of rebels as “there does not appear to have been the slightest hostility shown by the mobs towards either yamens or mandarins, *and those, the real rebel, always goes for straight and first.* Still stranger still, the mandarins do not seem to have shown much hostility to the mobs, although, whatever they may wink at, *they never shut their eyes when actual rebels are around.*”

The history of the Vegetarian society in Ku Cheng is one long struggle with the local mandarin whose yamen, or official residence, they threatened from the first; and the immediate cause of the massacre, as subsequent letters have shown, was the abortive attempt to suppress the Vegetarians made by the local mandarin, who got up 200 extra troops to Ku Cheng, and alarmed the Vegetarian leaders, who, by some reasoning process of their own, attributed to the foreigners the arrival of troops, and determined to get rid of them.

A good deal of false pity has been spent in some circles in Dublin on the murderers who are supposed to have acted religiously “up to their lights,” and some have even gone so far as to say that they should not have been executed; but the facts show that had the rebellion been a little more successful, the whole country of Ku Cheng would have been plunged into the horrors of a rebellion, and thousands more would have lost their lives. Although, as all true Christians will, we deplore the necessity which compelled the death of these misguided men, yet we know that these deaths have averted a rebellion.

After the massacre, the remnant of the murderers are said to have escaped into the Ping Nag county, one day’s journey due north of Ku Cheng city.

So local was this rebellious movement that Mr. Stewart said that there were no “Vegetarians” in Ping Nang; and to the north-west, one day’s journey from Ku Cheng city, some Christians had not even heard of the organization which could make no headway in Kien-Ning. That they attempted to rouse the Kien-Ning people is proved by recent letters received from the Zenana ladies in Kien-Ning, a district abounding in Vegetarians of the ordinary kind, with no political tendencies. Some “Vegetarians” had come up from Ku Cheng a few days before the telegram was received, recalling the ladies in the Kien-Ning district, trying to get the local Vegetarians and people in general to join in a rising, but at Nang-Wa and Kien-Ning city they were told to go about their own business as no none was willing to join them. Two men joined them at the village of Ha-Kai, but when they found no one else did, and that the mandarin of the city was sending out soldiers to put down a rising, they got frightened, and came to A-Cue, where Miss Rodd and Miss Bryer, of the C.E.Z.M.S. were staying, saying they wanted to become Christians, and asking that they would teach them. “The Sisters had heard nothing of what had been happening at Ha-Kai and were very pleased, and the men seemed very interested. Then came the tidings that the Sisters must leave, so they asked if they might go for further instruction to the hospital at Ning-Wa. As they were eating their own rice, and only asked to be
taught, they were passed on accordingly. Who knows but that they may find the treasure though they wee seeking only shelter from an earthly danger.”
1.4 MISSIONARIES IN FUJIAN PROVINCE.

In terms of the combined populations of Euro-America and the British colonies of settlement the number of Protestant missionaries abroad was very small—less than 200,000 people world-wide from all countries over the entire “missionary era” from c1800 to c1950. Table 1 below shows Protestant missionary numbers from 1840-1928 and highlights how small the missionary workforce was compared to the 400-500 million Chinese.22 The missionary population and its dispersal over the provinces of China together with its focus on the poor indicates that claims about the influence of missionaries on Chinese institutions, i.e., “cultural imperialism” should not be accepted without question. The “westernisation” of Chinese institutions during the late 19th and throughout the 20th century was due more to Chinese reformers than to foreigners.

Table 1

The Protestant and Catholic missions in China included thousands of Chinese clergy and lay people few of whom achieved prominence and remain unknown. The story of Protestant Christianity in 19th century China is dominated by foreign sources, mostly in English, from Great Britain and North America. There has been little written about Australians who comprised around ten percent of the workforce during the period from c1890 to c1950.23

By the 1890s, women, married and single, were the majority of foreign missionaries in China but were less known than men, with some exceptions, until the growth of gender history brought women into the forefront of discussion of Protestant missions.24 Eugene Stock, The Editorial Secretary of the British Church Missionary Society, wrote:

It is a fact well realized that there are more women missionaries in the field than men. In the case of married couples, of course, the two sexes balance one another, and the single women are now more numerous than the single men. Are now more numerous: yes, it is a new fact. There is another fact, not a new one, but as old as the human race—viz., that half the population of the world consists of women; and this fact, familiar as it always has been, seems never to have been realized, or at least its bearing understood, in those earlier days. The common idea was that a missionary was normally an ordained man. "Lay missionaries" were unknown in the Church of England. A schoolmaster or an artisan might be sent out for some particular secular work, but he was not reckoned as a missionary, not even like the Roman "lay brothers"; and naturally women shared the disqualification. And all the while it was forgotten that in most non-Christian lands the women cannot be effectually reached by male missionaries, so how were half the population to hear the Gospel?25

Women’s increasing role in 19th century British Protestant missions is shown by the growth in women subscribers to the Church Missionary and London Missionary societies. By 1900 women were close to 50% of all financial supporters.26 The merits of foreign missions were widely debated in the 19th century and missions and missionaries tend to be ignored in mainstream in modern academic research;—

No question is perhaps enveloped in such a cloud of prejudice. On the one hand there are many people both at home and in China who, having no sympathy with missionary work or being thoroughly convinced of its uselessness in existing circumstances, look upon the missionaries as busy-bodies and intruders, who have only themselves to thank when their misplaced zeal brings them to grief. On the other hand the missionaries themselves and their friends at home are so profoundly impressed with the sacredness of their task that in its performance they are absolutely deaf to any considerations of human prudence or political caution until in the throes of some ghastly life and death struggle, the natural instinct of self-preservation extorts from them a passionate appeal to their fellow citizens for assistance and protection. But to discuss the value or expediency of missionary labour in China is neither practicable nor useful. On a question which is approached by different people from such opposite points of view, the conclusions arrived at cannot fail to be conflicting.27

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23 Australians were identified among the "British" as a distinct Australian legal identity did not exist in the 19th century. Mention of this issue will be found several times through this collection.
24 Part Twelve: Appendix No 3: Australian Single Women Missionaries to Asia: An Interim List (at October 2010).
1.5 THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY IN CHINA.

The collection highlights differences in outlook between the European residents in China who were divided between secular (business and government—military and diplomatic) and religious communities. The secular group comprised “settlers,” people with foreign business interests settled for the long term in China who were particularly sensitive to shifts in Chinese official behavior, and “transients,” people with short term duties in China before moving on. The religious group comprised Protestant missions representing more than 100 British and American societies and many foreign Catholic religious orders. An American Episcopal missionary wrote that that foreign “society in the East is divided into two camps—the missionary and the non-missionary.” The secular and missionary establishments relied on Chinese assistants and would have achieved nothing without them. Both strands maintained a solid attachment to their homelands in culture, religion and above all, group identity, a factor that reinforced their emotional and cultural distance from the Chinese.

The predominant outlook of the foreign culture, secular and religious, was English-speaking, politically conservative, economically entrepreneurial within European frameworks of law, and Protestant individualism—factors linking the small American community inextricably with the British majority. The great symbol of their identity was the principle of “extraterritoriality” placing them beyond the reach of Chinese law and grounded in a common fear of the vast Chinese population around them. Added to the ethnic British and American communities were minorities with British passports, including Indians, Jews, Armenians and others whose ethnic identities were retained within the broader foreign society but relegated to outsider status by the Europeans. Among the small minorities mention might be made of overseas Chinese, such as James Cheong, M.A., Australian born British subject of Chinese ethnicity, who spoke unaccented English and taught for a time St. Stephen’s School, Hong Kong. Yet another group, about whom almost nothing is known, was the Eurasian community that existed in all the main centres of foreign population.

31 The 1915 statistics for Indians registered at British Consulates is at Table 4.4 p 62 in Bickers, Robert and Christian Henriot, *New Frontiers: Imperialism’s New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000.). By the 1930s here was an Indian community in Shanghai numbering over 2000 men, mostly working as police and security officers. The Indian population in Hong Kong exceeded 7000 in 1941. Markovits, Claude, “Indian Communities in China, c.1842-1949, Ch Four in Bickers and Henriot.
32 http://www.chinajewish.org/SJC/history.htm
The foreign community, secular and religious, kept a wide social distance from the Chinese, a gap matched by Chinese attitudes towards foreigners but there was constant interaction between missionaries who lived in daily contact with ordinary Chinese outside the “comprador” culture of the Treaty Ports where virtually all the secular foreigners lived and worked.34 A comprador was a Chinese employee of a foreign business and the term was not used in relation to the employees of missionaries. Samuel Wells Williams remarked that the compradors “became acquainted with every detail of foreign business without imparting anything worth knowing about China in exchange.”35 He also observed that foreign merchants as a class had no intellectual curiosity and enjoyed life as it was.36 Most missionaries outside the treaty ports got to know their districts well and a few made significant contributions to the transfer of Western knowledge to China and knowledge of China to the West. One source suggests that by 1919 there was a missionary presence in almost all Chinese counties giving missions the closest contact with Chinese ways of life and thinking.37 Unlike secular foreigners missionaries were required by their societies to speak, read and write classical written Chinese although most were tied to local dialects. Other foreign residents spoke to their Chinese employees in “Pidgin English” a lingua franca widely spoken in the Treaty Ports.38 *The Times* discussed the different impact of traders and missionaries.

Hating as they [mandarins, literati, scholar-gentry] do every incursion of European ideas, they find in the missionaries the most efficacious propagandists. Traders are in the country, but not of it. They go their own way, mind their own business, and come into contact practically with none but the trading class.39 It is quite different with the missionaries, who aim not at living their own lives but at influencing the lives of the mass of the people around them. In proportion as they succeed in doing this, they interfere with the vested interest of the mandarins in popular stupidity and stagnation.40

The foreign population was generally supportive of institutional Christianity but there were some disinterested in or hostile to missions and contemptuous of missionaries.41 Statements about missionaries, their work and their behavior by contemporary critics will be found throughout the collection. Some are simply untrue or exaggerated just as some of the comments made by missionary supporters are untrue.

34 A Portuguese term for a Chinese—usually English-speaking—employed by foreign businesses or government officials to act as a “middleman” in dealings with his countrymen.
35 Williams, S Wells, “The Mid-Victorian Attitude of Foreigners in China,” pp 411-430 in *Journal of Race Development*, Vol 8 No 4, April 1918, p 414,
36 Williams op cit p 411.
37 Bickers, op cit, p 69, citing Feuerwerker.
39 Note earlier comments about cases involving missionaries making up more than half of the business of foreign consulates.
40 *The Times*, (London), 1 August 1895. The full editorial item appears in Part Nine, Aftermath, under date.
41 Pearl (nee Sydenstrucker) Buck was the daughter of American Southern Presbyterian missionaries in China. In her famous work *The Good Earth*, Buck gives a very negative view of missionaries that has become a standard from which others judge the effectiveness of China missions. It is impossible to distinguish fact from fiction in Buck’s writing and her claims that missionaries lacked sympathy for the Chinese should be viewed as opinion rather than fact. That some missionaries deserve criticism is obvious. Whether the criticisms of a few can then be extended to the majority is another matter entirely.
imaginative and self-serving. Both views need to be taken in context and with care as to their authenticity. One of the most interesting distinctions in the Visual Cultures of East Asia photographic collections are the similarities in social images there is a wide gap in regard to work issues between the photographs taken by missionaries and those taken by other foreigners in China. Secular photographs of the Chinese are mostly, but not all, stereotypes whereas the missionary photographs, but again not all, tend to emphasize names, roles and the Christian identity of their Chinese converts. The Visual Cultures in East Asia (VCEA) photographs throughout this collection illustrate, and highlight, the different aspects of life and work with the “secular” foreigners engaged in social activities almost entirely absent from the missionary collection.42

Church buildings for exclusive Protestant European worship were built by public subscription throughout 19th century China.43 In some places, such as Fuzhou, missionary clergy conducted services but in major foreign settlements, such as Shanghai and Hong Kong, the British Government appointed Church of England chaplains to minister to the British community. The American government regarded all Americans, business or missionary, as private citizens and did not appoint official chaplains. Europeans rarely attended Chinese churches or services other than missionaries as part of their duties.

圣约翰教堂  St. John’s Anglican Expatriate Church, Foochow c 1900. (The Stone Church)
In the light of the prominent role played by United States Consul Hixson of Foochow in the Commission of Inquiry into the Huashan (Kucheng) Massacre it is relevant to note that the resident American population in Foochow in 1895 was very small with few traders and rarely more than two American consular officers. The majority of Americans in Fujian Province were Protestant missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (Congregational) and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. The overwhelming majority of the business conducted by Consul Hixson involved “missionary cases”—disputes involving American missionaries and Chinese converts with complaints against other Chinese.

