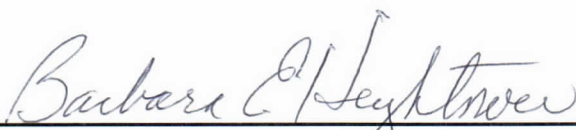


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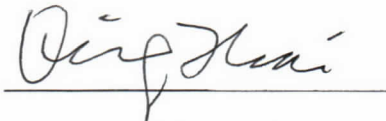
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**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MISSIONARY SCHOOLS
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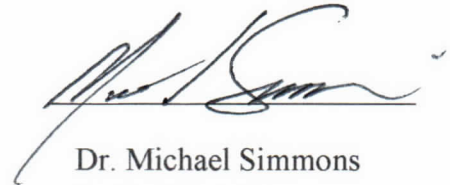
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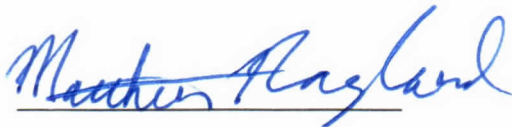
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INTRODUCTION

Education is one of the strongest tools to raise up the status of women and improve women's life styles. [The traditional teaching of keeping women ignorant], has hindered the education of our Chinese women. It has caused a great loss to the family, to church and to society.

Reverend Pang Ken Phin¹

Following the religious revival in the United States, known as the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840), Western Protestant missionaries felt the call to go preach the Christian message and convert individuals in eastern countries, particularly China.² From 1807 to 1842, about twenty missionaries went to China, although most worked outside in Singapore, Malacca, or Bangkok among expatriate Chinese populations not under the laws of the Chinese government. After the Treaty of Nanking, in 1842, which established five treaty ports at Shanghai, Canton, Ningbo, Fuchow, and Amoy, missionaries moved to the mainland to preach and open schools. Although the Treaty of Nanking did not specifically address missionary work, Caleb Cushing, the American negotiator and missionary translators, Peter Parker and Elijah Bridgeman, included clauses in The Treaty of Wangxia (1844) which benefited the missionaries. The clauses gave foreigners the right to build hospitals, houses, schools and establish churches in the

¹ Reverend Pang Ken Phin spoke at a 1988 conference on *"Mission History from the Woman's Point of View"* as part of the Basel Mission's Chinese Partner Church.

² Western Protestant denominations included The American Board of Foreign Missions, Congregationalist, American Baptists, Southern Baptists, American Reformed Mission, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Wesleyans. All of these groups and many others went to China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many times they worked together, particularly in the area of education. Each group had a Home Mission Board in America that supervised the training and sending out of individual missionaries.

treaty ports.³ The treaty also gave the privilege of extraterritoriality to all foreigners as well as the right to study the Chinese language, which was crucial for missionaries in order to share the gospel. Twenty years later, in 1858, the Treaty of Tianjin expanded these freedoms further for foreigners by allowing missionaries to move outside the treaty ports and settle inland. In addition, edicts of toleration were issued in 1842 and 1844, which allowed the Chinese to practice Christianity. Because of these treaties, the missionaries established mission stations and schools extensively throughout China and slowly saw the growth of a Chinese Christian community.⁴

When the missionaries arrived, they saw inequities in the lives of girls and women. First, even though education was important to the Chinese, there was no national government system of education. Boys either attended private schools or had private tutors; however, there were no schools for girls. As a result, only a small segment of the female gentry could read and write.⁵ In addition, secluded from other men, women did not experience life freely outside the home. Forced to bind their feet because of the centuries' old custom of foot binding, Chinese females suffered deformity and walking was painful.⁶ Upon recognizing the need to eradicate female illiteracy in order to move forward with evangelization, the wives of missionaries started schools for the Chinese girls. When China opened its doors to the West, single missionary women also came to teach. These single women had experienced firsthand in their own Western countries what education could do for women and saw it as a way to help the Chinese women.

³ R. G. Tiedeman, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China. Vol. 2: 1800-Present.* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 150.

⁴ Charles W. Weber, "Baptist Educational Work," in *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries*, ed. Patricia Neils (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1990), 27.

⁵ *Ibid*, 36

⁶ Not all Chinese women practiced foot-binding; for example, the Manchus did not practice it nor did the Hakka women as they had to work in the fields so they needed to be able to walk and carry heavy loads. See Illustrations, p. 65, for pictures and a description of foot-binding.

However, there were ancient barriers to overcome because of the entrenched Confucian belief system and other Chinese traditions. It took years of persuasion and working within the culture to convince the Chinese that Western-style education was a positive innovation. On the other hand, it took years of trial and error for the missionaries to realize that although Bible teaching was important, academics had to be competitive to attract elite students. Eventually, these schools became an important point of transformation for society. Many Chinese graduates became teachers for the mission schools, the government schools, as well as private schools. Mary Keng Mun Chung claims mission schools “awakened Chinese women to their own potential.”⁷

There has been a great deal of scholarly work written on the subject of the Protestant educational mission in China. The older classic works discussing Christian missions, such as Kenneth Latourette’s *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929) provided general information about missionary schools for girls. Recently, however, newer case studies about locations or individual schools such as Lodwick’s *Educating the Women of Hainan: The Career of Margaret Moninger in China 1915-1942*, Carlson’s *The Foochow Missionaries: 1847-1880*, and Li Li’s *Mission in Suzhou: Sophie Lanneau and Wei Ling Girl’s Academy: 1907-1950*, have provided more detailed information that fills in gaps left by the broader, more general works. Early historians emphasized Chinese anti-foreign antipathy toward Christian missionaries; however, the newer works discuss the positive relationships between the Chinese and foreigners. Linda Benson, a professor of Chinese History at Oakland University, asserts that Christian missionaries in China

⁷ Mary Keng Mun Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2005), 122.

during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had a lasting impact on Chinese women's education.⁸

The purpose of this study is to illustrate how Protestant Christian mission schools for girls in China influenced modern China in various ways. Ultimately, they led to social reforms for women, higher education for women, and opportunities for Chinese women to distinguish themselves as educators, doctors, and leaders. In addition, I will include how missionaries, in their efforts to improve the life of Chinese women, were personally changed by their time spent in China and how American public opinion about China was influenced by missionary input.

As examples of missionaries and their involvement in mission schools, I am examining two women from the South who had the same goals for educating Chinese women but distinguished themselves in different ways. Janie Lowrey Sanford Graves, a missionary-educator for forty-seven years in China, loved the Chinese people and worked hard to establish schools for the girls and women. She was also highly involved in her church, her husband's work, and a home for blind girls. When she resigned from her life's work, Pei Tao Academy, due to a disagreement with the home board's directives, she remained in China, continuing to serve those she loved until she went blind and could no longer work. Mary Raleigh Anderson, a teacher-writer and Mrs. Graves' niece, also had a vision for developing educational facilities for Chinese women. However, when she resigned for the same reasons, she left China, continuing her work in education and wrote *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, an excellent history of Chinese missions and Protestant girls' schools. To understand the ladies in a personal way, I read archived

⁸ Linda Benson, "Missionaries with Attitude: A Women's Mission in Northwestern China," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29, no. 4 (October 2005): 185.

letters, financial statements and papers located at Blue Mountain College in Blue Mountain, Mississippi (both ladies' alma mater), and at the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives in Nashville, Tennessee. Reading personal letters of these women, in addition to secondary information, gave me a peek into their personalities that I would not have gotten otherwise, as well as their conflicts with the Home Mission Board.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GIRL'S SCHOOLS

The missionary thrust in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an effort to evangelize China and introduce Western culture. The initial evangelistic tool was preaching, and some felt that "The Great Commission" commanded by Jesus should be limited to a simple gospel presentation.⁹ Others disagreed and saw a great need for education as a way to open the door for more evangelistic opportunities. First, it was a way to instruct new converts by teaching them to read the Bible and learn Christian beliefs. Second, by learning the tenets of the faith, new converts would have the tools to combat other religions.

Although considered unworthy of educating by Chinese society, Christian missionaries recognized Chinese girls and women as a potential force for Christianity. Wanting to help the women rise out of their lower class status, they believed that Christian education was one of the ways to accomplish this goal. Little did they know that their initial foray into Chinese girls' education would have a far greater impact than

⁹ Matthew 28:18-20 (New International Version). The Great Commission says: "Then Jesus came to them and said, 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore, go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.'"

simply evangelization; it would have a lasting impact on Chinese women's history.¹⁰

Kwok Pui-Lan, a well-known scholar in Asian feminist theology, asserts that the "single most important contribution of Christianity [to China]was female education."¹¹

Modern Chinese women are unquestionably different from their counterparts a century ago. What happened to change their approach to life? Some scholars attribute the change to education and modification of the Confucian ideology.¹² However, unless one looks at specific incidences, such as schools and individuals, false generalizations can be assumed. One could assume the changes occurred simply because of time and modernization. Marxist historians attribute social changes brought about by missionaries as tied only to Western expansionism, but there is clear documentation that the Christian mission schools tremendously influenced many of these changes.¹³ To substantiate this influence, the use of quantitative information and case studies in the area of mission education is important. Liu asserts that missionary education not only influenced but also shaped the modern Chinese women's school system. Through the analysis of quantitative tables and case studies discussed later in this paper, the reader will see how the missionaries' insistence on education for girls, as well as the development of personal relationships, helped overcome cultural barriers and made possible unprecedented opportunities for women.

¹⁰ Ryan Dunch, "Mothers to Our Country': Education and Ideology among Chinese Protestant Women, 1870-1930," in *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity and Social Mobility*, ed. Jessie G. Lutz (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 327.

¹¹ Pui-Lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity: 1860-1927*. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 164.

¹² Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, 3.

¹³ Xiaoyi Liu, "The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911)," *Education Journal* 37, nos. 1-2 (Summer-Winter 2009):99.

Reaching the Chinese population with the gospel of Jesus Christ was an extremely slow, difficult process.¹⁴ There were many barriers to overcome, including language, culture, as well as the Chinese philosophy, Confucianism. Preaching and handing out tracts were initially the main method of evangelism.¹⁵ Eventually, however, missionaries realized they needed another method when they noticed that the Chinese were selling the tracts for waste paper, using them to wrap things, or making shoe soles. Sometimes they even sold them back to the Chinese printer to be resold to the missionaries.¹⁶ Literacy was important to Christianity because Christians needed to be able to read and study the Bible for themselves. As a result, missionaries turned to education as a way of evangelization as well as improving literacy for girls. Although there were a few wealthy Chinese women who were literate before missionaries went to China, the vast majority of them had no education. An ancient Chinese maxim states, “It is a virtue for a woman to remain ignorant.” The *Chinese Repository*, a periodical published in Canton by protestant missionaries, reports in 1834:

It is an important question, what can be done for the improvement of the circumstances of Chinese females in the present state of China Proper? There are systems of exclusion and seclusion there, which prevent at present much being actually attempted for their improvement. Moreover, the sex is generally and greatly despised. Very few females in China can either read or write.¹⁷

Aware of the isolation, oppression and male domination Chinese women experienced, female missionaries committed themselves to making positive changes. However,

¹⁴ The Gospel means the good news. It is the message that Jesus died on the cross for the sins of the world and will return again to take those who believe, Christians, back to heaven with Him.

¹⁵ Gospel tracts were brochures that told the story of Jesus’ life and death, explaining how the Chinese could become Christians.

¹⁶ Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges: 1850-1950*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971), 14.

¹⁷ “Schools for the Education of Chinese Girls.” *Chinese Repository* 3 (1834): 42-43.

because the male-female relationships were so different from those in the West, i.e., Chinese women were forbidden to talk to men, missionaries had to be careful in how they approached the women so as not to “rend the social fabric.”¹⁸ The solution was to create missionary schools for girls staffed by missionary wives and as time progressed, by hundreds of single women who came to China to help teach in the schools. Sending single women, based on a policy called “women’s work for women,” argued that single women, free from the responsibilities of husband and children, could enter the homes of the Chinese women and teach in schools.¹⁹

Creating schools for girls was revolutionary because in nineteenth century China, girls were considered incapable of learning.²⁰ Education for Chinese women was unimportant because, since daughters were destined to be housekeepers and mothers in their husband’s households, education seemed a waste of money.²¹ Only boys could pass the civil service exam and work for the government, and girls had no other occupational outlets. Li Li notes that in 1800, more than eighty percent of the women were illiterate.²² The women who could read were part of the gentry class and these women, suspicious of foreigners, were kept secluded by tradition.²³ William Dean wrote in 1859:

[Schools] are for the benefit of the boys, for while Chinese writers speak of the importance of female education, we never see their girls in school, and have seldom seen a Chinese woman who could read

¹⁸ Pui-Lan Kwok, “Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel H. Bays, (Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1996), 195.