Missionaries, while the majority of foreign residents in China and almost the only foreigners resident in inland China, were always foreigners in thought and behavior and lived apart from, while surrounded by, the Chinese and employing Chinese servants. So indifferent was the indigenous population that as this collection demonstrates, missionaries had to look beyond words to find means of attracting Chinese, including medical services, schools and other “good works” that the ordinary Chinese really valued.44

Another element in the whole anti-foreign issue in China that appears in this collection is the extent to which missionaries, and the entire anti-foreign movement, was caught up in the internal power politics, among the Manchu conquerors and the regionally focussed Chinese scholar-gentry, or literati, for the key posts of status and authority within China. This theme, which permeates politics in every society, emerges in the various explanations offered by foreigners to explain the anti-foreign movement in China.

44 The situation in regard to Protestant Christianity in China has changed dramatically since c1990. A very recent and well-balanced account is “China’s ‘Christianity Fever’ Revisited: Towards a Community-Oriented Reading of Christian Conversions in China”, pp 71-109 in Journal of Current Chinese Affairs, Vol 39 No 4, ISSN: 1868-4874 (online)
1.6 EVANGELICAL BELIEF AND HOLINESS VALUES.

Protestants, including a majority of Anglican missionaries, in China were evangelicals at least until the 1890s and irrespective of national origins, were at one on the fundamentals of the Christian faith as expressed in the Reformation Confessions. Their religious outlook and values were reinforced by the evangelical revival movements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.45 The characteristics of evangelical belief include the absolute authority of the Bible (Biblicism) on all matters of faith, the need for every individual to have a personal experience of Christ (Conversion), and a sanctified lifestyle (Holiness) above a nominal acceptance of institutional Christianity.46

Underpinning these distinctive evangelical values was the traditional Christian teachings of humanity as condemned by original sin and the redemptive work of Jesus Christ whose crucifixion and resurrection provided the only means for reconciling humanity with God. Those who accepted Christ were assured of salvation after death and those who did not accept Christ were condemned to hell. A conundrum in all evangelical Christian belief has always been what becomes of humanity that has never heard of Jesus Christ.

By the 19th century, after centuries of pioneering Catholic evangelism in China and worldwide, the Protestant Churches had accepted a duty to spread the Christian message to all people in all countries. This evangelistic willingness arose during a period in which European imperialism made foreign missionary work a reasonably secure occupation, initially for men and their families, and by the last quarter of the 19th century, increasingly for single women. After the Second Opium War in China (1859-1860), Christian missionaries secured treaty rights in sixteen “Treaty Ports” supported by treaty safeguards of Chinese toleration and official protection. From those initial points missions spread across China.

The central structure of Protestant missionary work was a mission centre, usually built according to Chinese tradition within a walled compound containing houses, schools, chapels, and in some locations, hospitals. One key aspect of this arrangement was the preservation within the compounds of distinctive national cultures and lifestyles quite distinct from those of the surrounding Chinese population. Letters and reports from all parts of China confirm the importance of the missionary ‘home-base” to the emotional and

46 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wowser. Norton is an uncertain witness. As noted the conventional use of “wowser” labels a negativity denying everyday pleasures to other people. In Melbourne, for example, Sabbatarianism was a key program of “holiness” restrictions. Trains did not run to popular beaches on Sundays and public institutions such as art galleries and museums were closed on Sundays. Total abstinence was another prominent campaign of Australian “wowsers.” The majority of British-Australian evangelicals emphasised a restrained personal lifestyle, closely linked to total abstinence, non-smoking, non-adornment in dress, etc., but also supported, as noted later, major Sabbatarian and Prohibition causes.
spiritual life of the missionaries. From the mission compounds missionaries “intinerated’ into the thousands of other towns and villages surrounding them seeking to form Christian congregations and new mission centres as shown in the maps at pages 19 and 20 for the district around the British and American Mission Stations at Kucheng.

**The British CMS/CEZMS Compound opposite Kucheng City.**

![Image of British CMS/CEZMS Compound opposite Kucheng City.](image)


**The American Methodist Episcopal Compound inside the Kucheng City Walls.**

![Image of American Methodist Episcopal Compound inside Kucheng City Walls.](image)

Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

33
The religious beliefs of missionaries were contained within a European lifestyle and faith were inseparably mixed. There was a constant tension for Chinese converts between the kind of personal conduct expected by the foreign missionaries and the conventions of Chinese life, including many ceremonies in which all Chinese were expected to observe and, more importantly, help finance. Many of the conflicts in which missionaries became involved centred on disputes when Chinese converts refused to contribute to or join in community festivities.

Before making their definite Christian commitment, the Saunders girls were described as fairly typical middle class Europeans:

Just happy, careless, buoyant girls, full of life, somewhat wayward and difficult to control, fond of all worldly amusements, much in request for music, dancing and lawn tennis. 47

In his account of the Saunders girls, the Rev. Dig by Berry wrote that:

They grew up with simple tastes and a strong love of freedom, and with just enough of the harum-scarum in the nature to make them interesting.

He went to quote Nellie:

The Chinese are surprised at my agility in crossing their river bridges but they would not be surprised if they could have seen me walking on the top rail in our paddock and climbing up the flagstaff. 48

The Stewart’s and many of their colleagues were deeply influenced by the English Keswick movement that linked spiritual holiness with behavioral separation from the “the world” while remaining fully engaged in everyday life, a very different style from earlier holiness movements that emphasized physical separation viz., monasticism. 49 Robert Stewart’s call to the ministry came after hearing a leading Keswick affiliated holiness preacher and Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Evan Hopkins speak of the distinctive nature of evangelical holiness and the total commitment to Christ that it implied. 50 Over time, “sanctified” work was identified with fields such as nursing, teaching, medicine, social welfare and ordained ministry and other forms of “caring” roles became preferred fields of work for Protestant Christians. 51 Because of Hopkins’ address Stewart gave up his studies for the English Bar and enrolled in a one-year theological course at the CMS College, Islington, London. 52
A Keswick convention held at Brighton, England, in 1875, has a profound influence on Louisa Stewart’s outlook. Australians, including the Saunders sisters, were similarly influenced by the Rev. George Grubb, an Irish Anglican minister, who, on the invitation of a Victorian Anglican minister, the Rev. H. B. Macartney, made two reputational tours of Australia advocating Keswick values. The Gutian Anglicans, and missionaries at the Kuliang hill-station observed their own “Keswick Weeks” each year at the same time as the “Keswick Convention” met in England.

A close link emerged over time between overseas missions and the “holiness” movement throughout the British Empire and the United States reflecting the imperative to do God’s work in the world, particularly in the evangelization of non-Christian societies. The spiritual values of Keswick were maintained in Gutian, as Louisa told her family and friends:

In the ZMS house next door we have Hesse Newcomb, Flora Codrington, Lucy Stewart; and two others are coming shortly, Elsie Marshall and Annie Gordon. We hope to have some good times together, especially during Keswick week.

The concept of “separation from the world” while pursuing everyday occupations and living lives virtually indistinguishable from everyone else their home society is essential in understanding many of the religious comments in this collection and, in particular, the behavior of the Anglican missionaries at Gutian. Nellie Saunders wrote:

One feels here that one must try and live as much as possible the life of one whose citizenship is in heaven, and not here. The Chinese Christians are very poor, it is the same here as it was in the days when Jesus Himself was on earth, the common people heard Him gladly. Not many wise, not many noble; and you feel that there must be nothing in your house, or in your style of living, that makes...
them think you are very rich. The Stewarts house is almost mean in its utter simplicity, nothing but what one really wants.  

Berry’s account of the changed life of the Nellie Saunders illustrates something of the meaning of the “holiness” in lifestyle.

Unlike so many ordinary Christians, whose faith seems to be only one element in their lives, and that rather the sombre than the joyous element, the very sunshine of their daily lives was found in Christ, and all tastes and pursuits were strictly subordinated to an entire devotion to His service. Nellie was passionately fond of music, and had shown promise of being successful in it as a profession, but she now began to feel that the four or five hours of spare time, which she used to devote daily to practising on the piano, were required for occupations more directly connected with the service of the Master, and therefore, after a severe inward struggle, gave up her favourite employment, and, feeling how strong was the attraction and temptation, rigidly restricted herself to sacred music in order to keep clear of it.

In seeking to bridge the wide cultural gap between themselves and the Chinese all foreign missionaries had to generate personal contacts across the boundaries of divergent “Western” and “Eastern” lifestyles and cultures. After language, the most important need for missionaries was providing Chinese converts with the skills to read the Bible and other Christian works in their local dialects through Romanized forms as well as translations into classical written Chinese. The missionaries were always few in number and Chinese language assistants were essential to enable the foreigners to teach the local people. Letters frequently mention the need for continuing language advice from Chinese literati balanced by equally continuing refusal of missionary societies to provide continuing funding for the purpose.

The letters of the Saunders Sisters make frequent references to their language-learning programs. In January 1894, just a few weeks after her arrival, Tipsy Saunders wrote to her mother:

One feels so utterly useless here the first year; there are oceans to be done, but without the language it is simply impossible to do anything.

Topy’s remarks concealed her reluctance to commit herself as thoroughly to systematic study as Nellie. In part this may be attributed to her health and her realistic fear that she would be invalided home to Australia.

Most people in Fujian Province had never seen foreigners before the missionaries arrived and began regular visits (itineration’s) in nearby towns and villages. Nellie Saunders told the Rev E. J. Barnett, the Victorian Secretary of the newly formed Church Missionary Association of Victoria (CMAV) that, “The men, who travel about a good deal, had seen Kennings before, and had heard the Jesus doctrine, but the women had not.”

Chinese in the Treaty Ports that had been opened to foreigners since the 1840s saw little to recommend the religion of the foreigners that was being preached following foreign military aggression. An Anglican

57 Berry op cit, p 102.
58 Berry op cit, p 3.
59 Berry op cit, p 58.
60 Burden op cit, p 259.
Bishop Moorhouse of Melbourne said in 1879 that Protestant Christianity arrived in China: “at the butt-end of a musket.”61 Archdeacon Robert King of Sydney labelled the British presence as “mercenary purposes” introduced at “the cannon’s mouth.”62 A popular anti-religious Australian newspaper declared that: “The missionary…is a symbol of conquest.”63 A modern Chinese diplomat stated that China was brought into the community of nations “through cannons and warships.”64

**ACCORDING TO THE IDEAS OF OUR MISSIONARY MANIACS**

![Image](image_url)

Puck, 1895.

There was more than force to upset Chinese in close contact with foreigners in the Treaty Ports. A young English-Australian (Baptist) missionary of the China Inland Mission (CIM) echoed the attitudes of most Protestant missionaries and their emphasis on personal holiness earlier when he wrote to relatives: “Most of the foreigners in the open ports are a most ungodly lot.”\(^65\) An American missionary living in Shanghai, wrote:

Undoubtedly there is a great amount of moral laxity in the lives of some of the foreign residents in the East, and the purer lives of those who belong to the missionary body and the higher standard displayed is a living protest against this, and men, as a rule, are not fond of protests or of those who make them.\(^66\)

For their part, many “secular” foreigners regarded the missionaries as idealist dreamers. One seemingly small issue, over wearing European or Chinese dress, developed into major area of disagreement within the Protestant missionary movement in China. In the Church of England missions in Fujian Province conflicting opinions produced open conflict between key people in the Church Missionary Society and the overwhelming opinion of single women, including all the Australians, of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The Saunders sisters saw the matter as a pragmatic question of comfort.

It is such a comfort to have on a Chinese cotton jacket, and a skirt made of the native red cloth, and Chinese shoes. They scarcely have an observation to make at all, but they always take notice of what you have on, and it would be intolerable if you were in English dress. In the first place, I doubt if they would receive you at all in some of the houses, as they would think you were a man.\(^67\)

Louisa Stewart saw the issue in equally pragmatic terms.

We are more convinced every day that the native dress is the best for the work. Even at Foochow we heard every one make favourable observations on us. “How much nicer that dress is than the foreign!” is a very common remark; and some women call out, “Do look! her petticoat is just like ours, and her jacket too; her hair is done the same way, and her shoes do look nice. If it were not for the eyes, she would look just like us!”\(^68\)

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\(^65\) Frank Burden to Mary Burden from Ganking, 19 October 1891. Letter Book 2, Letter 46, p. 22, with permission of his grandson. (Ian Welch—originals in National Library of Australia, Canberra). The lifestyle of many Europeans, especially in the Treaty Ports and most notably Shanghai, was far from restrained in any conventional European Christian sense.