¹⁹ Jonathan D. Wells and Sheila Phipps, eds, “Myth, Memory and the Making of Lottie Moon,” (Regina Sullivan), *Entering the Fray: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the New South*, (Columbia, MO:University of Missouri Press, 2010), 16.

²⁰ Valerie Griffiths, “Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational appropriation of a female mission idea,” *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 4 (September 2008):523.

²¹ Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 130.

²² Li Li, “Christian Women’s Education in China in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” Paper. Salem State College, Salem, MA, n.d., 5.

²³ Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, 91.

her own language. The chief stimulus for boys to study—the prospect of office and wealth—is taken away from the girls. Again, parents would be slow to put their daughters under the instruction of a man, and it is rare if ever they find a woman who has the learning and the leisure to teach. The very few Chinese women we have met who could read, have learned from a brother or a father at home. A few are instructed in music and embroidery, but the great mass of women in China are employed in the servile occupations of home or the toils of the fields.²⁴

It was not simply in defiance of tradition that they offered formal academic training for girls that was nonexistent, the schools directly challenged the existing social structure of the role and status of women.

In the early stages of mission schools, conversion and education were inevitably linked. Learning to read the Bible was a necessity for male and female converts alike. Males already had the opportunity for education, so the missionaries first implemented educating girls as a way to evangelize. Schools were an efficient way of reaching into homes to tell the Chinese women about Jesus Christ. The original goals for education of girls were fourfold: First, gain access to the female population for evangelization. Second, develop a literate group of women who would prove that women are equally as capable as men are and therefore need to escape seclusion. Third, develop Christian wives and helpers for the Christian Chinese men who would eventually emerge. Finally, educate Chinese women who would be a catalyst to help make the social changes needed for a Chinese Christian society.

Many of the first schools were set in the missionary's home; however, attracting students was difficult. Due to the Chinese social system, there was no demand to educate girls, so fathers thought it a waste of time to send their daughters to school. As a result,

²⁴ William Dean, *The China Mission*, (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1859), 22-23.

missionaries turned to abandoned girls, street children, excess daughters, and beggars to fill their schools.²⁵ Often, in the early years, missionaries would have many children promise to attend but only two or three show up. Hence, the missionaries had to provide all the necessary supplies such as clothes, food, and books to the students. These early endeavors, however, were key to the ultimate impact mission education would have on Chinese women. Educating lower class girls at first, set the groundwork for later years when upper class Chinese wanted to educate their daughters, by establishing trust and the value of education. Roberts stated that, “Only when missionary women began raising girl orphans or founding girl’s schools was there an infrastructure that could support lower-class female converts in Asia by providing a counter weight to traditional family control.”²⁶

Mary Ann Aldersey, sent out by the London Missionary Society, was the first female missionary (single or married) to mainland China (Ningpo).²⁷ She founded the first girls’ boarding school in 1844. Facing protests, allegations and hostile demonstrations, she found out how difficult it was to convince Chinese parents to send their daughters to school. In desperation, she offered money and some parents agreed to let their children attend her boarding school. She also took in orphans and excess daughters; by 1852, Aldersey had forty students.²⁸ Aldersey was very successful; another missionary wrote that “the impression she made on the Chinese....was

²⁵ Jessie G. Lutz, ed., *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*. Studies in Missionaries and Christianity in China, edited by Kathleen L. Lodwick. (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 401.

²⁶ Dana Robert, “World Christianity as a Women’s Movement,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 30, 4 (October 2006): 184.

²⁷ The London Missionary Society was a non-denominational mission society formed in England in 1795.

²⁸ Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Land: British Missionary Women in Asia*, (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 128.

profound.”²⁹ Two of her students went on to become the first Chinese female schoolteachers in China. However, it would take years before the elite Chinese trusted the missionaries with their own girls.

The first schools had “no well-established educational policy. Each school was opened as the exigency of the occasion demanded and the funds of the home board permitted.”³⁰ The mission education system became more organized, however, with the influx of single women missionaries who were teachers in the West and had been through pedagogical training. Missionary wives had run the schools in the beginning but as more time elapsed, they found that wives did not have enough time to run the schools efficiently. Women were needed “who could give their entire time to teaching.”³¹ Ministering in the rural areas, they developed an educational system with three levels: elementary-level “day schools,” boarding schools in the county seats (girls’ boarding schools were located at the mission stations), higher level boarding schools and ultimately colleges in major centers and schools for adult women.³² Most of the schools, other than the very elementary day schools, were boarding schools because girls could not be seen walking from home to school in the streets. As a result, the missionaries had years in which to teach and influence the girls. Prior to 1897, most mission schools were attended by Christians who eventually married pastors or became teachers or “Bible

²⁹ Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Land: British Missionary Women in Asia*, 129.

³⁰ Alice Henrietta Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy; the Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China, 1807-1937* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1946), 16. All denominational schools operated their schools like this in the beginning. Later on, various denominations ran their schools using different methods. Sometimes it depended on how much money the home board could send.

³¹ Gerald Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1998), 61.

³² Persis Li, *The Seeker: Autobiography of a Chinese Christian*. Trans. and comp. M. M. Church. (London: Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, n.d.), 22.

Women,” who spent their time sharing the gospel with other women or helping other Christian women learn more about their faith.³³

Since the early schools were started solely to convert the children to Christianity, Bible teaching and doctrine was a prominent part of the curriculum. For example, Bridgeman Academy, a girls’ school in Peking dedicated more than three-fourths of its’ day to studying Christian literature.³⁴ Later, mission teachers realized that education could improve a woman’s social status as well as her standard of living, so it had to be more in-depth than simply being focused on Biblical studies. One of Luella Miner’s goals as an educator was to give “girls in China the same opportunity of education that their brothers had.” At the Wei Ling School, Sophie Lanneau (a Southern Baptist missionary) realized her singularly religious emphasis had watered down the school’s educational emphasis. In order to maintain a good academic reputation with the Chinese, the schools needed to include strong academics as well as Christian teaching. For Lanneau, changes included improving the training of Chinese teachers, adding subjects that were more academic and organizing a women’s college to further the girls’ education.³⁵

The missionary schools also instituted Western-style curriculums. As time went on, the Chinese demand for Western learning influenced the growth of Christian schools.³⁶ Increase in single women missionaries also contributed to the growth of girls’ schools. St. Hilda’s School for Girls was an example of a school whose teachers were

³³ Kenneth Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1929), 450.

³⁴ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 16.

³⁵ Li Li, *Mission in Suzhou: Sophie Lanneau and Wei Ling Girl’s Academy: 1907-1950*, (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1999), p. 34.

³⁶ Jessie G. Lutz, *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*. Studies in Missionaries and Christianity in China, edited by Kathleen L. Lodwick. (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 400.

single women and college educated.³⁷ The teachers were examples to the students of what an educated woman could accomplish. While some Chinese graduates of mission schools expressed love and appreciation for the love and kindness shown them by their teachers, others claimed they were too harsh and preferred to be taught by Chinese Bible Women.³⁸ Zeng Baosun, for example, was very close to her teacher and accompanied her to England for further education.³⁹

One of the battles missionaries fought among themselves concerning class offerings was whether to include English language education for the Chinese. In 1881, most American missionaries in China opposed teaching English in mission schools because they thought it “created an elite group incapable of relating to its own culture.”⁴⁰ Chinese pastors, however, wanted a “liberal” education for Chinese girls and by 1883 began incorporating English into their curriculums. When the Foochow Methodists planned to send a Chinese girl, Hu King Eng, to the United States for medical training, the need for English was evident. English must be included if students such as Miss Hu were to acquire Western medical training.⁴¹ The argument continued, but as more Chinese went to America for post graduate work and the government developed their own educational system, teaching English became a priority.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 54. Chinese Bible Women were native women who were educated and trained to evangelize. They were paid by the missions.

³⁹ See p 28 for more information on Zeng Baosun.

⁴⁰ Roberts, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 179.

⁴¹ Ibid, 182.

Even though the first successful mission school for girls opened in 1844 in Ningbo and more followed in other cities, schools did not become a priority until the late nineteenth century when almost every mission center boasted a primary school.⁴² The growth of girls in mission schools increased from twelve schools with 196 pupils in 1860 to 60,000 girls in 1922. Even though the initial purpose of opening girls' schools was to convert the girls to Christianity, eventually they "inaugurated a new era for the education of the Chinese women."⁴³ After the first Sino-Japanese war ended in 1895, China was in "an educational ferment."⁴⁴ Missionary education supplied the "prototype" upon which national educators designed their indigenous schools for women. The first such school, China Girls' School, opened in 1898 in Shanghai during the Reform Movement. Advised and assisted by female missionaries, Mary Richard, wife of Baptist missionary, Timothy Richard, wrote:

At the request of the directresses I, for some time, visited the school once a week, examined them in their progress in English, gave a lesson in geography and other subjects which the then natives staff could not give. Taking Betel's Portable Globe, which shuts up like an umbrella, it was easy to explain the different motions of the earth, and the cause of seasons and eclipses.⁴⁵

Modeled after the McTyeire School, a Methodist girls' school in Shanghai, China Girls School added two missionary teachers. In addition, the Chinese administration decided to follow the mission schools' example and forbade foot-binding.⁴⁶ Although the school only survived two years because of political upheaval, advances in women's education

⁴² Lutz, *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, 396.

⁴³ Xiaoyi Liu, "The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China (1840-1911), 111.

⁴⁴ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy; the Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China, 1807-1937*, 11.

⁴⁵ Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Land: British Missionary Women in Asia*, 130.

⁴⁶ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 85.

were made and as a result, schools opened in other areas of China. "By 1921 the enrollment of girls at primary level was an estimated six percent of the whole."⁴⁷ Missionary schools provided more places for girls than government schools until the 1920's.

In 1901, the Empress Dowager commanded that:

"All existing colleges in the Empire be turned into schools and colleges of Western learning. Each provincial capital is to have a university like Peking University, whilst in the prefectures and districts of the various provinces are to be established schools and colleges of the second and third classes."⁴⁸

In 1902, the Chinese government established its own national educational system and added primary and normal schools for girls.⁴⁹ The mission schools became the missionary system of schools in 1902. Before 1902, there were schools of Western learning and after 1902, there were government schools and mission schools.⁵⁰ The Confucian educational system was abolished in 1905 in favor of the Western model promoted by missionaries.⁵¹ In 1907, the Qing court established a national system of government-supported girls' schools although their directive was to educate girls to become "good wives and mothers."⁵² After the 1911 revolution, the government considered coeducation in the lower primary schools and decided that middle schools for girls be integrated into the national educational system.⁵³ In 1912, because there was such a leap in the number of girls attending mission, private and government schools, the

⁴⁷ Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Land: British Missionary Women in Asia*, 130.

⁴⁸ Robert E. Lewis, *The Educational Conquest of the Far East*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, Co, 1903), 179.

⁴⁹ Ida Belle Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China*, (New York, Columbia University Teacher's College, 1919), 84.

⁵⁰ Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy; the Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China, 1807-1937*, 11.

⁵¹ Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, 64.

⁵² Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, 25.

⁵³ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 131

schools could not accommodate them all [see Table I]. Cohen says that as late as 1911, Protestant schools were the only ones in China where girls could receive an equivalent education to those of Chinese men.⁵⁴ Between 1907-1921, the mission girls' schools increased by 211 percent after the government endorsed female education.⁵⁵ This phenomenal growth illustrates the missionary influence in changing the Chinese attitude towards education for girls by showing that educated women are more of an asset to the family, society, and nation.⁵⁶

Mary Keng Mun Chung concluded that the missionary emphasis on education played a major role in actuating change in Chinese women. She even goes as far as crediting missionary education with establishing the groundwork for the "physical and psychological emancipation of women" which ultimately affected all of Chinese society.⁵⁷ Sun Wenxue considers the Christian girls' schools as the beginning of the women's movement in China.⁵⁸ Although the schools were criticized during the anti-Christian movement as places of alienation, Zeng Baosun, a by-product of Christian education as well as a girls' school principal, defended the mission schools stating:

Early girls' schools were founded by Christian missionaries, on whom so much blame has been heaped in recent years that we are apt to forget this great service they have rendered to the women of China. Mission schools are certainly open to criticism in many important respects, but their attitude towards women has been consistently liberating.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Paul Cohen, *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol.10, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911.: "Christian Missions and their impact to 1900, 583.

⁵⁵ Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*,95.

⁵⁶ Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, 95.

⁵⁷ Chung *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study* ,123.

⁵⁸ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 164.

⁵⁹ Zeng Baosun, "The Chinese Woman Past and Present," by P. S. Teng, in *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, ed., Sophia H. Chen (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 286.

In addition, Chung claims mission schools “awakened Chinese women to their own potential.”⁶⁰ She also held that the Christian promotion of education became an “informal women’s movement” that did encourage emancipation from centuries of subordination. It led to opportunities of jobs and economic independence that only men had thus far enjoyed. Paul Cohen went as far as to say that “tenets of feminism” were found among Protestants in their doggedness to campaign for the “equal rights” of Chinese women.⁶¹ Li Li argues that a weakness of the Christian girls’ schools was its effort to uphold the outdated gender division in society. He said that Chinese girls’ education started a large social movement to promote women’s literacy but stopped short of helping women learn to participate politically in China’s national struggle.⁶² This, however, is arguable because before women could be involved in the national struggle, they had to free themselves from oppression.

FOOT BINDING

Abolishing foot binding was one step towards women’s freedom, although not all missionaries agreed on supporting the anti- foot binding movement. Male missionaries opposed the practice, but “preferred to use moral suasion rather than discipline against it.”⁶³ Women missionaries, however, and the Christian schools actively worked for social reform in this regard and sought to end foot binding for women.⁶⁴ As early as 1872, Mary Porter and Maria Brown’s Methodist school in Beijing only admitted girls

⁶⁰ Chung, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry: An Intercultural Study*, 124.

⁶¹ Cohen, “Christian Missions and their impact to 1900,” 583.

⁶² Li, Li. “Christian Women’s Education in China in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” 11.

⁶³ Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 175.

⁶⁴ Kwok Pui-Lan, “Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Century,” in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays (Stanford:Stanford University Press, 1996), 207.

whose parents allowed unbinding.⁶⁵ This was not an easy position to maintain since other missionaries opposed it as extremism.⁶⁶ However, Porter saw social service as an extension of evangelism so part of her mission as a Christian educator was to “change Chinese society for the betterment of women.”⁶⁷ She wrote:

Mary of Bethany little dreamed how great a thing she wrought when she poured that precious ointment on His person. But it is given us to know that in doing so little a thing as relieving a mangled foot we are doing that for Jesus which he calls this gospel, which shall be preached throughout the whole world.⁶⁸

By 1895, schools began to make unbinding feet a requirement for admission. Calling it “a thing of the past,” the last student with bound feet left Bridgeman Academy in 1896. In addition, mission schools exerted influence economically by refusing to hire women with bound feet as teachers. These actions helped stimulate a social climate clearly stating that foot binding was inconsistent with the new educated Chinese woman.⁶⁹ A surprising result was that when the Chinese opened their own girls’ schools in Shanghai, some also made unbound feet a condition for admission.⁷⁰ Educated Chinese women contributed to the anti- foot binding movement at the turn of the century by distributing literature, writing articles for the *Wàn Guó Gōng Bào* and having informational meetings for upper class women.⁷¹ By 1912, the Chinese government outlawed foot binding. Thus, mission school education played a vital role in social reform.

⁶⁵ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 111.

⁶⁶ Roberts, Dana L. *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 174.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ A. H. Tuttle, *Mary Porter Gamewell and her story of the siege in Peking*, (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1907), 47.

⁶⁹ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 113.

⁷⁰ Margaret Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, 121.

⁷¹ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 114. *Wàn Guó Gōng Bào* was a missionary newspaper published by Young J. Allen from 1868-1907. Its subject matter included political as well as Christian information.

Eventually, the Chinese government accepted girls' schooling. In 1908, Sophie Lanneau found that the Chinese women begged for education. Women's education was "in vogue" in urban areas among the Western-oriented families because it could improve a girl's status as well as her marriage prospects.⁷² In 1911, the missionary John R. Mott, said, "It is Western education that the Chinese are clamoring for, and will have. If the church can give it to them, plus Christianity, they will take it; otherwise they will get it elsewhere."⁷³ By 1911, most missionaries were teachers, with fifty percent no longer doing direct evangelism.⁷⁴ Chinese nationalist reformers took over the cause of education from the missionaries. They asked advice from the female missionary educators as they sought self-sufficiency.⁷⁵ Once the Western model of education brought by missionaries became fashionable, mission girls' schools attracted more elite students. This is important because it shows the influence of the missionaries in convincing the Chinese society that educated women are an asset to both their families and the nation. This opened up a new world for women as education brought opportunities to study in the West and motivation to change the Chinese culture.

HIGHER EDUCATION

After the 1911 Revolution, missionaries continued to spearhead the provision of higher education for women, from high school to colleges and universities. The government, in turn, followed their lead and established more girls' schools. Modern

⁷² Burton, *The Education of Women in China* 191.

⁷³ Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1977), 89.

⁷⁴ Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 10.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 21.

education produced a new type of woman interested in reforming and challenging the ancient Confucian beliefs about women. Women educated in mission schools and colleges were favored as teachers and principals by the government and private schools.⁷⁶

Even after the government and private schools for girls became more numerous in larger cities, the “mission school systems were unique in providing linked networks of schools connecting rural women to urban opportunities.”⁷⁷ For instance, in Gutian County of inland Fujian, at least 97 percent of all the women who earned a high school diploma or post secondary educational degree before 1942 went through the Protestant school system.⁷⁸

The acceptance of girls’ schools eventually led to the establishment of women’s colleges, which, according to Kwok, was the most significant educational development in female education of the twentieth century.⁷⁹ Dong Wang claims it contributed to the “empowerment of women.”⁸⁰ Missionaries opened a women’s college thirteen years before the first female student was admitted to the major government university. Canton Christian College was the first Christian college to admit women students to take classes. It led the way in starting coeducation and higher learning for women in China.⁸¹ Guided by Louella Miner, North China Union College (eventually called Yenching College for Women), added a medical college in 1908. Prior to 1915, Hwa Nan College for Women was Foochow Girl’s Boarding School. Hwa Nan College and Ginling Women’s College,

⁷⁶ Ibid, 96.

⁷⁷ Dunch, “‘Mothers to Our Country’: Education and Ideology among Chinese Protestant Women, 1870-1930,” 327.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity*, 149.

⁸⁰ Dong Wang, “The Advance to Higher Learning: Power, Modernization, and the Beginnings of Women’s Education at Canton Christian College,” in *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity and Social Mobility*, ed. Jessie G. Lutz (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 371.

⁸¹ Ibid. 371

also started in 1915, became prestigious women's colleges in China. The 1919 graduation class of Ginling were the first women in China to receive the Bachelor of Arts degree.⁸² Although the Chinese struggled to catch up, these women's colleges were not "rivalled by Chinese-run schools for many years." Until the 1920's, Protestant schools set the standard for education.⁸³ Alumnae of the women's colleges saw themselves as "an elite group pioneering in the field of women's education," with many continuing their studies in Chinese and Western graduate schools. They were serious students with professional goals conscious that they were leading the way as educated women and setting an example for China. Most of the students entered the field of education as teachers or administrators, however many became doctors.⁸⁴

CHINESE WOMEN DOCTORS

There was a great need for female doctors since Chinese women did not feel comfortable being examined by male doctors. As a result, medicine was one of the first professions to become accessible for women in China. The problem was not recognizing women as doctors but accepting modern medicine in the first place. Once China accepted Western medical practices, women were readily accepted into the medical community. For example, Dr. John Kerr, of Canton, allowed women to sit in on his medical classes as early as 1879 and Hackett Medical College for Women opened in 1899. Initiated by missionaries, medical training for women was and remained under the auspices of mission colleges into the twentieth century.⁸⁵

⁸² Kwok, *Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, 145.

⁸³ Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China*, (Malden, MA:Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 94.

⁸⁴ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*, 139.

⁸⁵ Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges*. 156.

Three notable Chinese women doctors were Dr. Hū King Eng, Dr. Mary Stone, and Dr. Ida Kahn. Dr. Hū King Eng was born into a Christian family who decided not to bind her feet. Her father was a Methodist pastor. After attending Foochow Boarding School for Girls where she learned to play the organ, Dr. Sigourney Trask, at Foochow Women's Hospital, noticed her affinity for medical work and concern for the suffering. In 1844, she arranged for King Eng to go to medical school in America at eighteen years of age. After spending nine years in America learning English and attending medical school, Hū King Eng became the first woman Chinese doctor to practice in China and the second Chinese woman to get an education in another country.⁸⁶ In 1895, Dr. Hū King Eng returned to China where she worked at the Foochow hospital for several years and then in 1899 was put in charge of Woolston Memorial Hospital, a hospital for women and children. At first, the women in the new hospital did not want to see Dr. Hū because she was Chinese. They wanted a foreign doctor. Within a few months, however, she proved that she was just as capable as the foreigners, and patients flocked to her. She treated 2620 patients the first year.⁸⁷ Dr. Hū also opened a small medical school connected to the hospital. The first graduate was her sister, Hū Seuk Eng, who graduated in 1902.

Dr. Hū worked with many poor people in the hospital as well as made house calls, but she was also treated the wealthy upper classes and officials. In fact, she became the personal physician for the women in the household of Li Hongzhang, a Chinese statesman and politician. In addition, the fact that her father unbound her feet played an important role in convincing others to do the same. Burton wrote:

A somewhat incidental but very useful work carried on largely in the dispensary, by the Bible women, is a crusade against foot-binding.

⁸⁶ Margaret E. Burton, *Notable Women of Modern China*, (New York:Fleming H. Revell, 1912), 25.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 43.

Dr. Hū's useful life, and the important part her strong, natural feet play in it, is a most effective object-lesson; and the annual reports usually record a goodly number of those who have unbound their feet during the year.⁸⁸

Respected Chinese women like Dr. Hū were extremely influential in convincing their fellow countrywomen to change the Chinese cultural mores that inhibited them from taking a more active role in their own lives as well as the well-being of China.

Another Chinese woman who became a physician was Ida Kahn (Kang Cheng). Missionary Gertrude Howe adopted her at two months because she was the sixth daughter, and her family was told by a fortune-teller to kill her or give her away. Fortunately, Howe heard about the situation and immediately rescued the baby. Reared by Howe in a Christian home and educated in mission schools, Ida learned English early and was sheltered from the harsh living conditions most Chinese experienced. However, she did not choose to cling to her lifestyle. Instead, she felt sorry for the misery her fellow Chinese endured and decided early to become a physician to help ease their sufferings.⁸⁹ Her best friend, Mary Stone (Shi Meiyu,) also grew up in a Christian home and attended Rulison-Fish Memorial School with Ida. Flouting tradition, her parents refused to bind her feet. Favorably impressed by American Doctor Kate Bushnell, Stone's father encouraged her to become a doctor.

Because of their unique upbringing, Kahn and Stone developed valuable skills that they later used in expanding their medical work. "They synthesized ideas from American missionaries and Chinese reformers to create their own vision of Chinese women contributing to a New China as medical professionals, both physicians and

⁸⁸ Ibid, 50.

⁸⁹ Burton, *Notable Women*, 121.

nurses.”⁹⁰ They were lauded by Chinese reformers such as Liang Qichao who upheld Dr. Kahn as a model for “new” Chinese women. Many articles were written about them in the missionary publications and were considered heroines to many American Christian women.⁹¹ Their example inspired Chinese women to become physicians and opened the medical profession to them. In addition, they were key to developing the Chinese nursing profession.⁹²

In 1892, Miss Gertrude Howe brought the two girls to America to attend medical school at the University of Michigan. In 1896, they graduated and returned to China as medical missionaries, starting work at a hospital in Jiujiang. Two years later, they opened the Elizabeth Skelton Danforth Hospital, a ninety-five bed, fifteen-room hospital. Dr. Stone worked as superintendent for twenty years treating about five thousand patients a month. She also oversaw the training of more than five hundred Chinese nurses, and translated training materials and textbooks. In 1920, she moved to Shanghai and established the Shanghai Bethel Mission eventually developing a hospital, schools, an evangelistic training program, and an orphanage. She also continually opposed foot binding. The nurse program at Bethel was well known for its training program until the Japanese invasion in 1937. Dr. Stone was an active women’s leader in the Chinese church, as well as the first ordained Chinese Christian woman in central China. Dr. Stone played a major role in the development of modern medicine in China and authored, *“What Chinese Women Have Done and Are Doing for China,”* in 1914. Her thesis

⁹⁰ Connie Anne Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation.* (Bethlehem: Lehigh UP, 2011), 2.