\(^66\) Hawke-Pott op cit, p 314.

\(^67\) Berry op cit., p 83.

\(^68\) Peh-ôe-jî is a Romanised form of Southern Min dialect developed by Western missionaries in the 19C but is now used almost exclusively in Taiwan.
1.7 MISSION LEADERSHIP AT GUTIAN.

The Church Missionary Society conducted an East Asian Mission covering Fujian, Guangdong Province and the British Colony of Hong Kong that was governed by an East Asia Conference of all male CMS missionaries—mostly clergymen.\(^{69}\) There were two “sub-conferences” in Hong Kong/Guangdong and Fujian. The original and much older but equally male dominated Anglican missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, came into China after the CMS and centred its work in North China from 1863.\(^{70}\)

The Fujian “Sub-Conference” had a Women’s Conference inclusive of all CMS and CEZMS women, married or single) instituted by and strongly supported by Robert and Louisa Stewart.\(^{71}\) The decisions of the Women’s Conference were subject to the approval of the male members of the Sub-Conference. Part of the long-term hostility between Archdeacon John Wolfe, the senior CMS missionary, and Stewart, dating back to earlier episodes in Foochow when Stewart provoked a major riot in Foochow (Fuzhou), resulted from the latter’s unwavering advocacy of independence for the women workers of the CEZMS. Stewart insisted that all women workers of the CMS and CEZMS should be members of a Women’s Conference accountable to the Sub-Conference and, incidentally, that later became CMS policy for all its missions.\(^{72}\) Wolfe disliked the concept of a women’s conference and even more, the existence of a second missionary society—the CEZMS whose women were not under his authority as the senior CMS missionary. The CMS London Committee retained the final say in the allocation and income of CMS missionaries, male or female but took careful note of the authority of the local CEZMS Corresponding Secretary and the CEZMS home committee. The home committee maintained a delicate balance between support for Wolfe, the senior man and as archdeacon the hierarchical superior representing the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), and Stewart’s position, enhanced as it was by the fact that Stewart, the Fujian corresponding secretary of the CEZMS, had the undivided support of the CEZMS home committee.

Archdeacon John Richard Wolfe, an Irishman,\(^{73}\) trained at the CMS Islington College in London. He maintained very close contacts with the British Consul in Fuzhou and accepted the more or less official view that the principal targets of the anti-foreign (anti-missionary) riots in Fujian Province in 1894-1895 were British subjects, not Americans. He expressed the view, often mentioned in the collection, that the anti-foreign movement was initiated and supported by the Chinese Government.

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\(^{69}\) See Part Twelve: Appendices. A list of CMS male missionaries who served in Fujian will be found at Appendix 7.

\(^{70}\) Many key documents relating to the SPG will be found online at http://openlibrary.org

\(^{71}\) See Part Twelve: Appendix 1 for CMS extension of the Women’s Conference principle.

\(^{72}\) See Part Twelve: Appendices. See Appendix 1 for a CMS Statement on Women’s Conferences.

\(^{73}\) His family were farmers in Skibereen, in County Cork and there are still relatives in the area.
H. M. Consul assures me that he has good reason to believe that the High Authorities in Peking have issued instructions to all the officials all over the Empire to oppose and hinder in every possible way the further extension of missionary work or missionary stations. This I suppose to be the explanation of the present very hostile attitude of most of the officials, high to low, to missionary work all over the province, especially with reference to English missionary work.  

Archdeacon John Richard Wolfe of Foochow.

The Rev. Robert Stewart succeeded the Rev. William Banister at the end of 1893 when the Stewarts returned to China. Banister moved to the Theological College in Fuzhou but said that Stewart could not “be looked upon as very strong physically and the strain of the work might be too much…at any time.” Nellie Saunders wrote to her mother:

The Ku Cheng and Penang districts are simply enormous. They want a chief each; but as they can’t have that, one man has to do the work that could be easily divided among six.

Stewart’s efforts in Australasia in 1892 and later during the Vegetarian troubles of 1894 and 1895 indicate that he was fully fit, physically and mentally when the family settled at Gutian and he undertook the tasks of itinerant and supervisory ministry across a missionary district the size of Wales. He was the only British male stationed at Gutian—all the other Anglican missionaries were women. The Rev. Robert Warren Stewart and Louisa Katherine Smyly Stewart were the senior British missionaries at Gutian with seven living

75 Rev. W. Banister to Rev. C. C Fenn, CMS London, 6 March 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.
76 Nellie Saunders, Berry op cit, p 49.
children at the time of their deaths in August 1895. Their older boys were at school in England and the other children (including the two older girls) were with their parents (See Part Two). The decision to keep the older boys in England reflected a pattern of family behaviour that was followed by most financially independent members of most Protestant missions, except the members of China Inland Mission whose members almost universally but not all, were from lower income backgrounds. The CIM maintained its own schools in China for missionary children, the best known being the boys and girls boarding schools at Chefoo (Yantai).

The separation of families was discussed in the following extract from the China Mission Year Book for 1911.

Familiarity with missionary life changes one's opinion as to where the real strain come. Many imagine that it lies in physical hardships. These, however, except in a few fields, are relatively insignificant. There are only two great hardships in missionary life. First, the sense of loneliness and expatriation which comes to one who feels that he is far from relatives and native land and the movements of his country’s life. Second, the separations of families. The latter is the heavier of the two. There comes a time in the life of most missionary parents when they realize that their children cannot be properly trained on the field. The barrier of language, of methods of living, and of different moral and social standards, puts the schools for native children out of the question. Parents cannot teach their children themselves without interfering too seriously with their missionary work; and such education anyway is not good for a boy of more than ten or twelve years. He needs contact with other boys in the life and discipline of a school, if manly qualities are to be developed. Speaking generally, however, the schools now in existence are too few, too widely scattered, too restricted in curriculum, and either too limited in accommodation or too expensive to meet the requirements of a large majority of missionaries. With occasional exceptions, they are small private schools, or they are maintained by particular societies for the children of their own missionaries. They gladly welcome the children of other missionaries as far as their accommodations permit; but this “left over space” is apt to be variable and uncertain.77

The education of their children was still far from the minds of Robert and Louisa Stewart at the time of their marriage in 1876. His proposal of marriage to Louisa is prosaic in print but hopefully more romantic in the reality.6 Louisa obviously knew of his CMS commitment and might have smiled, at least internally, when he asked her, “Would you like to be a missionary?” followed by “would you go to China?” to which she replied, “Yes, I should” and finally answered the question, “Will you go with me?” The two young married people had known each other all their lives so perhaps the conventional romantic proposal was less necessary or else it is just a good “missionary’ tale told often.78 While romantic love was a popular theme of 19th century literature it was not reported very much in missionary publications although it is present in many

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77 MacGillivray, D., China Mission Year Book for 1911, (Shanghai, Christian Literature Society for China, 1911), Appendices, p.xl.
78 Smyly-Stewart Family. 6 July 1834; Smyly, Josiah m Franks, Ellen. Couple had 10 children. 9 November 1852, Louisa Catherine was the 9th child: Baptised privately by Rev. H. Yorsdoyle. 2 March 1844, Mary Elizabeth (Lizzie) m John G Watson (d 21 Sept 1901) at Merrion, Dublin, 18 March 1874. 7 September 1876: Stewart, Rev Robert m Smyly, Louisa Catherine. Robert was son of James Stewart of Leinster St, Dublin,. 7 September 1876. Louisa Smyly was born, 9 November 1852, and was a daughter of Mrs. Eliza Smyly of Dublin.,.
letters written, usually by women, to their relatives at home. Like most families, the romance gave way to more mundane concerns about family health and well-being, and particularly that of children.

The couple married in St. Stephen’s Church, Dublin, on 7 September 1876 and arrived in Fuzhou on 14 November 1876. Six years later, in 1882, they returned to Britain after Robert Stewart contracted amoebic dysentery. They returned to Fuzhou in 1887 and briefly worked at Gutian with the Rev. William Banister until Robert’s ill-health forced them to return again to Britain, this time for five years, returning to Fuzhou in 1893. Over the twenty years of their shared missionary service, Robert and Louisa Stewart spent little more than ten years in China.

The Stewart Family in England, c1886

Ian Welch

An example of the best Victorian romantic tradition is a letter written by Miss Lydia Mary Fay to the Rector of Christ (Episcopal) Church, Alexandria, Va, 22 November 1849, University of Texas at Austin.

In 1892 Stewart was selected, apparently on very short notice, to accompany Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, on a non-financially motivated tour of Australia and New Zealand that resulted in an invigorated Australian and New Zealand Anglican interest in overseas missions.

Louisa Smyly Stewart

The importance of Louisa Smyly Stewart must be highlighted in a discussion of the leadership of the CMS/CEZMS mission in Gutian District and the archival and historical emphasis on the work of her husband. Louisa Stewart was the only married woman among the foreign Anglican women all of whom lacked experience in social welfare or educational issues. Louisa had a substantial background of Smyly family domestic missionary work with the Irish Church Missions that extended her abilities well beyond the other single, younger, and inexperienced women. The importance of her personal contribution to the mission can be appreciated by reading her letters in the collection made by her sister and published in England but it is also apparent in the letters of the women missionaries. Elsie Marshall told her father in England:

Mrs. Stewart is indefatigable; she teaches her own children and the third class in the boys’ school every day, and now the women’s school is being built up so fast; it is just close to us in the compound,


82 Watson, Mary E, Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death, (London, Marshall Brothers, 1896).
and Mrs. Stewart will have the charge of that too.\textsuperscript{83}

Hessie Newcombe, a single woman missionary from Ireland whose call to mission service was inspired by meeting Robert and Louisa Stewart in Dublin, had a deep affection for Louisa Stewart.\textsuperscript{84}

It is one of the most pathetic touches of the picture given during those few terrible moments before she and they “met on the other shore” to read how “Hessie’s whole longing was to get to Mrs. Stewart. On the departure of the Stewarts for their second spell of sick leave in Britain Hessie Newcombe wrote:

Mr. and Mrs. Stewart were like a father and mother to us kunions. Dear little mother! How much we owe her.\textsuperscript{85}

The Rev. H. S. Phillips from Kien Ning, a pioneering CMS mission located northwest of Gutian, who escaped the massacre, described Louisa as having:

A peculiarly sympathetic nature, which made her a real mother in Ku-cheng; she seemed so essentially to make her own the troubles of another.\textsuperscript{86}

Nellie Saunders said that Mrs. Stewart was: ‘one of the very sweetest women you ever saw.’\textsuperscript{87} She wrote:

You would be lost in wonder and admiration to see how well and systematically the work is carried on. One or two of the people here are unusually clever and gifted. Mrs. Stewart, of course, heads this list—no one here can hold a candle to her in any way—and she is by far the best Chinese speaker we have.\textsuperscript{88}

A Canadian missionary cited four strands for a married woman on the mission field and Louisa Stewart seems to have excelled in each category.

First, in what she is herself. Secondly, as a social leader and reformer. Thirdly, as a nurse, physician, surgeon—something almost unavoidable for the mother of seven children. Fourthly, and lastly, as a teacher.\textsuperscript{89}

Louisa Stewart maintained a steady correspondence with family and friends in Ireland and England and often sought their support for various enterprises, including the network of village schools in the Gutian mission district and financing the CMS Hospital in Fuzhou. A cousin, writing in 1976, confirmed that the system of Fujian day schools managed by the Stewarts was modelled on the Dublin schools for the poor and destitute supported by Louisa’s mother, Eliza Smyly who began her philanthropic work in 1852, creating an

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\footnotesize
\item[84] Four young women from the Newcombe family served with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in Fujian Province. The women had relatives in Victoria, Australia who later moved to New Zealand. Some sources hint a Baptist background. This was not unusual as evangelical missions required evidence of firm Christian faith ahead of denominational allegiance. Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, the senior CMS missionary in Fujian, made disparaging comments about the CEZMS on the basis of the uncertain beliefs of some of the women sent to China.
\item[86] Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, op cit, November 1895, p 528.
\item[87] Nellie Saunders, Berry op cit, p 98.
\item[88] Nellie Saunders, Berry op cit, p 195.
\end{thebibliography}
organisation that is still working in Ireland today.\textsuperscript{90}

19\textsuperscript{th} century China was unique in having a nation-wide voluntary system of privately funded village schools following a national curriculum centred in the Confucian Classics.\textsuperscript{91} Many families made great sacrifices to send their sons to village schools but the level of literacy achieved by the majority of the male population was low. Women were almost totally excluded from schooling and most were illiterate. Missionaries felt an imperative for converts and their children to be able to read the Bible and this created a niche for missionary schools in rural areas that the Stewarts, with a strong financial network in the United Kingdom and a background in the Smyly Homes and the Irish Church Missions, were well qualified to address.