⁹¹ Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation*, 2.

⁹² Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation*, 1.

posited that “Chinese womanhood has come to a new consciousness of itself.”⁹³ In addition, her active leadership in the Christian Chinese church was an example for other Christian women to increase their own involvement in church leadership.⁹⁴

Dr. Ida Kahn was known as an advocate for improving the health of women and children. After the Boxer Rebellion, the government in Nanchang asked her to open a hospital. They would only fund it if Dr. Kahn refused to make it Christian, but she would not compromise her faith and relied on raising funds from the people of Nanchang and friends in America. With the donations, she built the Nanchang Women and Children’s Hospital. During times of revolution, Dr. Kahn gave shelter to distinguished political officials. Her patient clientele came from the poorest to the most influential people, including the family of the governor. She even entertained Sun Yat-Sen in her home after the 1911 revolution.⁹⁵ Wisely, she used these connections to further support for women’s health. During her lifetime, Dr. Kahn was effective at increasing the number of Chinese working women in the public sphere. She worked for a China “where its’ [sic] women could serve the nation in a good way.”⁹⁶ She was appointed as the representative of the women of China to the World's Congress held in London, June 1899. Archived at Harvard are a great many letters, papers and lectures Dr. Kahn wrote which detail her work in the hospital and her vision to increase the number of women in medicine.⁹⁷

⁹³ Shi Meiyu, “What Chinese Women Have Done and Are Doing for China,” *Chinese Christian Yearbook*, 1914, quoted in *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu: 1872-1937* (Bethlehem: Lehigh UP, 2011).

⁹⁴ Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity, “Shi Meiyu.”

<http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/s/shi-meiyu.php>.

⁹⁵ Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation*, 242.

⁹⁶ Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation*, 261.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 131.

Because of establishing developmental nursing programs, both doctors made definitive inroads into creating occupations outside the home for women as well as providing leadership opportunities. In her biography of both women, Shemo wrote:

In a way that neither Chinese reformers nor Western missionaries had anticipated, [Kahn and Stone] used the growing prestige attached to knowledge of Western medicine to provide viable alternatives for Chinese women outside of marriage, providing new avenues of economic independence available even to less elite women.⁹⁸

Another emphasis of Kang and Shi was that of Chinese control of medical facilities. According to Shemo, this emphasis was connected to their nationalist ideology that challenged the idea that Chinese Christians were not capable of controlling mission institutions.⁹⁹ They envisioned Chinese women as part of a New China where they could participate as Christians as well as “take their place among the Nations of the World.”¹⁰⁰ Kahn and Stone drew much of their ideology from the American women’s foreign mission movement, which focused on control by women. Kang and Shi’s legacy continues today. Shi’s sister-in-law ran her hospital until the 1960’s and now it is the Ninth People’s Hospital in Shanghai. The current administration of the nursing school at Jiujiang University traces its roots back to Shi’s nursing school at Danforth. Kang’s former hospital is now the Jiangxi Gynecological Hospital.¹⁰¹ More importantly is the legacy they left for Chinese girls and women in medical careers. In the 1920’s, medicine became the most common career for Chinese women professionals which is attributed to

⁹⁸ Ibid, 131.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 6.

¹⁰⁰ Burton, *Notable Women*, 154. This quote was taken from a speech given by Kang in 1905.

¹⁰¹ Shemo, *The Chinese Medical Ministries of Kang Cheng and Shi Meiyu, 1872-1937: On a Cross-cultural Frontier of Gender, Race, and Nation*, 261.

Kang, Shi and other physicians who were trained in Western medicine under the backing of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS).¹⁰²

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

The last important area of influence by missionary schools was on individual women who rose to leadership. Luella Miner asserted that missionaries were “largely responsible” for the growth of Chinese women’s new initiatives.¹⁰³ Early twentieth century biographies (obituaries) of Chinese women who had attended mission schools were said to be “eager to study,” and “performed with distinction in pursuit of intellectual learning.”¹⁰⁴ Education increased the opportunities for them to “break out of the constrictions of their gender and social class.”¹⁰⁵ Through their studies, they not only gained academic knowledge, but they also engaged in extracurricular activities such as sports, clubs, newspapers, and social service projects. All these served to help as they grew aware of their civic responsibilities and became involved in local and national issues.¹⁰⁶ Many pursued education overseas, returned to teach in their alma maters, worked to improve women’s education, and gained greater independence so they were not forced into marriage. Some even gained national prominence. After China became communist, Christian college graduates held important positions such as doctors in women’s hospitals, nursing instructors, presidents of schools, and leaders of the

¹⁰² Ibid, 261. The Women’s Foreign Missionary Society was created by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

¹⁰³ Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 25. Author’s quote.

¹⁰⁴ Jessie Lutz, *Pioneer Chinese Christian Women: Gender, Christianity, and Social Mobility*, 318.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 318.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 320.

YWCA.¹⁰⁷ “By the 1920’s, even though men still outnumbered women in the churches, the first generation of educated Chinese Christian women leaders were running medical centers and becoming principals of mission schools.”¹⁰⁸ Although there are many examples of non-medical outstanding Chinese women leaders to emerge from the mission education system, the following three significantly demonstrate its value.

The first example, Dr. Hu Shiu Ying, attended Xuzhou Girls’ High School, earned a B.A. from Ginling College for Women, received a Master’s degree from Lingnan University, and became the second Chinese female to receive a Ph.D in botany from Radcliffe College of Harvard University. Later she became a professor of botany at Harvard and a researcher at the Arnold Arboretum.¹⁰⁹ Because of the education begun by the mission school in Xuzhou, Ying not only affected the botanical world as a scientist, but also affected Chinese research at The Chinese University and has been an example of the benefits of education for women.¹¹⁰ One of her greatest achievements was producing a file of 158,844 cards for Chinese plant names.¹¹¹

Another model of female leadership resulting from mission school influence was that of Zeng Baosun. Zeng descended from the prestigious Zeng family clan, known for its statesmen and scholars, influential in the nineteenth century politics and literary world.¹¹² First given a Confucian education at home, at fifteen, she was sent to Mary

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Robert, “World Christianity as a Women’s Movement,” 184.

¹⁰⁹ Hu Shiu Ying, correspondence with F. A. Brown, 21 April, 1957; The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Press Release: Professor Hu Shiu Ying, <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ipro/020506e-3.htm> (accessed April 16, 2012); The Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University is the oldest public arboretum in North America and one of the world’s leading centers for the study of plants.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix I.

¹¹¹ Harvard University website, <http://flora.huh.harvard.edu/HuCards/> (accessed April 18, 2012).

¹¹² *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, Stories: Zeng Baosun, <http://www.bdconline.net/en/stories/z/zeng-baosun.php> (accessed March 15, 2012).

Vaughan Christian High School for girls in Hangzhou.¹¹³ Her conversion in 1911 led to further educational opportunities in England where she became the first Chinese woman to receive the Bachelor of Science degree with honors from Westfield College of the University of London. Upon her return to China in 1918, she opened a Christian school in Hunan run completely by Chinese. Named Yifang Girls' Collegiate School in Changsha, the capital of Hunan, she emphasized the qualities of student care learned in England, which would instill a sense of "self-worth, refinement, and morality in the students."¹¹⁴ She was also involved in the greater educational process in China. From 1919 to 1920, she was President of the Government Normal School for Girls in Changsha and from 1931-32 she was Principal of Hunan Provincial Second Middle School.¹¹⁵ Early on, she was an activist for women's rights and status, which motivated her promotion of women's education. Zeng was involved in many other important activities such as politics when she was chosen as a delegate on the First National Assembly in Nanjing. She also represented the Republic of China on the women's committee of the United Nations, wrote her autobiography, and established Donghai University in Taizhong.

The final example of female leadership to arise from Christian schools is Wu Yi-Fang. A product of early women's education, Wu was born in Wuchang in 1893, received a traditional education at home, and then attended girl's schools with Western learning styles. In 1919, she graduated from Ginling Women's College, a Christian mission school that offered full college courses for Chinese women. After earning an M.A. and Ph.D in biology from the University of Michigan, she became Ginling's

¹¹³ Gerald Anderson, 681. The principal of the school was Miss Louise Barnes.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

president, the first female university president in China and remained in that position until 1951. She is famous for political involvement as well, including being one of four women to sign the U.N. charter in 1945. In addition, she served as education commissioner for Jiangsu Province and became the first woman vice chair of the provincial government.¹¹⁶ In 1979, Wu received the "Goddess of Wisdom Award," presented by the University of Michigan for outstanding women in the world.¹¹⁷

CHANGE OF ATTITUDE

Female missionaries initially attempted evangelism from a culturally superior viewpoint, assuming that their own Christian cultural perspective was normal for everyone. Carol Chin called the American women missionaries "beneficent imperialists" to describe what she considers an inherent contradiction in the missionaries' task in China.¹¹⁸ She wrote that the missionaries believed so highly in their own race and culture that their ultimate aim was to educate, civilize and Christianize Chinese women until they were almost American. She said the missionaries came to "change, not to be changed," never considering that Chinese culture might possess something of value or something to teach them.¹¹⁹ According to Chin, their stress on education of Chinese girls and women produced Chinese Christians with a "hybrid cultural identity."¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity*, Stories:Wu Yi-Fang, <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/w/wu-yifang.php> (accessed April 18, 2012).

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Carol C. Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (June 2003), p327.

¹¹⁹ Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," 351.

¹²⁰ Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," 331.

In the nineteenth century, missionaries had no training in cross-cultural studies, as they have now. Those who went as teachers had pedagogical training as well as Biblical training; however, there was no cultural training to help them understand the intricacies of the Chinese culture. Most went to China without studying the language, possibly having read some literature like Samuel W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, but certainly not prepared for life in a completely different culture.¹²¹ Trying to adapt while at the same time learn a difficult language was very hard. Many missionary wives died from disease and some from loneliness and discouragement. Single women seemed to fare better against disease. For those who learned the language and appreciated the Chinese culture, however, they eventually adapted and China became their home. According to Flynt and Berkley, they became more ecumenical, more culturally tolerant, more politically astute and assertive, and particularly for single women, they demanded equal rights in decision making and argued against arbitrary denominational policy.¹²² Many found in China, “a world that demanded admiration.”¹²³ They changed their attitudes from condescension to one of respect and understanding.¹²⁴

Although missionaries did begin their work in China with a culturally superior attitude, they had a genuine desire to help the Chinese women move out of the inferior societal place created by their culture. They educated women to teach and become doctors and nurses, but also trained them in domestic skills to be Biblical wives and

¹²¹ Chung, 92. *The Middle Kingdom : A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, &c., of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants* (2 vols. 1848) written by Samuel Wells Williams was the standard English-language work on China for decades. Though both accurate and disparaging, in 1877 he substantially revised it, changing much of the derogatory criticisms he espoused during his early mission work.

¹²² Wayne Flynt and Gerald W. Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850-1950*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), 19.

¹²³ Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952*, 106.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 106.

mothers, knowing that most of them would be married and have children.¹²⁵ Some believed in educating the women, but limited them to the ideological framework of Victorian womanhood, rather than breaking social boundaries.¹²⁶ Other missionaries viewed Chinese women as powerful forces in society, i.e. “the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world,” important in helping bring about a Christian China.¹²⁷ Thus, educating them was necessary because of their impact in the home and on society in general.

One example of a female missionary who entered China believing herself and other Westerners to be superior was Lottie Moon.¹²⁸ Born in Virginia in 1840 and raised on a southern plantation of “culture and means,” Lottie went to China in 1873, believing the Chinese to be an inferior people. She wore American clothes and maintained a respectable distance. When she moved inland alone to P’ingtu, however, she began to dress like the Chinese women. First, it was because she was cold and her seamstress showed her how the Chinese clothes were warmer in the winter. As time went on, however, Lottie began to identify with them, growing sensitive to their culture and respecting their way of life. For example, when male missionaries came to visit her, she avoided being with them in public because it was not something a Chinese woman would do. Fluent in the language, Lottie embraced the Chinese life as much as possible to show

¹²⁵ Chin, “Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” 351.

¹²⁶ LiLi, “Christian Women’s Education,” 10.

¹²⁷ Linda Madson Papageorge, “The Hand that Rocks the Cradle Rules the World’: Laura Askew Haygood and Methodist Education in China, 1884-1899,” *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians*, (1982): 124.

¹²⁸ Charlotte Digges “Lottie” Moon was a missionary to China with the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board who spent nearly forty years living and working in China (1873-1912).

the people that “a Chinese life could be a Christian life, too.”¹²⁹ In response, the Chinese with whom she lived and worked loved her.¹³⁰

When Lottie returned home to Virginia on furlough in 1893, she spoke to churches and groups of women dressed in her Chinese clothes. She admitted that she had gone to China speaking carelessly of heathens and “John Chinaman,” but after being called a foreign devil and treated cruelly, she taught how wrong it was to speak of the Chinese with ignorance and disdain.¹³¹ She asked,

Isn't it time that we missionaries part company with those who roll this word *heathen* under their tongues as a sweet morsel of contempt? Shall we Christians at home or in mission fields be courteous in preaching the gladdest tidings on earth, or not? It is time that the followers of Jesus revise their language and learn to speak respectfully of non-Christian peoples.¹³²

Lottie's goal to share the Christian gospel with the Chinese did not waver, nor did her desire to see them become Christians. However, her perspective of the Chinese as unnamed heathens did change to a deep love and respect for them. By the time she died in 1912, she was not the same Lottie Moon that went to China thirty-nine years earlier. She said, “I would I had a thousand lives that I might give them to the women of China.”¹³³ For Lottie, China was her home and the Chinese had become her people.

¹²⁹ Cathy Butler, *The Story of Lottie Moon*, (Birmingham, AL: Women's Missionary Union, 2004), 112.

¹³⁰ Regina D. Sullivan, *Lottie Moon: A Southern Baptist Missionary to China in History and Legend*, Southern Biography Series, Andrew Burstein, series Editor, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 102.

¹³¹ Butler, *The Story of Lottie Moon*, 131.

¹³² *Ibid*, 132.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 120.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON THE WEST

While missionaries, such as Lottie Moon, changed their own opinions about China, they also influenced popular opinion in America about China and its people. Unless one has studied missionaries and their intensive involvement with people groups, it is difficult to believe that they would have any impact at all on home policies and understanding. With the present secularization of the United States, it is difficult to appreciate how Christian missionaries could have such a significant effect upon another country such as China. In addition, without knowing how missionaries interacted with the Chinese and in turn interpreted it to the American public, understanding their impact is complicated.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, China was an unknown quantity to the majority of Americans. Although businessmen and merchants lived and worked in China, they did not enter the interior and live among the Chinese like missionaries. However, missionaries did penetrate the interior unknown regions of China and describe it to their American supporters and government. Through their contacts, “missionary women put a human face on foreign peoples and cultures for ordinary Americans.”¹³⁴ Paul Varg said, “Westerners would have known little about China had it not been for the missionaries.”¹³⁵ John Fairbank described the missionaries as the “principal if not the sole link between village China and small-town America.”¹³⁶ Describing missionary reports as “overwhelmingly voluminous” though somewhat low-grade, they gave the most

¹³⁴ Dana L. Robert, “The influence of American missionary women on the world back home,” *Religion and American Culture : R & AC*; Winter 2002; 12, 1; ProQuest Research Library, p. 59.

¹³⁵ Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952*, 120.

¹³⁶ Suzanne Wilson Barnett, and John King Fairbank, eds. *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writing*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985), 2.

complete reports, if sometimes one-sided, about China to the West. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson wrote that “the missionary movement has provided our primary interest in China.”¹³⁷ Hence, while the missionaries evangelized, they disseminated Western cultural knowledge to the Chinese as well as ideas and images back to the West.¹³⁸

There were various methods the missionaries used to convey information and needs concerning their foreign fields. Most missionaries kept journals and diaries published by their denominations. Martha Crawford, a Southern Baptist from Alabama, wrote seven volumes of diaries that covered her childhood through her time as a missionary in China.¹³⁹ Missionary organizations also published magazines with letters and updates from missionaries. Again, Martha Crawford, a prolific writer, sent captivating reports to *The Alabama Baptist* describing the Taiping Rebellion, the plight of Chinese women with bound feet, and arranged marriages. They also returned home on furlough intermittently, traveling, and speaking to various church groups and others about their mission and life in China. Others were involved politically while they lived in China and when they returned home. Before there were departments of East Asian Studies, preachers and their children were considered the experts. The late Kenneth Scott Latourette, professor at Yale and author of *Christianity's expansion into China*, said “In 1928, when the American Council of Learned Societies set up a Committee for the Promotion of Chinese Studies, half the members were either active or retired

¹³⁷ John W. Masland, “Missionary Influence Upon American Far Eastern Policy,” *The Pacific Historical Review*, vol.X, no.3, September 1941, pp. 279-296, 280.

¹³⁸ Barnett and Fairbanks, *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writing*, 2.

¹³⁹ Martha Crawford's diaries are archived at Duke University. They record her experiences as a young woman in Alabama (1845-1851) including Civil War insights and a daily record of her life as a missionary in China (1852-1864).

missionaries, or their children.”¹⁴⁰ Therefore, into the 1920’s as well as up to the communist take-over, many missionaries were looked upon as a wealth of information about China.

One of the first journals published to educate the West about China was *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851), edited by Elijah Bridgeman, the first American missionary to China, who was also a key contributor. Although predominately Christian in outlook, Bridgeman presented information on Chinese history, civilization and current affairs with “considerable objectivity.”¹⁴¹ Bridgeman’s original ideas of the Chinese as backward and ignorant changed significantly after living in China and he found the people “fascinating” as well as appreciating the “great accomplishments” of their civilization, without forgetting his original purpose of converting the Chinese. This balanced outlook, transferred to the *Repository* was helpful in communicating a more realistic picture of China to American readers.¹⁴²

Each denomination had its own publications that included information about all the foreign missions it supported. They included personal letters from the missionaries as well as updates about the church membership, monies, and descriptions about the land, culture, weather and political issues as well as requests for more missionaries. In 1941, there were fifty different societies and boards involved in mission activities in China with \$50,000,000 invested in church, mission, and educational

¹⁴⁰ Charles Horner, “China’s Christian History,” *First Things*, Copyright (c) 1997 First Things 75 (August/September 1997): 41-46.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 94.

¹⁴² Ibid. 94. *The Chinese Repository* is archived at Harvard University and available on the Internet Archive at <http://www.archive.org/details/chinesereposito04unkngoog>.

properties.¹⁴³ Those numbers alone would amount to thousands of people interested in hearing about what their own mission is doing and how their donations are being used. The people receiving the information were from all levels of society, including those of influence and leadership in their communities and professions, and those whose opinions are highly valued.

Women missionaries, in communication with their own denomination's women's missionary organization "was the chief means by which ordinary American women gained information on non-Western religions, cultures and women's issues around the world in the early twentieth century."¹⁴⁴ Once women established their own national women's missionary organizations, they also began publishing their own missionary magazines. These popular magazines of the late nineteenth century "fed the vast network of women's missionary societies" interested in learning about foreign lands such as China.¹⁴⁵ Many local women's groups became experts on mission areas such as China as they studied the magazines and regularly corresponded with missionaries.¹⁴⁶ Missionaries wrote copious letters home to friends and family about their work and personal lives in China, as well as sending letters to mailing lists of church groups and supporters that were copied and widely distributed. One letter written by Janie Lowery Graves in 1878 to the Mission Board described a recent tornado in Canton. She wrote,

A fearful tornado or whirlwind passed over Canton on Thursday,

¹⁴³ John W. Masland, "Missionary Influence Upon American Far Eastern Policy," *The Pacific Historical Review*, vol.X, no.3, Sept 1941, p279 (accessed 4/15/14) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3633924>.

¹⁴⁴ Dana Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home," *Religion and American Culture: R & AC*, Winter 2002, 12, 1, ProQuest Research Library, 77. Eventually, all Protestant denominations had women's mission organizations that published magazines with foreign mission information. See note 152.

¹⁴⁵ Dana Robert, "The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home," 75. For example, the Methodist women published *The Heathen Women's Friend*, Presbyterians' *Women's Work for Women*, and the American Baptists had *The Helping Hand*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 75.

April eleventh causing immense loss of life and destruction of property.
It is estimated that at least ten thousand Chinese have been destroyed.¹⁴⁷

She also included an article from the Chinese paper with more details. She wrote about a flood in August of 1915:

Half of Canton was under water...gunboats and a Standard Oil launch succeeded in rescuing a party of four missionaries and about fifty Chinese, mostly blind and orphan children who were just on the verge of starvation after spending several days and nights on the city wall without shelter or food...Cholera broke out just before I left because the water was so contaminated by human corpses, animals and other filth, and there is no water for the people to drink except what is in the streets.¹⁴⁸

Letters like this invoked both empathy and monetary support as people read it and responded to the needs. Lottie Moon wrote to women all over the South and supplied articles to denominational magazines. The secretary of the Mission Board, Dr. H. A. Tupper, encouraged her to write because she had “the power of making people see what you think.”¹⁴⁹ Because of the influence she wielded simply through her pen thousands of miles away, the Southern Baptist Women’s Missionary Union was formed in 1888 and her requests for more single women missionaries became the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering for Foreign missions, the main resource for financing Baptist foreign missions today. Another item missionaries included in their letters was stories about Chinese friends, women from desperate situations who had responded to the Gospel message. Once converted, they attached themselves to the missionaries as Bible women or servants. Stories about women such as these were important to the people back home

¹⁴⁷ Letter to Dr. H. A. Tupper, Corresponding Secretary of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Dr. Ray, Head of the Foreign Mission Board. August 23, 1915.

¹⁴⁹ R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission*, (Grand Rapids, MI:Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), 1968.

because they personalized the China experience for them and gave proof that God was working in spite of all the hardships.

Women missionaries also wrote books to educate Americans about Chinese culture. For example, Martha Crawford, a Southern Baptist, wrote a fictionalized autobiography called *The Chinese Bride* describing the degradation of Chinese women.¹⁵⁰ Another prolific and outstanding missionary writer, serving in Swatow, who wrote books and stories to educate supporters, was Adele Fielde. Fluent in the Swatow dialect, she educated Bible Women and asked them to tell her their stories, publishing them first in magazines and later in the book, *Pagoda Shadows*.¹⁵¹ She tells the story of Aunt Luck. Betrothed at seven years old for eight dollars to a man she had never seen, she lived with her mother-in-law until she was married at fourteen, cooking rice, feeding pigs and working for the family. She had three daughters, strangling the third girl because she knew she “would be hated for having so many girls.”¹⁵² Fielde also discusses the low regard the Chinese had for women and describes in detail the pain and deformity they endured with foot binding, carried around on the backs of female slaves. A best seller immediately, *Pagoda Shadows* went through six editions and was considered an authoritative reading by students of Chinese culture.¹⁵³ Stories like this were effective at soliciting funds and appealed to American women who felt like they could empathize with the Chinese women’s suffering. These stories, along with Fielde’s other

¹⁵⁰ Martha Crawford, *The Chinese Bride*. This book is mentioned by Wayne Flynt and Gerald Berkley in their book (p. 236), *Taking Christianity to China*, but I could not find any publication information. Martha Crawford’s diaries are archived at Duke University. They include her experiences as a young woman in Alabama (1845-1851) including Civil War insights and a daily record of her life as missionary in China 1852-1864).

¹⁵¹ Adele M. Fielde, *Pagoda Shadows*, (Boston: Rand, Avery and Co., 1884).

¹⁵² *Ibid*, 157.