Apart from Robert and Louisa Stewart, the victims of the Huashan massacre included two of their younger children who died of wounds inflicted during the attack, (Herbert and Sylvia) while the older girls suffered serious injuries. The children were cared for by a family nursemaid or ‘nanny’, Helena (Lena) Yellop, recruited from the Smyly supported Elliott Home in Dublin, Ireland.\textsuperscript{92} There were six single women missionaries — two were English (Elsie Marshall and Lucy Stewart), three Australian, (Annie Gordon, Nellie Saunders and Topsy Saunders) and one was Irish (Hessie Newcombe). Nellie and Topsy Saunders were attached to the CMS and the other four to the CEZMS.

The American Methodist Episcopal Mission had one male missionary in Kucheng at the time of the massacre — Dr. James J. Gregory, a medical doctor. In late 1894 the Methodist mission included three women — Mrs. Gregory’s ill-health led to her departure from about March 1895.\textsuperscript{93} The active American women missionaries were Miss Mabel C. Hartford and her assistant, Miss Willma Rouse of Minnesota, who was on leave in Fuzhou at the time of the assault in August 1895.\textsuperscript{94} The Woman's Foreign Missionary

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\item[\textsuperscript{90}] The money raised in Great Britain for the Chinese schools was remitted to Louisa’s sister in Dublin and forwarded direct to the Stewarts in. The money did not go through the CMS financial system although Robert gave an audited statement to the CMS Fujian “sub-conference” each year. The history of the Smyly homes is discussed in Smyly, Vivienne, \textit{op cit.},\textsuperscript{95} Dublin University Missionary Magazine, 17 October 1895, \textit{op cit.}, p 15. See also Luddy, Maria, \textit{Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland}, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1955).
\item[\textsuperscript{92}] Many Elliott House children were sent to Canada under child migrant schemes. It is not known if many came to Australia. The well-known Barnado Homes drew part of their inspiration from the work of the Smyly family in Ireland. See personal item in Part Two: The Huashan Martyrs. See Smyly, Vivienne, \textit{op cit.} From a private communication to the author by Dr Maria Luddy, Warwick University, England, 2004. \textit{Dublin University Missionary Magazine}, 17 October 1895, \textit{op cit.}, p 15.
\item[\textsuperscript{93}] The Gregory's lost their first child, James, in Foochow in 1890, a year or so after their arrival in China (10 February 1889). Mrs. Gregory bore a daughter on 16 April 1894 and then experienced the trauma of the Vegetarian disturbances. Gregory had been unhappy in his work and had resigned in 1891. Overall, the emotional condition of the Gregory family was low.
\item[\textsuperscript{94}] The Chinese Government found the intervention of the Americans, and particularly the American Consul in
\end{itemize}
Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church supported the two American single women. Miss Hartford was attacked at Huashan by an individual Chinese acting alone and escaped with only a scratch but the assault and minor injury but that was enough to justify a vigorous American involvement in the investigation of the massacre pursued by U.S. Consul, J Courtney Hixson of Fuzhou. Mabel Hartford proved to be a redoubtable personality. She remained at Kucheng until 1901 when she moved further upriver to Yenping.

Although the only foreigner in Gutian for much of July 1895, Dr. Gregory was not attacked by the Vegetarians. U.S. Consul Hixson believed that the Vegetarians intended to attack the American mission in Gentian and then destroy the District Magistrates yamen but his information was wrong. Gregory was advised of the murders at midday on August 1st by a messenger from Gutian and arrived at Huashan about 8 p.m. after some initial problems with the District Magistrate. With the aid of a British survivor, the Rev. H. S. Phillips of the CMS who was staying in a Chinese house about fifty metres from the CMS/CEZMS buildings, Gregory attended to the survivors, collected the dead and with Phillips, escorted survivors and dead to Fuzhou (Foochow).

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Foochow, to be largely a fuss about almost nothing as no Americans were killed or suffered serious physical injuries.

95 Yamen was the term used to describe the official residence of a Chinese official. It combined both a personal residence and official administrative offices.
1.8 AUSTRALIAN MISSIONARY LEADER: REV. H. B. MACARTNEY Jr.

The Rev. H. B. Macartney Jr. was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin (BA 1860 – 1st class in divinity, MA 1874)\(^96\) and probably knew Grubb and Stewart personally. He was ordained in Melbourne in 1867, and was vicar\(^97\) of St. Mary’s Anglican Church, Caulfield for nearly thirty years (1868-1898). He resigned in 1898 to join the Bible Society in London as Home Director, subsequently resigning in 1901.\(^98\) He died in 1908 in Darjeeling, North India while visiting mission stations with his daughter Catherine.\(^99\)

The Rev. H. B. Macartney, Jr

Ian Welch

Macartney was a key member of many Victorian evangelical and missionary bodies\(^100\), including the Bible Union of Victoria and believed that if the Bible was read from cover to cover seven times, it would precipitate the Second Coming.\(^101\) He declared:

\(^96\) At Trinity College, as at some other UK universities, the MA is not a substantive degree but is awarded a few years after graduating with a bachelor degree.

\(^97\) In Australia, only the Diocese of Melbourne uses the title of “Vicar” for the senior priest of a parish. In the other dioceses the term “Rector” is used. In practice there is no difference in the title.

\(^98\) The Courier (Brisbane), 7 February 1903.

\(^99\) The Victorian Churchman, 13 November 1908, pp 485-488; and 27 November 1908, p 508.

\(^100\) A database of material about McCartney, including a list of his various interests, is in preparation.

It is however most probable that ere another 39 months have passed, the Lord will have fulfilled his promise to return in power and great glory, and to translate His waiting people.\textsuperscript{102}

The importance of particular values like “holiness” and the “Second Coming” mixed with the general Anglocentric worldview of late 19\textsuperscript{th} century evangelical Christians like Macartney is basic, inseparably so, to the explosion of missionary enthusiasm in the last decade of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. He participated in the first visit to Australia by the American John R. Mott, whose slogan of “The Evangelization of the World in this Generation,” taught that once all living humans had heard (although not necessarily believed) the Christian Gospel the Second Coming would follow.\textsuperscript{103}

Macartney was involved in a visit by a CMS missionary from Madras, in 1867, George Maxwell Gordon. Bishop Sargent, of India, visited Australia in 1882 to advance the work of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Association and was hosted by Macartney a long-time supporter of CEZMS in South India. By 1875 he was sending £450 a year from Victorian sources to India. In 1872 he commenced publication of \textit{The Missionary, At Home and Abroad}, an influential missionary publication that he produced single-handed for more than twenty years (1873-1898) until he left Australia to work with the Bible Society in London.

The Missionary was popular all around Australia and occupied a pride of place on the shelves of many a preacher next to their Bible. It documented the progress of Australia’s missionary efforts both ‘at home’ – including outreach to Chinese, Aborigines and Europeans, and abroad - with reports coming in from missions in China, Korea, the Pacific, India, Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East. It was interesting that each edition of The Missionary included a children’s page, and Macartney’s wide-reaching influence included establishing Scripture Union in Australia in 1880, almost as soon as it started in England.\textsuperscript{104}

Prior to the formation of the CEZMS auxiliary in Melbourne, Macartney had sent seven women to work with the society in India. By the 1890s he was personally raising more than £1400 a year for CMS and CEZMS as well as helping to resource a considerable number of other Victorian evangelical bodies.

The appeal of the Keswick movement reached beyond the purely rational into the deeper senses of religious feeling demonstrated in many of the letters in this collection. The deeper spiritual emphasis gave rise to severe criticisms of excessive “enthusiasm.” It was one of these meetings addressed by the Rev. George Grubb, that the two Saunders’ women, with their mother, first made a decision to devote their lives to missionary service.

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\textit{The Missionary, At Home and Abroad}, August 1895, p 330. There is no complete run of this monthly journal but copies of most issues are held at the State Library of Victoria and the National Library of Australia.


\textsuperscript{104} St Mary’s Anglican Church, Caulfield, 150 Years: Naming the Wells, (Published by the Parish October 24, 2008).
\end{flushright}
Although Grubb was sponsored by interests sympathetic to the Keswick movement, notably Macartney, their sponsors were also concerned to promote foreign missions. Mr. E. C. Millard, who recorded Grubb’s visits to Australia and New Zealand, wrote to Victoria’s Anglican clergymen on 24 September 1892 supporting the creation of a local auxiliary of the CMS:

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST, Before leaving England in April last I called upon Mr. Eugene Stock of the Church Missionary Society … During the Church of England Mission in Victoria, conducted by the Rev. G. C. Grubb, and just concluded, no less than fifty, have definitely offered themselves to the Lord for missionary work; therefore it is necessary that some steps should be taken at once to enable those whom the Lord will choose to find out the way in which He will lead them. No further words need come from me but to ask if you are willing to meet with others for the purpose of forming a C.M.S. committee in Victoria. The Rev. E. J. Barnett\textsuperscript{105} has kindly consented to act as secretary pro tem., and will receive your reply.

Robert Stewart knew Millard well in Fujian Province.\textsuperscript{107} He wrote: in 1894

I rejoice to say, we hear of the coming in a few days of our old Foochow friend Mr. Edward Millard and his wife (nee Miss [Clara] Bradshaw\textsuperscript{108} formerly here under the CEZMS). They are coming independently I believe, but I have great hopes they will stay with us here. They will be invaluable helpers. Mr. Millard’s well-known power with children, which made him a so successful in Mr. Grubb’s party, will make him equally useful among the children of the 57 schools in these Districts.\textsuperscript{109}

After his Australian (and New Zealand) visit Stewart returned briefly to the UK and the couple then travelled to China, via Canada, where he undertook some deputational work while travelling across Canada with Louisa to join their ship to China.

\textsuperscript{105} Rev. E. J. (Joss) Barnett was Headmaster of Caulfield Grammar School that was closely associated with Macartney’s parish of St. Mary’s, Caulfield. Barnett was the inaugural Honorary Secretary and later full-time Secretary of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria. He later became a CMAV/CMS missionary in Hong Kong.

\textsuperscript{106} Paproth, op cit, p 10.

\textsuperscript{107} The Millard’s visited Foochow for seven months in 1894. \textit{The Argus}, Melbourne, 15 September 1894.

\textsuperscript{108} Clara Bradshaw was one of the first Irish (b Wexford c 1865) CEZMS ladies appointed to Fujian Province. She was closely associated with Mrs. Ahok, a prominent Chinese Christian in Fuzhou (Foochow) See Watson, Mary E, \textit{Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death}, (London, Marshall Brothers, 1896), pp 78 ff. She returned to England c1890 because of ill-health and married Mr. E. C. Millard on 21 January 1891, just before the second Grubb visit to Australia.

\textsuperscript{109} Rev. Robert Stewart to Rev. C. C. Fenn, CMS London, 4 June 1894, CMS East Asia Archives.
1.9 The Consuls.


Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

Hixson’s American nationalist fervour, his inexperience as a consul, coupled with his contempt for the British and perhaps his personal ambition, coloured his assessments of the Kucheng massacre in ways that were not shared by his superiors (Shanghai, Consul-General Thomas R. Jernigan or Beijing, US Minister Colonel Charles Denby) and in particular, his reiteration of imminent threats to American interests.\(^ {110} \) His enthusiasm\(^ {111} \) underpinned his strong role in the joint Anglo-American Kucheng Committee of Inquiry and his endeavours to identify the “high provincial officials” in Fuzhou he believed controlled the Vegetarian

\(^{110}\) Jernigan, T. R. Following from http://www.stoppingpoints.com/north-carolina/sights.cgi?marker=Thomas+R.+Jernigan+1847-1920&cnty=Wake. Jernigan, born Hertford County, North Carolina, served in the Confederate army and graduated from the University of Virginia before commencing law practice in Winton. He represented his home district in North Carolina State Senate in 1874-75. His first consular position was to Kobe, Japan, from 1885 to 1889, after which he returned to North Carolina to edit the North Carolina Intelligencer, a newspaper in Raleigh. From 1893 to 1897 he served as consul general in Shanghai, acting as chairman of the International Settlement board for much of that time. At the close of his consular term he elected to remain in China where he worked as an attorney for Standard Oil Company. Jernigan was the author of a number of books dealing with China, among them China’s Business Methods and Policy, (London, T. F. Unwin, 1904) and China in Law and Commerce, (New York, Macmillan, 1905).