¹⁵³ Leonard Warren, *Adele Marion Fielde: Feminist, Social Activist and Scientist* (New York:Routledge, 2002), 90.

descriptions about the lives of Chinese women and their social customs, “are a valuable source of information for historians of culture and anthropologists.”¹⁵⁴

In addition to the letters and publications, another method missionaries used to influence public opinion about China was the many speaking engagements by those returning to America on furlough. “No churchgoer born before 1960 can forget the childhood thrill of hearing a missionary speak in church.”¹⁵⁵ Many dressed in the native dress, displayed curios, shared pictures and slides linking their church audience with an exotic world vastly different from their own.¹⁵⁶ Dr. T. B. Ray, head of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, wrote to Mary Anderson as she planned to return on furlough:

I have learned that things which seem commonplace to the missionaries arouse great interest among masses of our people, and that in some simple ways we can awaken curiosity concerning foreigners and foreign missions which will deepen into religious interest by proper cultivation. It seems to me, therefore, that if we can secure from all the mission fields a liberal supply of curios to exhibit at denominational gatherings it will benefit the mission. Be on the lookout for objects of special interest and bring them home on furlough. Keep in mind the fact that certain objects have a story connected with them, and can in this way be used to awaken unusual interest. Write down the story that goes with the object. In addition to the curios, I wish you would keep in mind that the picture machine is more and more recognized as having educational value, and that it can be used to increase interest in foreign missions. If you have a stereopticon of any sort and can bring us some first-class slides which tell a missionary story, we shall be glad to have them. If not, bring pictures.¹⁵⁷

Most of the missionaries traveled and spoke hundreds of times, sharing personal stories about the Chinese people and building a connection. Dr. Ida Kahn, one of the Chinese

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 70.

¹⁵⁵ Robert, *The Influence of the American Missionary*, 59

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Dr. T. B. Ray to Mary Anderson dated October 9, 1916. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

physicians, traveled to America for additional schooling and spoke many times to groups about her hospital work in China. This gave her listeners a completely new perspective on the Chinese “heathen” they had heard about and created a “sympathetic attitude toward China.”¹⁵⁸

Missionaries also had contacts with American diplomats and consuls in China and sometimes the diplomats were or had been missionaries. For example, during the first Opium War, Dr. Peter Parker, an American missionary who was the first full-time Protestant doctor to China, returned to America to inform Americans about the Chinese situation.¹⁵⁹ He talked to the President, Secretary of State, and a Congressional committee about errors in American thinking concerning the war. Supporting England, Parker said the purpose of the war was not to continue the opium trade or conquer China but it was for “indemnity for the past and security for the future.” Other missionaries wrote letters to American religious leaders, mission board magazines and newspapers sharing their opinions about the justness of war and exclaiming that England’s victory had “the truest and best interests of the human race, and China especially.”¹⁶⁰ For the American people who knew little about the circumstances surrounding the war, the missionary opinions were very influential. By the Second Opium War (1856-1860),

¹⁵⁸ Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, 282-283.

¹⁵⁹ Stewart Creighton Miller, “Ends and Means,” in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 253. Dr. Parker specialized in eye diseases and surgery. He set up an Ophthalmic hospital in Canton, although he saw other types of patients and trained Chinese students in surgery and medicine. His hospital is lauded as the beginning of modern medicine and medical education in China.

¹⁶⁰ For many Christians in America, publications such as the *Missionary Herald*, published by American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, published by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society were their window to the world. Descriptions of native customs, history, economic activities, and geographical features and wars were included along with accounts of the influence of the Gospel on these far off lands. In a day before TV, radio, or rapid communications, such missionary reports became prime information for many Americans about foreign lands.
<http://globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/abcfm/the-missionary-herald.html>

Peter Parker was in a senior role as the U.S. Commissioner to China. This gave him even more status to convince the U.S. government to get involved in the war. After the Boxer Rebellion (1898-1900), an anti-foreign, anti-Christian uprising, when 200 missionaries (including children) and 3200 Chinese Catholics and Protestants were killed, some missionaries tried to get their views and opinions out to the public. Interviewed by reporters, they also sent letters to editors, secular and religious, as well as to Washington, asking for reparations. Newspapers such as the New York Herald printed testimonies of missionaries and their experiences. Some of the journalism did not place the missionaries in a very good light as they asked the U.S. to avenge them. According to Miller, "Some of the public statements....were a source of embarrassment to their supporters and spokesmen in America."¹⁶¹ After the rebellion, however, most missionaries simply returned to their churches, schools, and work mourning their dead coworkers but continuing the work they started.

Women missionaries also attempted to influence U.S. government policy by changing public opinion or through direct lobbying. Pro-China Southern Baptists, Methodists and other missionaries lobbied the federal government and spoke to women's groups against Japan during the 1930's. They also criticized the immigration exclusion acts of the 1920's. Women missionary influence stimulated leadership among women and drew attention to the needs of women and children around the world.

¹⁶¹ Miller, "Ends and Means," 274.

JANIE LOWERY GRAVES AND MARY RALEIGH ANDERSON

Janie Lowery Sanford Graves was a Southern Baptist missionary who spent forty-seven years teaching and raising American awareness of the needs in China. Born in Rienzi, Mississippi in 1854, Janie experienced the world of conflict where her father, known as the “fighting parson,” took up arms during the Civil War. Serving as a Southern Baptist pastor and having little money but a strong desire to educate his daughters, her father established the Blue Mountain Female Institute, which later became Blue Mountain College.¹⁶² After graduation, Janie enjoyed a brief (year long) but happy marriage before her husband died of tuberculosis. As she recuperated, she felt called to be a missionary in China. First turned down by the Southern Baptist Mission Board who frowned upon single women going to the mission field claiming there was “no special call for a single women,” she was subsequently appointed by the Woman’s Foreign Mission Board of the North to Chinese work in California.¹⁶³

Arriving in San Francisco November 1881, Mrs. Sanford immediately went to work as an assistant teacher in a school for Chinese boys. She dreamed of establishing a day school for Chinese women but knew she must first learn the language so secured a private teacher and began to study three to four hours a day. She quickly grasped the language and by May opened her school with six or seven children. This gave her an opportunity to go to their homes and contact the women. Janie spent six busy years in San Francisco happy in her work. This time gave her the unusual opportunity to acquaint herself with many of the Chinese customs she would find in China as well as becoming

¹⁶² Blue Mountain College was founded in 1873 by Civil War Brigadier General Mark Perrin Lowrey. It was a girls’ college until 2005 when it became coeducational.

¹⁶³ Mary Raleigh Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, (Mobile AL: Heiter Starke Printing Co., 1943), 164.

fluent in the language. Most missionaries did not learn the language until they actually went to China, but she was, reportedly, the only woman missionary in America who spoke the Chinese language.¹⁶⁴ In 1887, Mrs. Sanford reapplied to go to China with the Southern Baptists and was finally appointed and sent to Canton in 1888. Because of her fluency, she immediately began to teach women and children. Although Janie's work was diversified during her time in China, her main responsibilities were as the principal of the Pei Tao Middle School and in the operation of Ma Kwang Home and School for blind girls.

Early letters from Janie to her second husband, Dr. R. H. Graves, reveal a loving, caring, affectionate woman. Comments from others reiterate the same character qualities. One of her co-workers said of Mrs. Graves, "No other missionary I have ever known has Mrs. Graves ability to touch sympathetically, helpfully and understandingly the individual Chinese and his problems."¹⁶⁵ Mary Anderson said her insight for communicating with the Chinese was based on her intimate knowledge of the Chinese language, culture, and customs. All types of people, including rich, poor, educated, uneducated, high officials as well as servants, loved her.¹⁶⁶ Mrs. Graves used her own money many times to expand the schools (Pei Tao and Ma Kwang), purchase blind girls, support Bible women, and pay passage for new missionaries. Many comments about her referred to her unusual wisdom and sound judgment. She was obviously a woman of high character and loyalty who loved the Chinese people and gave her life to educating the

¹⁶⁴ Mary G. Burdette, *Twenty Years' Work Among Chinese in the United States 1884-1904*, (Chicago: Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, 1904, quoted in Mamie Lou Booth, "The Life and Work of Mrs. Janie (Lowery) Sanford Graves," (master's thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1947), 9.

¹⁶⁵ Mamie Lou Booth, "The Life and Work of Mrs. Janie (Lowery) Sanford Graves," (master's thesis, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1947), 20-21.

¹⁶⁶ Mary Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 118.

women of China. When she left, the Chinese people said the marrow of their bone was gone. She identified with them, giving sacrificially and unconditionally.¹⁶⁷

Pei Tao Academy, established in 1888 by the Baptist Woman's Missionary Union of Missouri, was the first permanent boarding school of the Southern Baptists in the Two Kwang (Guangzhou) area. The Missouri Baptists paid for the original equipment: \$1,200 for land and \$2,547.00 for the building and furniture. Emma Young, the original founder-principal, left China soon after Mrs. Janie Lowery Sanford (later became Mrs. R. H. Graves in 1890) arrived, leaving her the principal's post. She stayed as principal or administrator for 35 years, during which time about four thousand students were under her administration.¹⁶⁸ Through the years, Pei Tao developed an excellent reputation as an educational facility and according to Mary Anderson, was considered one of the best girls' schools in China. In 1930, it became a registered Chinese school with a Chinese president and in 1937, when the Japanese invaded, it transferred to Hong Kong.

Opening as a small Bible School with only two teachers, no fixed standards, no system of grading, and no course of study other than courses in the Bible and the Chinese Classics, Pei Tao had thirty-three students. Twenty-three were girls and ten were women, one of whom was Mrs. Wong, an eighty-two year old woman who had been exposed to Biblical teaching by means of a relative. Poor girls from the country studied alongside daughters of officials and wealthy Chinese businessmen.¹⁶⁹ Mrs. Wong wanted to learn to read the Bible, and thus entered Pei Tai Academy, mastering enough English to read the New Testament. Forty-eight years later, her grandson was the principal of Pooi Ching, a boy's school.

¹⁶⁷ Booth, "The Life and Work of Mrs. Janie (Lowery) Sanford Graves," 20.

¹⁶⁸ Mary Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 106.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 90.

Janie soon added arithmetic, geography, and hygiene. Although she was a true educator and believed in order and high standards, it took years before Pei Tao became a graded school with a strong curriculum. The original building was supposed to accommodate thirty girls and sixteen women, but in 1899, there were ninety-one students, and another building was needed for the women. Following the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, all Christian schools closed for about two years and when they reopened, the student population was smaller. They would have grown very quickly but there was lack of dormitory space. Mrs. Graves began to beg for money to build a bigger school. In one letter to the Mission Board, she wrote:

Sixty pupils crowd our building to its utmost limit and we sometimes have that number with others begging for admission, but the average number in attendance is about fifty. Two or three Chinese teachers are employed and the missionary in charge usually gives the greater part of her time to the executive work of the school and to the teaching of special classes in Bible, geography, arithmetic, physiology, etc.¹⁷⁰

Money was tight as the Foreign Mission Board in America was only giving 500 dollars annually to the school. Although school fees were only one dollar a year, many students could not pay even one dollar, so the school budget was stretched to the limit. In 1907, the entire Baptist Mission moved the boarding schools and mission residences to Tung Shan, an open field about a mile from the city. Again, the school buildings, designed for eighty students were soon overflowing. The women had been moved to another school, but the girls applications for Pei Tao were increasing so quickly that hundreds of students were turned away. This greatly saddened Mrs. Graves and the other teachers. Their goal was to educate Chinese women and lack of space was making it impossible to accommodate all those who wanted to attend. As a result, temporary mat sheds were put

¹⁷⁰ Report of Pei Tao school to R. J. Willingham, Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, 1904.

up (which they used for three years), and a building was rented. Later American friends gave money to build an elementary school, and Mrs. Graves gave money from a small inheritance to build temporary housing and a permanent brick building which connected the two original buildings.¹⁷¹

With the coming of the nationalistic revolution, the school had to reorganize to keep up with the other schools. In 1912, a modern elementary school was organized, the school was graded, and teacher training was added. In 1913, a committee was appointed to unify the curriculum for all of the mission's elementary schools in order to relate their work to Pei Tao's advanced classes. After the standards were raised and English classes intensified, a four- year college preparatory middle school was added.¹⁷² By 1923, it grew to eight hundred seventy-three students with fifty-one teachers. The school was a twelve-year grammar and middle school of graded work with equipment meeting standard requirements and the graduates were accepted unconditionally into colleges in China and America.

In 1910 Mary Raleigh Anderson, Mrs. Graves' niece, went to China as an educator. According to those who recommended her for service, she was "a teacher of unusual ability and character," and "there was no finer primary teacher in Mississippi than she."¹⁷³ When Miss Anderson arrived at Canton, she became a great advocate not only for Pei Tao school, but for Mrs. Graves as well. As assistant principal, teacher, and director of teacher training, she was responsible for many of the positive changes Pei Tao incorporated during the years she served. She consistently wrote letters to the Foreign

¹⁷¹ Mary Anderson, 108. A mat shed is usually a temporary structure with walls and sometimes a roof made of overlapping pieces of coarse matting stretched over poles.

¹⁷² Ibid, 110.

¹⁷³ Letters from M. C. Lowery to Rev. R. J. Willingham, March 27, 1909. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

Mission Board asking that Pei Tao be given equal financial attention as the other schools.

As revealed below, she did not hesitate to speak her mind. In 1918 she wrote about the need for new beds declaring:

For several years we have been asking \$500 for sanitary beds....The beds we are using in these schools would be a disgrace to a county jail. We are asking refined school girls to sleep on old rotten boards laid on wooden horses (like carpenters use)!!! Then, too, the expense and the nerve racking, back breaking labor of disinfecting these beds several times each year is no small consideration.¹⁷⁴

In the same letter, she asked for money to improve the school grounds claiming that the grounds are a marsh from December to July breeding millions of mosquitoes and this “makes our school a hot bed of malaria.”¹⁷⁵ As evidenced by this letter and others, Miss Anderson wanted the best for the school and continued to ask until she received it. It is difficult to perceive of trying to make decisions and communicate such delicate issues by letters that took so long to cross the ocean. However, the Southern Baptist archives located in Nashville, TN, contains hundreds of letters such as this one written by both teachers illuminating the financial and internal problems the school experienced.

Throughout the service to Pei Tao School given by Mrs. Graves and Miss Anderson, there was a great deal of conflict with the mission board over money. Not all board members in the states or missionaries on the field had the same vision of education as they had. But Graves and Anderson wanted their school to be competitive educationally with efficient buildings and updated equipment, especially after the Revolution and the rise of Chinese nationalism when interest in Western education

¹⁷⁴ Letter to Dr. Ray, written September, 12, 1918. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

soared; Anderson knew they must raise standards to compete. In May 26, 1913 she wrote,

I feel very strongly that schools we establish in the name of our Master should be first class schools and that we are not true to Him if our schools are inferior. This is truly a new China and we are in the most progressive center. The educational awakening in South China is the most wonderful thing I have ever known. I would not have believed that they could accomplish in ten years what has been done in less than two. If our mission schools do not measure up to the educational standards required by the government schools, we will inevitably lose some of our best students.¹⁷⁶

Because of Mary Anderson's forward thinking educational philosophy, Pei Tao survived when other schools closed. In 1914 she wrote to Dr. Ray:

[Pei Tao] is the key to our educational work in China, for all of the schools in our field look to Pei Tao for teachers. There is a strong evangelistic spirit in the school. But we must also make the literary work strong. It is simply imperative that we extend our course of study and that we make all of our work more thorough and effective. The Chinese now know something of what a school ought to be and they are not going to respect our Christian schools if they are not worthy of respect from an educational point of view. We must improve our methods of teaching. We are asking for four college educated girls who have also had some training and experience as teachers.¹⁷⁷

Some of her pedagogical program included innovative curricula that motivated students' imagination, experimentation with different learning concepts, and construction of an "indigenous curriculum" incorporating more Chinese cultural patterns and less foreign dominance. She believed that the students should retain their Chinese cultural identity by keeping in touch with their heritage. Obviously as a Western educator, she knew the value of teaching them modern information to enhance their lives, but she also wanted them to maintain the "dignity, reserve, modesty in dress, and gentle manners that were

¹⁷⁶ Letter to Dr. Ray, May 26, 1913. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

¹⁷⁷ Letter to Dr. Ray, July 13, 1914.

positive aspects of Chinese culture.”¹⁷⁸ Classes were taught in Chinese cooking, painting, and the Chinese classics to increase student pride in their heritage. Parents of the school said they chose Pei Tao because, in addition to Western education, “the teachers were preserving the culture of the ancients.”¹⁷⁹

Western education was important and desired by the Chinese. In fact, the Chinese insisted on learning English as “an important instrument of social and economic mobility.” Knowing this, Mary required English be taught in Pei Tao. She believed that mission schools should emphasize health, music, civic issues, international relations, industrial education, and community involvement. In addition, raising students’ standards of living was not far behind in importance, so she included lectures on malaria, how mosquitoes cause it, and public health methods for resisting it. All these adaptations kept Pei Tao competitive and considered one of the best schools in Canton.¹⁸⁰

Anderson believed that The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board neglected the girls’ schools in preference to the boys’ schools. While on furlough, Mary attended Peabody College in Nashville and wrote her thesis on what she saw as the appalling difference in money given to boys’ mission schools versus girls’ mission schools in the Baptist denomination. In 1916, she calculated that the total given for boys’ educational work in the South China field was \$53, 000, whereas the money given to girls’ schools was only \$9,500. They gave six times more for the boys’ schools. She asked, “Is a Chinese boy worth almost six times as much as a Chinese Girl? Untrained Chinese teach the boys but trained Americans teach girls. If we consider the work of an untrained

¹⁷⁸ Flynt and Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850-1950*, 176.

¹⁷⁹ Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 113.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 176.

Chinese teacher worth almost six times as much as the work of a trained American teacher, why do we send American teachers to China?"¹⁸¹ Anderson did not hesitate to speak her mind to the mission board about inequities she saw in the support of women's education. Her goal was to give the Chinese women every opportunity she could educationally so they could return to their homes prepared for leadership in public roles. Many of the letters Anderson and Graves wrote to the Mission Board leaders were firm in tone and requests for help. They believed that because they had been in China and had firsthand knowledge of the political and social environment, they knew what was best for their school.

Both Mrs. Graves and Miss Anderson emphasized the importance of preparing the girls for leadership roles once they left Pei Tao Academy. Some of their methods included: students opening a free school for poor children and a night school for servants in 1912 and starting similar schools in their home villages during the summer break. In 1921, the Pei Tao students began the first girl scout troop in south China. By the 1920's, many students were teaching in rural schools and securing leadership roles in churches. A 1922 yearbook dedicated to Miss Graves showed pictures of students playing baseball, volleyball, tennis, and basketball.¹⁸² Chinese girls engaging in physical education through extracurricular sports was a major change incorporated by mission schools. Initially, introducing physical education into the schools for girls was difficult because of bound feet and because it "offended Chinese ideals of feminine culture."¹⁸³ In one letter, however, Miss Anderson described a Pei Tao Field Day – just like in America – with egg races, needle threading races, beanbag contests and others. She said, "I have not heard

¹⁸¹ Letter to Dr. T. B. Ray. Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

¹⁸² Archived at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, MS.

¹⁸³ Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 286.

any criticism of this and many of our leading Chinese were much pleased.”¹⁸⁴ By 1920, they were competing in a track meet against other mission and governmental schools, in which the winners received a silver cup from Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen. Miss Anderson stated that the school became “the pride of the south China Baptists by the 1920’s,” even though the Board had not funded them sufficiently.¹⁸⁵ The girls who graduated from Pei Tao excelled in many different areas. Some returned home to be Christian mothers and grandmothers, while others went to colleges in China and America for graduate and post-graduate work. Hundreds became teachers in mission, private, and government schools of South China. Many entered medical or nursing school, while a large number helped their pastor- husbands or performed other leadership roles in the Christian churches.¹⁸⁶

In her book, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, an in-depth study of Protestant girls’ schools in southern China, Miss Anderson discussed the influence the Chinese teachers had on Pei Tao. She particularly lauded Mrs. Mary H. Yiep, a charter student in 1888 who remained as a teacher and dean until 1920. “The school’s most rapid advancement came during the later years of her deanship.” Chang Yuan Hsin Sheng, a principal of a government school before she came to Pei Tao, taught the Chinese classics continuing to emphasis the pride of Chinese culture.¹⁸⁷ She listed other names of teachers, many of whom attended Pei Tao and returned to teach. At the time her book was published, 1943, the faculty was composed of Chinese graduates of American and Chinese universities. The principal was Chen Yuan Su, the daughter of a former teacher,

¹⁸⁴ Letter to Dr. T. B. Ray, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

¹⁸⁵ Flynt and Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850-1950*, 176.

¹⁸⁶ Mary Alexander, *Seedtime and Harvest: in the South China mission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1933*, (Richmond, VA: L. H. Jenkins, 1934), 116.

¹⁸⁷ Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 112.

who had graduated from Lingnan University with a master's degree from the University of Michigan. Other teachers are descendents of former students and teachers as well.¹⁸⁸

Mary Anderson resigned in 1923 after eighteen years of service in China, because of a disagreement over "Chinese control of the school, which she favored, and lack of adequate funding."¹⁸⁹ Returning to America, she continued to teach and lecture extensively about China. Later, she wrote *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, an in-depth study of Protestant girls' schools in southern China. She died at 104 in 1982.

Mrs. Graves' other lifelong project was her supervision of Mu Kwang Home for Blind Girls. Although it was not called a school, they offered educational classes and it showed Mrs. Graves' concern for social issues overlooked by the Chinese government at the time. Interest in helping the blind people of China started in 1927 when Dr. Thomas R. Colledge established an Ophthalmic Hospital in Macao. Between 1927 and 1932, about 4,000 patients were treated, returning sight to the blind and saving more from future blindness. This concern continued as other hospitals were built, but also by individual missionaries who started schools, such as Ming Hsin, where the Braille system of reading and writing was taught.

Blind girls were usually condemned to a life of slavery. Born into homes unloved and unwanted because of their blindness, they were sold as slaves, or as teenagers they were taught to play the guitar and sing. Their master dressed them up and sent them out as prostitutes and beggars. In a 1901 support-raising pamphlet, Lula Whilden, founder of the Ma Kwang School wrote:

They select streets composed of shops where the shopkeepers and their apprentices live. They pause before one shop after another,

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 115.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 200.

playing upon the guitar, and enter wherever invited to spend the whole or part of the night. Here womanly virtue is trampled upon. In the morning, the blind girl goes back to her owner's house and the master receives the money secured at such a terrible cost.¹⁹⁰

Witnessing this tragedy for years, Miss Whilden was prompted to help when she was given a blind four-year-old girl in 1892. She bought another one for four dollars who was being sold to pay off debts and four others followed, either given or bought. Unfortunately, at the time, there was no money available for a building, so she placed the girls in the Ming Hsin School where she and friends in America paid their tuition and personal expenses.¹⁹¹

At the turn of the century, a certain Mrs. Henry Taylor of Baltimore became interested in the blind girls after visiting Canton so started a building fund. While on furlough, Mrs. Graves shared the urgent need of a safe and comfortable home for these girls, and through the efforts of the faculty and staff of Blue Mountain College, the home was completed in 1909. Dr. Willingham, the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, did not approve of them taking on the work because the Board was already in deep debt, knowing that once the home was built, it would need to be supported. He consented, however, and Blue Mountain College not only built the home, but also continued to support it. Mrs. Graves continually wrote letters updating the school about the girls and describing their financial needs.