\(^{111}\) See Part Five, The Huashan Commission in Inquiry. The Call, San Francisco, 23 August 1895 for discussion of Hixson’s conduct.
movement in Fujian province. Hixson continually tried to bring Chinese officials to account long after the British, the major victims, had abandoned the matter after the execution of the key offenders (See Part Eight).

Hixson was not quite thirty years of age when appointed to the United States Consulate at Fuzhou (Foochow). He was a very inexperienced country lawyer with no international experience. After leaving the University of Alabama he had just two years work as a lawyer in his hometown of Union Springs, Alabama. He left Fuzhou in 1897 after a year of serious illness (typhoid fever) and established a successful law practice (1897-c1925) in the Philippines. He served for a few years as a junior officer (lieutenant) of the United States forces in the Spanish-American War in the Philippines. He apparently died in Manila sometime after 1925.

Mansfield’s conduct when news of the massacre reached Foochow was regarded by many as unsatisfactory. He was a strict observer of diplomatic protocols who sought to avoid confrontation with Chinese officials unless absolutely necessary. He dutifully carried out his instructions from his Minister in Beijing, Sir Nicholas O’Conor to end British participation in the Kucheng Commission of Inquiry. As noted in para 1.9. Mansfield and Hixson did not see eye-to-eye on many aspects of the Kucheng trials. The following is a summary of his life and career.

MANSFIELD, Robert William (CANTON), C.M.G.; H.B.M. Consul; b. Sept. 16, 1850, Father-Rev. J. Mansfield, Rector of Blundford, St, Mary’s, Dorsetshire, and Emily Ze Poer Trench; m. 1878, Marie Therese, d. of Comte Cahonet de Maiolles. Educated at. Cheltenham College. Entered Consular Service in China, 1870; acting Vice-Consul at Pagoda Anchorage, acting Consul at Foochow, Swatow, Wuhu; Consul at Chung-King, 1891, but did not proceed; acting assistant Judge and Consul at Shanghai; transferred to Wenchow, 1893; acting Consul at Foochow 1893-1895; proceeded to Kutien to inquire into the massacre of eleven missionaries, 1895; transferred to Wuhu, 1896, but did not proceed; was again acting Assistant Judge and Consul and later acting Consul-General at Shanghai; Consul at Amoy, 1905-6; appointed Consul at Canton,1906. Recreations: Riding, shooting. Club: Thatched House. Address: H.B.M. Consulate, Canton, China. Mansfield died in April 1911

113 This information from W. S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama. * October 2010.
115 Who’s Who in the Far East, 1906-7, China Mail, Hong Kong.
116 Straits Times, 1 May 1911.
1.11 EARLY AUSTRALIAN WOMEN IN CHINA.

The Saunders Sisters in Chinese Dress, c 1893.


Gender equality has never been a guiding standard in the history of Protestant missions and missionaries and even less so for Catholics and some evangelical Protestants to the present day. Apart from the home church of the Saunders Sisters—St. Hilary’s Church, Melbourne, Victoria—there is no memory in the Anglican Church of Australia of the two Saunders sisters from Melbourne, Victoria, or Annie Gordon of Ipswich, Queensland, the first Anglican missionary martyrs in China and the first Australians known to have been killed in that country. Nellie and Topsy Saunders were the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (CMAV) formed in 1894, following the 1892 deputational visit by

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117 Australian universities are primarily secular institutions and training for Christian ministry or missionary service took place separately in theological and/or bible colleges. Given the importance of a ‘career path’ in a secular higher education system, there has been little incentive to maintain a focused research interest in missionary history.

118 William Fleming, a Scottish-Australian, of the China Inland Mission, is sometimes cited as the first Australian martyr in China and linked to the Boxer Rebellion. He was killed by bandits near Kweichow in southwestern China. See Part Two, China-Protestant Missionary Murders to 1899.
Eugene Stock and the Rev. Robert Stewart. The Australian press reported their arrival in common terms:

Melbourne, April 25. Amongst the passengers by the Britannia were Mr. Eugene Stock, editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of Salisbury-square, London, and the Rev. R. N. Stewart, M.A., who for sixteen years was the Society's Missionary at Foochow. They come upon the invitation of the Primate and the committee of the New South Wales Auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society as a deputation with the object of stirring up a deeper interest amongst the members of the Church of England in foreign mission work.\(^{119}\)

![Eugene Stock](image_url)

The Stock/Stewart visit to Victoria began on Sunday 24 April 1892 and led to the formation of the Church Missionary Association of Victoria (CMAV) on the 9th September 1892, as a local auxiliary of the CMS of England. Their visit was one of a series of visits to Australia by overseas preachers during the late 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries including the Rev. James Hudson Taylor for the China Inland Mission (1889-1890); the Rev. George C. Grubb for the Keswick movement (at least three visits) and many others. Mrs. Saunders and her two daughters first offered for missionary service during the visit to Victoria of the Rev. George Grubb mentioned earlier. The girls’ father was John Alexander Saunders, a Melbourne merchant, described as a “sincerely pious man”, died in 1876 when Nellie was five years old and Topsy just three.\(^{120}\) Their mother was Eliza Arabin Saunders, John’s second wife, a woman of deep religious zeal from a family of marked extra-marital fecundity but little “enthusiasm” in religious matters.\(^{121}\) After her husband’s death in 1876 Mrs. Saunders moved her three stepsons, two stepdaughters\(^{122}\) and her two daughters to ‘The Willows,’

\(^{119}\) *South Australian Register* (Adelaide, SA). Tuesday 26 April 1892. p 5.

\(^{120}\) Berry op cit, p. 2

\(^{121}\) John Saunders had three sons and two daughters by his first marriage. They are not mentioned in Berry’s book or in the frequent press reports that followed the massacre. Berry op cit, p 1. His second wife, Eliza Arabin Saunders, was one of 9 children of Charles and Elizabeth Arabin of Ireland, who all immigrated to Australia. Personal communication from Mrs. Shirley Arabin of Mount Maunganui, New Zealand, 28 May 2004.

\(^{122}\) One of the older Saunders’ girls by John Saunders first marriage also became a missionary but it is not known which society she worked with.
Normanby Road, Kew, in the then outer north-eastern fringe of Melbourne’s metropolitan area. When the great Bank Crash of 1893 occurred, the family income was significantly reduced and Mrs. Saunders leased the house in Kew and moved to a more modest house. “St Elmo” in Inkerman Road, North Caulfield, where the family came under Macartney’s influence.

The decision to send the Saunders girls to China was a questionable exception to the CMS rule, adopted by the CMAV, that missionaries should be at least twenty-five years old. The average age of women sent to China by the Australian branch of the China Inland Mission was 25.7 years for women and the CMAV seems to have followed the CMS rule.

Lack of relevant employment and post-secondary school education was not considered a serious handicap by the CMAV or the Australian China Inland Mission. In his visit to Australia in 1889-90, James Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission, reflected that Australians had little to offer beyond enthusiasm, and the three Saunders women were certainly enthusiastic as Mrs. Saunders response to the murders and their letters to her in this collection reveal. Topsy Saunders thought that being a missionary was more about hard work than being “wonderfully gifted.” This attitude was far from unusual in Australia where candidates for missionary work was measured not by education or training but by enthusiasm for the conversion of the heathen and conformity with the predominant holiness values of evangelicals. In a comment that seems to apply perfectly to the Saunders sisters, an American writer has observed:

Assessment of women’s suitability for mission work was initially based less on academic achievements and more on the possession of some broadly defined general education. It was heavily reliant on social and familial networks. The selection of female workers was … an assessment of whether or not the candidate could be considered ‘ladylike’.

The acceptance of the Saunders rested on the personal endorsement of Stock, Stewart, and undoubtedly Macartney, that seems to have overridden any reservations about their age, education or life experience.
either by the CMAV or the CMS in London. The two women were accepted as missionaries in early 1893.

The preparatory program they undertook included private classes in ‘Christian Evidences and Church History’ with the Rev. Digby Berry, a polemically inclined and very conservative evangelical figure, a canon of St Paul’s Cathedral Melbourne, and a former Acting Warden of Trinity College, an Anglican theological and residential college associated with the University of Melbourne. He taught for a short period at Angas College in Adelaide, Australia’s first missionary training institution. Berry introduced the Saunders’ to the Book of Revelation with its account, as understood at the time, of the “Second Coming” of Jesus Christ to establish the millennium, a thousand years of divine rule on earth. Berry later wrote that the Saunders Sisters had:

Learnt to believe fervently in the near Second Coming of Christ, and that they must — to use their own phrase — ‘hurry up’ in order to witness for Him to the world before His coming.

Belief in the imminent return of Christ—“Millenarianism”—was not a uniquely Australian interest and had a long history in all branches of Christianity but millennialist enthusiasm was widespread in the 19th century among evangelical Protestants of all denominations. All the Anglican missionaries at Gutian believed that spreading the Christian Gospel would hasten Christ’s Second Coming.

In a letter to her father Elsie Marshall wrote of the return of the Jews to Palestine as a signs of Christ’s imminent return to be followed by a thousand years of divine rule (premillennial). It was an oddly prescient way when the Huashan massacre comes to mind:

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131 There is an unhappy aspect about the wisdom of accepting and sending two very young and inexperienced women as the first missionaries of the new Victorian Church Missionary Association.
134 Berry op cit, p 5.
136 Perhaps the most influential book on premillennialism was Sheldon, Charles M, In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do? 1896. Never copyrighted. More than 30 million copies have been published and it is said to be in the top 50 of world best-sellers. It is online (1 November 2010) at http://www.ccel.org/ccel/sheldon/ihsteps.html One of the most important writers on the Social Gospel, Walter Rauschenbusch, attributed his views, in part, to Sheldon.
Many things lately have come together to make us believe HOME is not very far distant for all of us. Many things seem to point that Christ is very soon coming.137

A residual effect of the widespread acceptance of 19th century millennialism in Anglo-American culture is a widespread belief, secular in content and expression, in imminent cataclysmic events unless there is a deep change in human behaviour. This has become embedded in English-speaking culture in the form of prophecies of all kinds of impending disasters such as: war to prevent worse evils, vide Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan; mass starvation as population exceeds food supply; the world running out of oil by the end of the 20th century; catastrophic climate change and ecological disaster; etc.138 For religious people, especially in the United States but also elsewhere, evidence of impending social cataclysm continue to influence attitudes towards contraception, homosexuality, “big” government, socialism and communism, liberalism and humanism.

The Saunders sisters took basic theological studies with Canon Stuart Chase, a respected retired clergyman who had previously been the vicar of St. John’s Church, Latrobe Street, Melbourne, a parish with strong interests in community welfare.139 Canon Chase served for many years on the Board of Management of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria (CMSV), an association in the Diocese of Melbourne named after, but independent of, the Church Missionary Society of England (CMSE). First formed as a Diocesan Board of Mission in 1851, the Victoria diocesan CMS had a variety of forms until established as a voluntary body in 1859. It continues as the CMS of Victoria (Re-formed) in the Anglican Chinese Mission of the Epiphany, Australia’s oldest Chinese Christian church.140 There is no mention of the Saunders family having any connection with this Anglican Chinese Mission in Victoria. Despite the existence of denominational missions to the Chinese in Australia, few of the Australians who went to China as missionaries had a record of Chinese work at home.141 In an extraordinary note to her mother, Topsy Saunders showed her ignorance of the Chinese in her own hometown.

You mustn’t judge all the Chinese by the specimens you see in Melbourne, although here you see that sort too, of course.142

Australian (and perhaps New Zealand) missionaries were among the most poorly educated group of the English-speaking missionaries in China, although many British missionaries of the China Inland Mission had similar backgrounds. For many conservative evangelical organizations, Christian character and deep faith

137 Marshall, Elsie, op cit., p 130. Other remarks on premillennial matters are at pp 165 and 196-198.
138 For an overview of this topic see Diner, Dan, Cataclysms: A History of the Twentieth Century from Europe’s Edge, (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).
139 The church was demolished after the Second World War. The name survived for many years in the Anglican social welfare organization—The Mission of St James and St John now subsumed into Anglicare Victoria.
142 Berry op cit, p 141.
were considered the first requirement for missionaries and office-holders, leading inevitably to judgemental behavior about people who did not espouse identical values and/or conforming behaviour. Enthusiasm, conformity and commitment were the distinctive hallmarks of Australian missionary endeavours in the 19th century. British and American missionaries from the major denominations, were better educated on the whole, and left their mark in China in the establishment of colleges and hospitals that continue to the present day. The British made only limited contributions to institutions of higher learning but left an outstanding record in medicine.147 There were no colleges or major medical institutions in China founded by or resourced by Australians. Few Australian missionaries, despite their acquired language skills, found their way into university teaching or research after their return to Australia although many of their children became university graduates.

Harriette Elinor (Nellie) Saunders was born in Brighton, Melbourne, on April 17th 1871 and was not quite twenty-two years old when she arrived in China in December 1892. Nellie matriculated but never attended the University of Melbourne. Elizabeth Maud (Topsy) Saunders was born in Brighton on July 30th 1873 and was just over twenty years old when she reached China. It is uncertain if she completed her secondary schooling.144 Their location in Fujian Province, on advice from the subordinate Women’s Committee of the CMS Fujian Sub-Conference, was to be with Miss Emma Goldie of the CMS at Lo Nguong, a coastal location north of Fuzhou.145 Emma Goldie was the first single woman missionary of the Church Missionary Society appointed to Fujian Province, and was the senior Anglican missionary woman. The Gutian placement was regarded by the Rev. John Martin as a blatant rejection of the authority of the Sub-Conference and his irritation was perhaps encouraged by the fact that Miss Goldie was his sister-in-law.146

It was Robert Stewart’s view, and probably the right one having met the Saunders sisters in Victoria in 1892, that the two would be better located in a family situation under the motherly care of Mrs. Stewart—an assessment reinforced by the fact that the Stewarts took Nellie and Topsy into their own home as, in effect, older daughters and there is no doubt, as evidenced by Nellie’s efforts to save the Stewart children, that she established a deep bond with her host family. It was common practice in the Protestant foreign missions in China that older women cared for younger, and all missionaries of the same gender shared rooms when travelling together.147 Semple remarks that the “parenting” of younger, single, missionaries was a

143 Cui, Dan, The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China’s National Development During the 1920s, (Lanham Md, University Press of America, 1998).
145 Fujian Province was unusual among CMS missions at the time, due largely to the views of Robert and Louisa Stewart and their friends, including the Rev. and Mrs. William Banister, in having a local Women’s Committee in which wives and single women missionaries focussed on women’s work. All decisions were subject to the endorsement of the Fujian Sub-Conference. Robert and Louisa Stewart were leaders in establishing the committee.
147 Female propinquity in the 19th century is discussed in Hunter, Jane, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women
characteristic feature of Protestant missions, resulting from traditional age and gender related values in British society.  

**Annie Gordon**

Annie Gordon (left) was the first Australian (arrived 1891) to work with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in China although a number of Australians were working with the CEZMS and Australian Baptist missions in India.

In Fujian Province two of the early Australians, both from Tasmania arrived in the early late 1880s and early 1890s and were placed at Gutian. Ada B. Nisbet was the first to arrive (1889) and was joined in 1891 by Emilie Stevens whose health broke down, perhaps from shock over the events at Huashan, and in September 1895, a month after the massacre, she returned to Australia on leave.

Ada Nisbet and Emilie Stevens (left) were both Congregationalists from the Hobart district of Tasmania and were financially supported by the Missionary Committee of the Tasmanian Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). Ada Nisbet would have been at Huashan and probably died had she not been on leave in Australia at the time of the murders. They were not the only non-Anglicans to be recruited for service in China with the CEZMS and this pattern was one of the reasons why Archdeacon Wolfe maintained his strong opposition to the CEZMS in Fujian Province. Hessie Newcombe, for example, came from a strong Baptist background and like some others, expressed some doubts about the practice of infant baptism. Wolfe was very critical of such people and made it clear that he preferred CMS ladies who were all committed to an Anglican viewpoint especially on infant baptism and respect for episcopal ordination and Anglican hierarchy. He had no direct authority over the CEZMS workers whose immediate supervisor in

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148 Semple, op cit, p 205.
149 Nellie Saunders remarked that there were five Australians at Christmas 1891. Berry op cit, p. 62.
150 Emily Stevens was a daughter of William Stevens. She was a member of the Congregational Church. Her father and his sister (Mrs. Bedggood) ran a private school at Oak Lodge, Bridge Street during the 1880's and 1890's. Emily died 14th September 1931 and was buried in a family site (Stevens/Searle) in St. Luke's Cemetery, Richmond. Private correspondence from Mr. Alex Green, Campania, Tasmania.
151 The Mercury, (Hobart), 16 March 1897.
152 A branch of the Newcombe family emigrated to Victoria and later to New Zealand. They were well-known Baptist adherents.
Fujian Province was the Rev. Robert Stewart. Stewart, Banister and other clergymen did not always agree with Wolfe’s views and opinions on a wide range of subjects from wearing Chinese costume, submitting to his intermediary role in dealings with the British Consul and in his attempts to assert his authority in a mission in which all Anglican clergy were nominally equals. Wolfe, for his part, wanted just one Anglican missionary society in Fujian Province as he made clear not only over the presence of the CEZMS but also over proposals for the Dublin University (Trinity College) Fukien Missionary Society to accept responsibility for a specific area of the province, even if linked to the CMS.
1.12 WOMEN’S WORK FOR WOMEN.\textsuperscript{153}

The discounting of the status of women in home and foreign missions reflected a universal 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} century view that a woman’s proper place was in the home with children and relatives as dependents of male and senior female relatives (i.e., senior by marriage or age).\textsuperscript{154} De Tocqueville’s summed up the values of the era saying that there were “two distinct lines of action for the two sexes,” with men in the outside “world of work” and women in a domestic circle of home. “Anglo-Chinaman” wrote contemptuously of the “new woman.

I have lived for several years in [China], not in a missionary capacity, and have had many opportunities of gauging the feelings of the Chinese towards missionaries in general, and more particularly towards female missionaries. To put it bluntly, female missionaries are looked upon by the Chinese as ladies whose virtue is not exactly above suspicion. To the Chinese mind (which does not know of ‘the new woman’) the idea of respectable women going about the country and pushing into strange houses is inconceivable—to say nothing of celibate men and women living in the constant intercourse of a mission.\textsuperscript{155}

Nonetheless “a transference of women’s traditional abilities” outside the circle of domesticity expanded during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The Christian church, with its widening opportunities in domestic and foreign missionary service, became, unwittingly and without any plan, a “third sphere\textsuperscript{156}”—a domain where opportunities were opened beyond the domestic environment into the world at large as the church and the missionary agencies became an acceptable link between the two original gender domains.\textsuperscript{157}

The growth of women’s work for women during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century reflected the movement of the Euro-American middle class into public life as economic circumstances in Northern Europe and North America evolved. Women’s committees proliferated in domestic and foreign social outreach. Women were present, unpaid, as wives, daughters, sisters or widows of male missionaries from the earliest days of Protestant missionary work overseas—but always as adjuncts of, and under the control of, male relatives.\textsuperscript{158} Even when women were fully accepted as missionaries in their own right pay rates differed, usually set at about half to two-thirds of that paid to a single man although there are indications that societies managed by women were

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{153} See Part Twelve, Appendices, Appendix 4. Interim List of Australian Single Women Missionaries to Asia, 1874-1901.
  \item \textsuperscript{155} The Saturday Review, London, 17 August 1895, p 208.
  \item \textsuperscript{158} Stock, Eugene, \textit{1899, op cit.,} vol. I, pp 124-125.
\end{itemize}
sometimes more generous in salaries.\textsuperscript{159} Bias against women included ending all payments to a single woman missionary who married a fellow missionary although the woman often continued active in outreach.

The continuing gender bias of the era continued in public leadership in some women’s organisations where men were appointed as chairmen and executive secretaries. This pattern will be seen in CEZMS correspondence in this collection.\textsuperscript{160} However structured most 19\textsuperscript{th} century Christian women’s organisations retained a conventional traditional view of women’s work centred on “caring” and “nurturing” activities such as teaching, social work and nursing.

\textbf{Flora Codrington and Station Class.}

Flora Codrington is in the second back row, third from left. Church Missionary Society.

An instance of transfer of nurturing and evangelistic skills that emerged first in England and later in America was the concept of “Bible-women”—poorer women sent into homes where upper class women were socially and culturally unwelcome and ineffective.\textsuperscript{161} “Bible-women” in Asia were usually given three months residential training in a “Station Class” and were essential in conveying the Christian message to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{159} White, Ann, “Counting the Cost of Faith: America’s Early Female Missionaries, \textit{Church History}, Vol 57 No1, March 1988, p 26.
\item \textsuperscript{160} Murray, 1992, op cit, p 15.
indigenous women and encouraging them to move out of a closed domestic environment. “Bible-women” usually worked as interpreters alongside European women but after returning to their own homes and families many continued as missionaries in their own right. Missionary archives reveal very little about the work of these women, or even their names just as the missionary archives say relatively little about indigenous male missionary workers.162

A Chinese Biblewoman.


162 An exception to this statement is Davis, Rev. J. A., Leng Tso, The Chinese Biblewoman, (Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1886).
Brumberg states that the American women chosen for missionary service by the American Congregational Woman’s Board of Missions were:

Largely unmarried or widowed, giving women without benefit of family support an opportunity to combine religious zeal with the means of making a living.\textsuperscript{163}

Fully a quarter of American women missionaries were from farming backgrounds and were said to have experienced greater freedom growing up than their urban fellows. Nearly a quarter of single women missionaries sent by American societies came from a parsonage with modest incomes.\textsuperscript{164} Few American women came from unskilled lower working class backgrounds and the same seems broadly true of the Australians. As Australian women missionaries began to enter the missionary workforce in the mid 1880s, initially with the CEZMS and Baptist missions in India but soon afterwards with the CEZMS/CMS and China Inland Mission, especially after 1890, the common feature was their active membership of evangelical congregations of the major denominations at home as well as participation in domestically focussed women’s organisations.\textsuperscript{165}

Notable Anglican women’s groups in Fujian Province included the Female Education Society formed in July 1834\textsuperscript{166}, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society\textsuperscript{167}, and later the Women’s Department of the Church Missionary Society and the Women’s Auxiliary of the Dublin University Fuh-Kien Mission that supported the CEZMS and the CMS. Relations between the societies were harmonious but there was tension over their ultimate accountability centring in the continuing collision between Archdeacon John Wolfe and others. Wolfe resented the fact that the women of the CEZMS reported to the Rev. Robert Stewart who in turn reported directly to the CEZMS Committee in London without first submitting his correspondence to Wolfe, as CMS rules required for all CMS missionaries. The Archdeacon was equally annoyed with the proposal for the Dublin group to take a specific area of responsibility with, once again, Stewart as the Corresponding Secretary. Wolfe continually referred to this “divided rule” in the four Anglican missions in his numerous letters to the CMS Committee in London.

The emergence and growth of women’s movements in the UK was paralleled in Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.\textsuperscript{168} A few women and not a few men with private financial resources—

\begin{minipage}{\textwidth}
\begin{itemize}
\item Hunter, op cit, p 29.
\item There is no complete list of the societies that employed Australians, either as members of British-based organisations or in Australian formed societies.
\item Whately, E. J., \textit{Missions to the Women of China on connexion with the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East}, (London, James Nisbet, 1859). Miss Whately was the daughter of the then Anglican Archbishop of Dublin and worked among women in Cairo. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, \textit{Female Agency among the Heathen}, (London, Edward Suter, 1850).
\item Formed following a split in women’s work in the India Female Normal School and Instruction Society producing the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (now Interserve) and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.
\end{itemize}
\end{minipage}
an economic dimension often ignored in discussions of 19th century social movements—took themselves abroad as independent missionaries.\textsuperscript{169}

1.13 MARY ANN ALDERSEY: AN ENGLISH PIONEER.

Mary Ann Aldersey was the original independent Englishwoman, first in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and later in China, although her resources were not abundant and some of her methods, notably the removal of indigenous young women from Surabaja to Batavia and then to Ningbo in China were questionable, verging on kidnapping.\(^{170}\) She came from a wealthy Congregationalist family in London and her missionary enthusiasm was tempered by the need to care for her sister’s children. As adults they emigrated to South Australia and Aldersey retired among them.

Mary Ann Aldersey as a young woman.

www.pipspatch.com

The first, if of short duration and financially independent, Australian single woman to serve in China (China Inland Mission) was Mary Reed of Tasmania, who was supported by her wealthy father, a noted businessman and Christian philanthropist. Reed’s mother was a relative of the Rev. George C. Grubb. Mary Reed joined the CIM in London where her family had been living for some years although their permanent residence was in Australia. Henry Reed, her father, was an early and generous supporter of the China Inland Mission, the Salvation Army and other evangelical causes in the UK and Tasmania.