Mrs. Graves and Miss Whilden jointly managed the home until Mrs. Whilden retired in 1914 after which Mrs. Graves directed it until she retired in 1935. In 1914, only thirteen girls, including those rescued by Miss Whilden lived at Ma Kwang due to lack of space and no money for enlargement. Later, in 1917, a wing of six small rooms plus a

¹⁹⁰ Jesse Duncan, "Special Problems in History," Blue Mountain College, 1981, 3.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 4.

dining room was built. Later additions increased the numbers to sixty girls in 1928 and seventy-five in 1935. Mrs. Graves used her own savings to add a small annex in 1930. In one report from Mrs. Graves, she mentioned that four girls left the school as teachers, three teaching other blind children, and one teaching sighted children in a nearby Baptist school.¹⁹² Mrs. Graves also noted that during Christmas two of the girls went to Mrs. J. L. Galloway's home in Macao. Mrs. Galloway (a Southern Baptist missionary) said,

She wanted them to take part in their Christmas entertainment in order to arouse an interest in the support of the Home among their church members. It simply amazes the Chinese to find that the blind can learn to read, write, knit, sew, etc. They have always considered the blind as absolutely helpless and useless.¹⁹³

Knitting was found to be the most practical work for blind girls, and the sales from knitting such things as stockings helped the girls support themselves. All the schools for the blind taught reading and writing using the Braille system that was revised for Cantonese. They also taught music. Many blind girls went into music as a profession, serving as organists and choir accompanists in the churches of South China.¹⁹⁴

Sadly, during the last decade of Mrs. Graves' life in China, she began to lose her eyesight because of glaucoma and cataracts. Her doctors advised her to return to the United States, but she was unwilling to give up her life in China. Though almost blind, she kept busy feeling her way along familiar streets and ground. Refusing to leave, she wanted to die in China where her "life's love and affections were."¹⁹⁵ As a result, Mary Anderson returned to China in 1933 to help care for her, as her eyesight grew worse. She said, "With Mary to be eyes for me in many ways, I hope I can hold out longer here than

¹⁹² Margaret McRae Lackey, *Laborers Together: A Study of Southern Baptist Missions in China*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1921), 62.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 63.

¹⁹⁴ Mary Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*, 275-276.

¹⁹⁵ Booth, "The Life and Work of Mrs. Janie (Lowery) Sanford Graves," 20.

I otherwise could. I don't want to give up work here and rust out any sooner than absolutely necessary.”¹⁹⁶ She was seventy-nine years old at the time. In the summer of 1935, she finally returned to the United States where she lived out the rest of her life blind in Mobile, Alabama, dying peacefully in 1944.

CONCLUSION

Christian mission education for women in China occurred at the perfect period in history. By the time China's social and political environment changed, the Chinese people were ready and hungry for Western style education and a mobility change for women, because it was necessary for China to compete with the rest of the world. Although some view mission education as a hitchhiker of imperialism, the results cannot be denied; it created an opportunity for the Chinese woman to shape a new future for herself.

The missionaries' initial intention was to educate as a vehicle for spreading the gospel. However, by the entrance of single women missionaries, girls' education became important as a separate goal. The missionaries' desire for individual conversion never wavered but they believed the girls' and women of China deserved the chance to find self-expression and fulfillment in their own ways. Gender norms were challenged, and as various women stepped into leadership, they were both accepted and sought after. Although autobiographical information about Chinese women from the nineteenth century is lacking, the facts from the twentieth century affirm the long-term influence of women's mission education. First, they show how the Christian educational institutions led to social reforms for women who used their influence to convince students and

¹⁹⁶ Booth, "The Life and Work of Mrs. Janie (Lowery) Sanford Graves," 25.

families that foot binding was detrimental and needed to be abolished. Second, they proved through their own schools that Chinese women needed education at the primary level as well as at the collegiate level, thus providing higher education for women and encouraging the Chinese government to do the same. Finally, because of their mission school education, many Chinese women distinguished themselves as educators and leaders not only in China, but also worldwide.

As girls' mission education was breaking gender boundaries and empowering women, the missionaries' own experience was changing their arrogant Western views to those of appreciation and genuine love for the Chinese people. Women like Lottie Moon discarded what they read in books and heard from other missionaries by building close personal relationships and accepting cultural differences, thus altering their initial beliefs. In addition, the American people learned about the Chinese people and nation from the missionaries. Private letters, travelogues, diaries, and letters to board members as well as political involvement informed the public about a world and culture of which they were hitherto ignorant, creating interest and sympathy.

Examples of missionaries who took part in the educational growth of Chinese women were Janie Lowery Graves and Mary Anderson. Both worked hard to improve the lives of the girls and women in their schools as well as help them maintain their cultural identities. Although they incorporated Western education into their curriculums, Chinese heritage studies were also important so the girls would be ready to serve their own society and nation.

Overall, the girls' mission education endeavor was an effective global venture. The impact was felt both East and West and no one involved was untouched by the

experience. Liao Fengxian, an alumna of mission education, interpreted the new women's educational process as evolutionary. She concluded:

The task that the modern woman has before her is not the copying of the West here and the East there, but rather of creating a new thing through a deeper appreciation of what is best in both... There is hardly any position or work women cannot occupy, but they all need to have preparation.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Letter from Liao Fengxian, Wellesley College, to Henry Grant, April 17, 1913 and Liu Fung Ling, "The Epic Woman of China," *Ling Naam: The News Bulletin of Canton Christian College* 1, 1 (August, 1924) quoted in Dong Wang, "The Advance to Higher Learning," 380,386.

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TABLE I

The following table shows the statistical increase for all China, 1849-1916, mission schools do not include Catholic schools.

Year		Girls' Schools		Female Students
1849		3		<50
1860		12		196
1869		31		556
1876		120		2084
1896		308		6798
1906		nd		9929
1910		mission and gov't schools		42655
1916		mission and gov't schools		220,705
1922		Mission only schools		60,000

(Lewis 1919:24; Yates, Nelson and Barrett 1878:486; Centenary Conference Committee 1907:783)

ILLUSTRATIONS

Images of Foot binding



Bound feet and shoe

Bound feet and normal feet



Bound feet

The tradition started earlier and spread during the Song Dynasty in the 10th century. Although it was originally banned in 1912, it continued in some rural areas until 1939, when the government ordered women's bindings to be forcibly removed. The process of binding a girl's feet started when she was between the ages of 4 and 9, when the arch of the foot had not yet fully formed. First, each foot was soaked in a warm mixture of herbs and animal blood; this softened the foot and helped the binding. Then, the toenails were cut back as far as possible to prevent in-growth and infections, since the toes were to be pressed tightly into the sole of the foot. Foot binding became popular as a means of displaying status (women from wealthy families who did not need them to work could afford to have their feet bound) and was correspondingly adopted as a symbol of beauty in Chinese culture. It was extremely painful.¹⁹⁸ In 2007 NPR interviewed some remaining survivors. See <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=8966942> for more information and to listen to the program.

¹⁹⁸http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foot_binding

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW with Dr. Shiu-ying Hu

Chinese Botany and the Odyssey of Dr. Shiu-ying Hu

In a brief retrospective interview, a Chinese botanist who remained in the United States, recalls some highpoints of Chinese botany at Harvard over the past several decades. In the interview transcribed below, Sally Aldrich Adams captures some of the essence of recent Chinese botany as it was experienced by Dr. Shiu-ying Hu, a former member of the staff of the Arnold Arboretum. Mrs. Adams conducted this and several other interviews at Arnoldia's request so as to document the contributions that Arboretum botanists have made to the development of botany in China.

In the years when the People's Republic of China was closed to outsiders and foreign scientists could not keep up their contacts with Chinese colleagues or pursue their studies inside the country, the Arnold Arboretum was fortunate in having on its staff a botanist, Dr. Shiu-ying Hu, who could maintain at least a thread of the former association.

Dr. Hu had come in 1946 to study with Dr. E. D. Merrill for three years, and she stayed on to work for twenty-eight more, until her retirement. She still works in her office every day. When Chinese botanists did not dare write to Americans, they could write to her; when they needed books but could not get American dollars to buy them, they turned to her. She provided, at her own expense, the literature they asked for and for several of them paid membership fees in international scientific associations so that they could receive publications. To Dr. Hu, this was a way she could serve China.

"In Peking, in Canton, in different cities, I did that for them. While there was no communication between American botanists and Chinese botanists, there was a slight communication between Chinese botanists and I!" Dr. Hu's English slips a little when she is excited, as she was when she related this to her visitor. "Whenever they needed some literature at that time we didn't have Xerox machines-I photographed them, or I microfilmed, or some I typed, so whatever material they needed in their work, I sent it to them. That has made many people know that there is a Chinese botanist at Harvard."

To go back to the beginning of Dr. Hu's story: In 1934 Shiu-ying Hu went to Lingnan University in Canton (formerly Canton Christian College) as a graduate student in botany, with an assistantship in the herbarium. Impressed that every sheet of specimens had been identified by "E. D. Merrill," she said she wanted to study with this famous botanist and asked where he was. She was told that he was at Harvard and that Harvard didn't take girls."

Just as Shiu-ying Hu got her master's degree, Japan started war with China, and her university moved to a safer area, the city of Chengtu, where West China Union University, also a missionary college, became host to several refugee colleges.

There, in addition to teaching courses in botany, Miss Hu was elected president of the International Women's Club, a circumstance instrumental in getting her to America to study with Dr. Merrill.

The vice president of the club was a Radcliffe graduate, and she sent Miss Hu's application to her own alma mater. When a fellowship offer came through, two other American friends provided money for Miss Hu's transportation. (Her salary from the

university at the time was paid in rice, three bushels a month, and a medium of exchange not readily converted into tickets to America.)

Soon after Dr. Hu graduated from Radcliffe, a vacancy for a trained botanist who knew Chinese plants opened up at the Arnold Arboretum. "At that time, racial and sexual discrimination was very heavy, so my salary was about the same as the janitor's," Dr. Hu said with a smile. "Being a Chinese botanist, I had no business staying in America and not working for Chinese botany. But now in Harvard I was working for Chinese botany, so I felt all right." One of Dr. Hu's projects in the 1950s was financed by a grant from a group of Chinese businessmen who, unable to return to Communist China, wanted to do something for their homeland. Her proposal was for a flora of China, and as the first step, she completed an index to the flora in card-catalog form.

"Many people come and use my file, and that's one of the Arboretum's working tools in research on Chinese plants," she said. The second step would have been to publish the index, but administrative and financial changes intervened, and only two plant families were published, the Compositae and the Orchidaceae.

"That desire to work on the flora of China was never dead," Dr. Hu said, "but I became old, and I said, 'If I can't finish the flora of this big area, I could work on the flora of a smaller area."

To this end, she went to Hong Kong six times between 1968 and 1975 at the invitation of the Chinese university there, and collected specimens while teaching two courses. While in Hong Kong in 1975, a tour was organized for faculty members to see science, education, and technology in the People's Republic of China. With great difficulty because of her American passport, Dr. Hu obtained the necessary permit to go.

"Mao Tse-tung was still alive. No Chinese botanist was allowed to see any foreign botanist." Dr. Hu told her story dramatically. "But I want to see Chinese botanists. How can I do it? If only I can let them know I'm in Beijing, I know they will see me, because they asked me to do so much. I made many petitions [to the Chinese government agent in charge of the tour]; they just won't listen to me."

Without official sanction, Dr. Hu sent the message that she was in Beijing to a botanist friend with whom she had corresponded for years. The messenger was her nephew, who found the man in a traditional bathhouse and received only the message, "Go back." Later that night a girl appeared at Dr. Hu's hotel room and told her to go to the Institute of Botany the next day. Skipping the tour program for the day, Dr. Hu went to the institute and found a party in her honor, as well as the gratifying chance to talk with her Chinese colleagues. Further gratification came the next day as her plane was leaving. T. T. Yu, Deputy Director of the Institute of Botany and a former student of H. H. Hu, came with two other botanists to say, "Please bear our greetings to botanists elsewhere."

In 1977, after Mao died, T. T. Yu asked Dr. Hu to go to China and work with young Chinese botanists. She went the following year lecturing and giving intensive courses in Beijing, Lingnan, Manchuria, and Shanghai.

Dr. Hu made her last trip to China in 1984, when she was the keynote speaker at an international symposium in Hong Kong on Chinese medicinal-plant research and went on to Canton to give ten lectures. She was made an honorary professor at South China Agricultural University in a ceremony attended by the governor of the province and other

officials. A second honor came to her in her own province, Kiangsu, where she was made an advisor of the botanical institute.

She then travelled to Tibet and Mongolia, "... and I went to places that no other foreign botanists were allowed to go. So I have in my file material to write on the frontier of Chinese botany"-both the physical frontier and the metaphorical one, she explained. Dr. Hu is at present writing articles on Chinese food plants and on Chinese medicinal plants introduced into America as ornamental plants and weeds. "Seven hundred of them," she exclaimed. "And I had such a big part!" ¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ <http://arnoldia.arboretum.harvard.edu/pdf/articles/1988-48-2-chinese-botany-and-the-odyssey-of-dr-shiu-ying-hu-interview.pdf>