**Mary Reed**

Independently funded missionaries were the exception and the majority of were financially dependent on institutional support from missionary-minded women at home. The economic and social status of being an employee of a distant mission board in the home countries contributed to an ideological conformity that did always stand the test of practical experience and may have contributed to the relatively short periods of foreign missionary service—usually little more than ten years—as people gained experience in missionary life and moved away from the values and methods endorsed by the managing committees.

A classic Australian example of a departure by a missionary was the English-Australian Frank Burden who joined the China Inland Mission as a member of the first Australian party in 1890 and nursed a short lived romance by mail with Mary Reed that ended when her parents made it clear they disapproved of the penniless young Englishman. After ten years in China as a pioneering missionary, including deep anger over the management of financial matters by the Australian CIM Committee, he eventually took a medical course in America and returned to Australia where he became a well-known medical practitioner in Adelaide.

171 After her return to Australia from China Mary Reed married Frederick Wilmot Fysh, a Launceston merchant and member of a prominent Tasmanian family. The marriage was an unhappy one and the couple parted. Her son became the founder of Qantas Airways (Sir Hudson Fysh). She remained an active supporter of the China Inland Mission throughout her life. On her father's role in shaping her life see Hudson Fysh, 'Reed, Henry (1806 - 1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 2, Melbourne University Press, 1967, pp 371-372.

172 Endicott, Shirley June, *China Diary, The Life of Mary Austin Endicott*, (Waterloo, Ontario, Wilfred Laurier Press, 2003). A famous British example was Margaret E. Barber, who went to China with CMS but later became an independent missionary. See en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margaret E. Barber. See Reetske, James, *M. E. Barber, A Seed Sown in China*, (Chicago, Chicago Bible and Books, 2005).

173 Frank Burden’s postcard portrait, in CIM required Chinese dress, taken in a Shanghai studio shortly after his arrival in China in 1890. From original in Ian Welch.

174 Frank Burden’s story ended happily. He married a fellow missionary, Joanne Webster, a Scotswoman. They had children and grandchildren, one of whom, Frank Burden, generously provided the writer with his grandfather’s letters and photographs. The original material is now held in the National Library of Australia.
Lydia Mary Fay, the longest serving single woman American Episcopalian missionary in China, is a case study of a talented educator who worked in New England and later Virginia as a governess and teacher. Originally a New England Presbyterian she joined the Protestant Episcopal Church soon after her arrival in Virginia where she formed a one-sided personal attachment to a local clergyman. Unsuccessful in her pursuit of marriage she found herself socially enclosed and almost totally isolated as principal of a private, three teacher girls’ school at Midway, near Tappahannock, Virginia. She remarked that her only visitors were the local Episcopal rector and his wife, and later wrote that:

I know is the common lot of teachers, to spend our lives, the best that we can give of our hearts and bodies for those who have as little thought or concern, and think every debt of gratitude is cancelled when our salaries are paid.176

After meeting the China pioneer U.S. Episcopal (and Anglican) Bishop William Jones Boone Sr. she offered for missionary service as her escape from what she saw as the feckless world of Virginian female society.177 It was no easy task to:

Persuade the young ladies to twist up their curls, cut them off, put on plain dresses, lay aside their ornaments, and try and look and act a little more like school girls, and when they are composed enough for quiet, patient study, try to cultivate their taste for the really beautiful and true, their love of science and of truth, as it is in nature and revelation. But Oh! with tastes and feelings so perverted and thrown away upon trifles how slow must such a work be, and what patience, direction, discrimination, firmness and wisdom does it require in a teacher.178

Once in China she became a successful educator179 of young Chinese men and a distinguished Sinologue. She was acknowledged as one of the leading foreign writers on Chinese issues far exceeding most of the men who, to her fury, were always placed ahead of her in the mission pecking order despite their inexperience and lesser ability.180 She was angered by her treatment by the wives of male missionaries as a “maiden aunt”

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176 Fay, Lydia Mary, to Mrs. Mary Ann De Butts Dulany, from “Midway Academy”, Essex County, Virginia, no date. (Virginia Historical Society, Mss1 D3545 a 419-475 Item 415, De Butts Family, Papers 1784-1962, Section 12).

177 Fay, Lydia Mary, to Rev. Pierre Irving, Secretary, Foreign Missions Committee, Protestant Episcopal Church, 14 June 1844. A reference was provided by the man on whom she had pinned her hopes of marriage. (Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Texas.)

178 Fay, Lydia Mary to Rev. C B Dana, from “Midway Academy,” 16 October 1847. (University of Texas, American History Center).

179 Mary Fay was the central figure, but never the principal, of the Episcopal Boys' School in Shanghai intended, as were many similar missionary secondary schools in China, as a preparatory school for training indigenous clergymen. It became, under her leadership, a small theological college (Duane Hall) that grew into St. John’s University, one of the most famous missionary colleges in China. The buildings are now part of Fudan University, Shanghai.

nurse and carer. Fay was infuriated by being permanently subordinated, after a decade of missionary service, to the mother of a very young man appointed over her as principal of the Episcopal Boys’ School in Shanghai. She wrote to the Secretary of the Episcopal Missions Board saying, emphatically, that she did not need a “mother superior” to direct her work. Her consequent letter of resignation came as no surprise to Bishop Boone. His response summed up the attitude of a male towards a single female in the mid 19th century as well as indicating the tension that often bubbled away among missionaries but were rarely publicised.

Shanghai, 7 August 1860, My Dear Miss Fay

I have allowed your letter of 13 June resigning your place in the Boys’ School, to remain unanswered until now. I wished to take time to see how matters would go on until the vacation. I regret very much your leaving the school. I can bear testimony that you have worked hard & efficiently; I am sure it is a very great trial to you to leave a school for which you have laboured so long. You know that I have always thought you a good teacher but have also held the opinion that no lady can properly manage a school of forty boys. I have always thought the school needs the strong hand of a male superintendent. When I was recently in the U.S, the Presbyters of the mission wrote urgently on this subject. The Committee, on my recommendation, and that of these letters, appointed a male superintendent, and sent his mother to assist as matron; supposing this would be a much pleasanter arrangement than to ask you to act in this capacity while Mr. Doyen was Superintendent. They never designed for a moment to dispossess you of your place as a teacher in the school, nor had I any such wish. You have told me you determined before Mr. and Mrs. Doyen arrived, that you would not teach in the school, if he were made superintendent. You told me this, plainly upon our arrival, and left them in no doubt of your mind and that you regarded them as intruders. You now inform me that you are still of the same determination and I know there is such a want of harmony in the personal relations between Mr. and Mrs. Doyen and yourself that there is no prospect of your being able to conduct the school together. Neither yourself or Mrs. Doyen will consent to make friends and live in peace. These facts constrain me to accept your resignation. Under the circumstances, I cannot blame you for resigning, but I cannot but deplore the circumstances. While saying this, I do not wish to pass any opinion on your difficulties with Mrs. Doyen, or to throw any undue share of the blame upon you. I trust God may have much more work for your to do for Him and that He will grant you Grace to discharge the same with both fidelity and in peace. I am, my Dear Miss Fay, Very sincerely yours, Wm J Boone.

Mary Fay was one of the earliest single Protestant women missionaries in China (arrived January 1850) and the American Episcopalian Church was one of the earliest, if not the first, mission to actively recruit single women while keeping them firmly in second place to men. Some single women missionaries married

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181 Fay, Lydia May, to Dr. Denison, Secretary, Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, April 28, 1877, (Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Texas.)
182 Lydia Mary Fay to the Rt. Rev. William J. Boone, 13 June 1860. (Letter MISSIN3386a1496-1516, Virginia Historical Society.) The Church Missionary Society was the pioneer Anglican mission in China. Unlike the Americans and their historic missionary connection—the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who both saw bishops as the leaders of evangelism, the CMS believed that the appointment of bishops followed and did not precede the creation of an indigenous church. Boone conducted the first Anglican confirmation in Hong Kong. The English Anglican bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, was appointed several years after Boone’s consecration.
183 Rt. Rev. William J Boone to Miss Lydia Mary Fay, 7 August 1850, (Letter MISSIN3386a1496-1516, Virginia Historical Society.)
male missionaries\textsuperscript{184} and assumed conventional married lives while maintaining their missionary activity.\textsuperscript{185}


\textbf{Lydia Mary Fay and “Her Boys.”}

U.S. Protestant Episcopal Church, \textit{Spirit of Missions}, Vol 37 No 7, 1872, p 137.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{184} Amy Oxley was the immediate Australian successor to the Saunders Sisters. She married an English CMS doctor, George Wilkinson.
\item \textsuperscript{185} Murray, 1992, op cit, p 16.
\end{itemize}
1.15 THE WORK OF MISSIONARIES

For most of the 19th century missionary work centred on personal or primary evangelism rather than secondary issues such as health, education or poverty. Prior to the First Opium War and the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, foreigners were not allowed to preach directly to Chinese and relied heavily on written materials distributed by colporteurs, i.e., local people paid to distribute literature. After the Second Opium War and the Treaty of Tientsin, 1858, foreigners were able to communicate directly with the Chinese. The evangelistic methods of Protestants universally involved street preaching either “open-air” in the streets or in ‘preaching halls’ adjacent to busy streets, a problem often accentuated in their early years by limited language skills. The street preaching and personal contact approach met with little success and most missionaries looked for other means of making their message known to potential converts.186

Archdeacon Wolfe preaching in Foochow

The Graphic, 2 September 1895.

The 19th century Protestant missionary societies did not grant full status to a missionary until the individual, male and female, had completed two examinations assessed by an independent examiner—contrary to continuing criticisms that missionaries were culturally adrift and ignorant. Both criticisms were true when missionaries first arrived but their language examinations were intensive and usually full-time and the requirement was in stark contrast to those of other foreign residents in China. The Saunders sisters provide a contrast in their attitudes to learning the local dialect. Topsy, the physically and educationally weaker of the two women, said that:

God didn’t send me here to pass examinations, when there are such oceans to be done; and Elsie [Marshall] can’t have those women at Sek Chek Du unless I take them, she has so much itinerating work to do. Of course, some people would say I was very wrong to be taking a three months school like that, instead of studying, but God is giving it to me, and the Stewarts approve. They always tell me that when I do get through my examinations, I shall be younger than any of the others were at starting. So I must be content to go slowly. Mrs. Stewart says that if I hadn’t given up studying last year, she is certain I should have been sent home.187

Berry notes that Nellie was working hard and preparing for her first examination. She wrote to her mother describing the limited education of her literary graduate language teacher:

It seems so strange to talk to a creature of his intellect and literary attainments who is utterly ignorant of such things as steamboats and trains. I had such fun to-day telling him about the trains—a cart that can walk by itself. He said the Englishmen were very clever, and he didn’t know how they ever found out how to make such strange things.188

After a minimum full-time year of study in an “immersion” situation and two examinations, language skills were acquired and strengthened as most missionaries, as above, retained a Chinese teacher recruited from the lower Chinese literati class, i.e., those who had qualified at District Level. There was a striking gap, rarely recognized in histories of the foreign presence in China, between the language skills of missionaries and other foreigners. Even in diplomatic circles where language skills were vital to communication with Chinese officials, foreign diplomats and consuls were heavily dependent on Chinese interpreters and, as illustrated by the Kucheng Commission of Enquiry, on missionaries. While skills varied widely from individual to individual, there is no substance to the criticism of missionaries that they did not communicate effectively with the Chinese.

With a history of tract publishing in Europe and North America missionaries responded vigorously to the limitations of street preaching, almost exclusively to males, by the distribution of printed literature including short tracts189 but also, especially when dealing with the highly literate upper classes of indigenous society, the translation of foreign works, in mathematics, geography, literature and history into Chinese.

187 Berry op cit, p 202.
188 Berry op cit, p 95.
189 See various studies on Chinese tracts by Dr. John Lai Tsz Pang, Assistant Professor, Department of Cultural and Religious Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.
The most famous Protestant Christian tract in Chinese was written by Leang A Fa, one of the earliest converts of the London Missionary Society, first published in 1819 (above).\textsuperscript{190} It was in a traditional Chinese form of a conversation between two friends and was appropriately titled \textit{The Two Friends}. It remained in print for over a hundred years. It is estimated it may have been exceeded, in various editions, two million copies.\textsuperscript{191} Dramatic as that may seem in numerically, it is important to keep in mind that the population of China exceeded 400 million people annually throughout the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, so that overall considerably more than a billion people were potential readers. General statistics suggest that over the same period perhaps a total, for the whole of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, over 250,000 Chinese Catholic or Protestant tracts and other publications were produced.

Missionaries soon learned that European patterns of street preaching and printed tracts were as effectual, or ineffectual, in Asia as they were in Euro-America.\textsuperscript{192} A Chinese Anglican Christian minister assessed the effectiveness of foreign missionaries and their evangelistic methods:

The missionaries who come from the honourable country [i.e. England] however advanced in learning, and however strong in faith they may be, it is impossible for them when they are but recently come to remove the existing difficulties. Not only are they ignorant of the written character and spoken language, but also are unacquainted with our customs and our characteristics. Hence within the Church hypocrisy is apt to arise, and outside the Church useless books are distributed. From these causes idle rumours arise, slanders are intensified, sincere inquiries are lessened in number. These are difficulties which must lie in the way of those who first come to preach the Gospel. The Lord indeed knows how their best efforts are to a great extent expended in vain.\textsuperscript{193}

Missionaries explored every possibility as they sought to bridge the gap.\textsuperscript{194} An article published by the Church Missionary Society observed:

It is a principle worth remembering that “he who does this work is not so productively engaged as he who multiplies the doers.” These words from the pen of an American missionary, working in a country district in China, state in the simplest terms a principle which is in the minds of C.M.S. missionaries in all parts of the world. They explain why many a man who, without teaching experience in England, having offered to the Society as an evangelist, has found himself in the course of a few years being his whole energies to the development of a boys’ school. He has not ceased to believe in the value of preaching, he has not lost his desire to give personal witness in the homes of the people, his love for the “simple Gospel” has not diminished by one iota. Far from it. So convinced is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{190} See Wikipedia entry at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liang_Fa
\item \textsuperscript{191} Welch, Ian, “Chinese Protestant Christian Tracts in 19\textsuperscript{th} Century Australia,” A paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne, April 2000.
\item \textsuperscript{193} Rev. Tzing Ts-sing, Ningpo, 24 December 1877. CMS East Asia Archives.
\item \textsuperscript{194} A noted American journalist was a prominent critic of missionary methods. Bigelow, Poulney, “Missions and Missionaries in China.” In \textit{the North American Review}, Vol 171 No 524, pp 26-40.
\end{itemize}
he that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation that he wants to see it built into the structure of the lives of those who profess it, that they in their turn may convey it to their own people in their mother tongue, and in the even more eloquent language of a daily life lived in the power of Christ. A missionary in a mass movement area, where men and women…are flocking into the Christian Church, finds that he can best “multiply the doers” by training teachers who will staff schools for the children of Christians, and will set a new standard of village life. 195

By the end of the 19th century missions had moved from operating basic primary, secondary and limited higher schooling to developing colleges and universities along primarily American lines. With this development the missionary movement began to split between those who continued to emphasise conservative evangelicalism with its individualistic focus and otherworldliness and those who sought to transform and reconstruct Chinese society by replacing its traditional education system and its oppressive literati class with a “modern” i.e., “western” scientific and technological approach based on a democratic meritocracy. Over time, education and medicine, as well as other aspects of foreign culture, became ends in themselves as part of a wider process of what became known as to some as the “White Man’s Burden “ and to others the “Civilizing Mission.” These issues are further discussed below.

Many, but far from all, missionaries introduced Western style education, starting with village schools for boys and girls with the primary aim of encouraging literacy in order to read the Bible and other Christian literature. Robert Stewart devoted much of his spare time to translating the New Testament into Romanised version of the Foochow dialect to make sure that Christians educated in CMS related schools in Fujian Province could read the Bible in the dialect spoken in their everyday life. The illustration at left is the title page of a Foochow dialect Romanised version of the Bible published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1908.

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195 Copy of a clipping filed by Rev. J C Carpenter of the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province. No date and no source cited but it is probably from the CMS Intelligencer, a regular newsletter to CMS subscribers. CMS Archives Birmingham, MSS 380334.


197 Picture courtesy George Ngudoyong, Foochow. A key value of Protestant Christianity is the ability, and right, of ordinary people to read the Bible in their own language. In the case of China, this meant translating the Bible into indigenous colloquial languages, usually written in a Romanised script. An English tea-merchant in Foochow, E.C. Millard, an evangelical Anglican, paid for the purchase of a printing press and type so that “the New Testament could be printed in the Romanized script as desired by Rev. Robert Stewart of the CMS.” Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol xxxiv, 1903, p 245. This citation courtesy of Dr. Timothy Stunt of Connecticut, USA.

Missionaries borrowed from a long tradition of Bible story-telling, Christian literature and tracts to create Chinese illustrated texts, akin to the use of cartooning in the West. Part Eight of this collection comprises a collection of violently and widely influential anti-Christian images presented in a classical Chinese pictorial form. The illustration on the following page is an example of a specifically Chinese Christian version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son with the original Chinese captions replaced by an English translation.

**Parable of the Prodigal Son.**

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The modern national standard for Romanized Chinese is Pinyin as shown below.

The Book of Ecclesiastes, Ch 1,vv 1-6: In English, Chinese Characters and Pinyin.

A few days after Stewart’s death, the Rev. H. S. Phillips, who observed the attack on the other missionaries at Huashan, without being able to help, wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society from the safety of the foreign sanatorium at Kuliang, in the hills behind Fuzhou. Phillips was in charge of a pioneering evangelistic work in the Kien Ning district to the northwest of Gutian (Kucheng).

I believe dear Mr. Stewart of the C.M.S. sometime ago brought before you the need of a Romanized Version of the New Testament in the Kien Ning dialect. The dialect is spoken in three counties in the Kien Ning prefecture, any one of which has an area greater than Lancashire and a large population. Mr. Stewart probably mentioned that the ladies of the CEZMS had already in hand the equivalent of $300 which they were prepared to hand over to you if you undertake the work, a part of this sum however they have decided to spend here in printing a gospel or two tentatively; they hope to be thus able to report to you early in the coming year that a number of Kien Ning women are actually able to read the version they ask you to print, and that [if] it is found to meet the requirements of the district, the whole New Testament.

We have colloquial character version in Kien Ning and don’t propose to make one, the Mandarin character is exceedingly difficult as it has to be rendered into the colloquial as the reading proceeds so that even for those who know a little character the Romanized will be a great boon, and the great mass of the people cannot read at all.

With regard to the version which has been made by Miss Boyer of the ZMS who has a most extraordinary grasp of Kien Ning colloquial you need have no fear I am sure it will be excellent and the use of a gospel or two for two or three months will put the matter beyond theory.
Mr. Stewart felt our need of such a version warmly and would support this application keenly…

The following account illustrates not only the importance placed on everyday use of the local dialect but also the importance that Robert Stewart placed on providing schooling for the Chinese, not only boys but also adult women.

Miss Nellie [Saunders] is in charge of two classes of charming little boys from twelve to sixteen years old, picked out from the whole district as giving special promise of future usefulness. They will be the teachers of from five to ten years hence. She has also a fine lot of women on Sunday mornings, and a day school on Saturday afternoons, also village visiting every week. Miss Topsy [Saunders] is located at a place named Sek Chek Du (Seventeenth Bridge), about twelve miles north from her. Miss Elsie Marshall is with her. They are in charge of all the women workers, covering an immense area of about 300 square miles. She has women’s classes, boys’ and girls’ schools, a little dispensary, and any amount of visiting, people coming to her and she going to them.

After Stewart’s return to China in 1893, he established an extensive network of village primary schools across the two districts under his management Kucheng (Gutian) and Ping Nang financed by family and friends in England and Ireland with a management style and curriculum reflecting, in part, those of the Irish Church Missions in which Mrs. Smyly was a major figure. In her last letter to friends in Ireland, Louisa Stewart wrote:

As the prejudices of the people are broken down they become willing to allow their children to be taught, and we have here a girls’ school with over fifty girls as boarders; also a boys’ school which holds about twenty. The women also need teaching as much as the children, and we have now got a house for a women’s school, in which we can have twenty women at a time. But perhaps one of these great, dark regions is the teaching of the children in the little village day schools, and we now have fifty-six in my husband’s district along, and we believe God is using them much not only for the children but for their parents and friends too. My husband has just come back from a trip round part of the district, where he has been examining some of the schools, and he was delighted with all he saw and heard. Some of the villages and towns he visited had no other Christian teacher, and the children and their parents had all been heathen before the school was opened.

The aim of Stewart’s network of schools, as outlined in the earlier quote from the Church Missionary Society (above) was evangelistic. He wrote to friends in Australia.

202 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London 20 August 1895. “You are aware that our 170 Day Schools were principally supported by money raised by Mr. Stewart.” Smyly, Vivienne, op cit, mentioned in private communication from Dr Maria Luddy, Warwick University, England, 2004. See also Luddy, Maria, (?) , “Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland” Voluntas, Vol 7 No 2. (revised and extended). See H Bradshaw, ‘Louisa Stewart’ pp 19-26 in Dublin University Missionary Magazine, 17 October 1895, op cit.
I believe thoroughly in these little country Christian schools as an *evangelising* agency; for this purpose they are invaluable, reaching each year many hundreds of children whose parents are heathen; in them they learn in their heads the fundamentals of our Christian Faith, the great facts of the life of the Saviour, and the way to heaven. Now and again I hear of that knowledge reaching down even to the heart. One dear boy in a far off spot, where the school was the only centre of light, had a bright death-bed quite lately. His parents were heathen, but they could not rob him of his peace. … The fact is, the effort is so thoroughly evangelistic that any place I might now name might have no school next year; it may have been found wiser to move it to the next village.²⁰⁴

Poor children going to a village mission school.

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The provision of Bible portions in romanised Chinese was also intended to serve the needs of married women attending three months “Station Classes” intended to give otherwise uneducated women an opportunity to read basic Christian literature.

Basic primary schooling for capable young boys was intended, as it was in all the Protestant missions, to lay a foundation for the training of future teachers and clergy. The focal point for Anglican secondary and limited higher education in Fujian Province was Trinity College in Foochow established by Robert Stewart, and named after and mostly staffed by graduates of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1915, Trinity College became part of Fukien Christian University and after the Communist Revolution it was absorbed by Fujian Normal University.205

Trinity College, Foochow.

205 Missionaries of all backgrounds were troubled about how far to take the educational issue: “Education for its own sake was decried as secular and outside the responsibility of the church,” Robert, Dana L, “The Methodist Struggle over Higher Education in Fuzhou, China, 1877-1883,” pp 173-189 in Methodist History, (April 1996
The American Methodist Episcopal mission maintained an educational program managed by Mabel C. Hartford, of the Women’s Missionary Association. Hartford was a trained and experienced teacher from New Hampshire but the American educational work was on a smaller scale than the CMS. Mabel Hartford had no close relatives and devoted herself entirely to her work in China without taking leave in America. An account of her work was published in a local newspaper.

Miss Hartford is in charge of the Ku-Cheng and Long-Bing districts of the Foo-Chow Woman’s conference. Her report to the last conference showed in the Ku-Cheng district one boarding school with an enrolment of forty-four; fourteen day schools with an enrolment of 200; one bible training school [bible women] with an enrolment of twenty.²⁰⁶

With the notable exception of the China Inland Mission, the largest of all the Protestant missionary societies in China, virtually all missions operated primary schools although rarely on the scale of the Anglican system sponsored by the Stewarts and their friends that outnumbered the schools “officially” sponsored and paid for through the CMS and the CEZMS.

In advocating romanized literature the 19th century missionaries were expressing conservative evangelical values centred on individual conversions and local congregational autonomy. They were not in any way trying to set up an alternative literary model to that of the traditional Chinese education system but rather to promote limited literacy for Christian purposes. Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), the dominant influence in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) for many years, shared with the Rev. Henry Venn, the equally influential secretary of the English Church Missionary Society, the “three self” values of missionary work— to convert local people, and create indigenous churches that were “self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating—自治、自养、自传.” It was a goal adopted by Protestant missions in China in 1892 but did not become a reality until the Communist Revolution expelled the last foreign missionaries in 1952 and formed the TPSM in 1954. Many Chinese Christians have formed independent churches following the three principles but reject the oversight of the Chinese Government through the TPSM and its official organization, the China Christian Council.

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²⁰⁶ Part Four: The Huashan Massacre: *Omaha Daily Bee*, (Nebraska), 12 August 1895.