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ABSTRACT

THE EDUCATION OF RUTH JENKINS:
A Canadian Missionary in China, 1920-27

This project is a study of Canadian women missionaries in Kaifeng, Honan in the 1920s, and their work in the education of Chinese girls. The voice and experiences of one woman, Ruth Jenkins, dominate the account and provide the narrative thread. Using her letters and the reports of her contemporaries, this study explores the nature of the missionary enterprise as it had evolved by this relatively late period, as well as the cultural forces in Canada that drove its participation and maintained it. It traces the complex forces which came together in China during Jenkins' tenure which led to the loss of status of western missionaries and to the ultimate demise of the sizable western Christian presence in China. This study privileges themes of education and career in two cultures of women and finds parallels and links between them. It elevates the significance of the religious sphere and the "social feminism" of missionaries in the expansion of gender roles and in the evolution of more radical feminism in both countries.

THE EDUCATION OF RUTH JENKINS:

A CANADIAN MISSIONARY IN CHINA, 1920-27

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Science in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

May 1996

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Date Apr. 30, 1996

UMI Number: 9713312

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INTRODUCTION
"Adventure for God"

"We are an expeditionary Force moving out into this wild turbulent unfinished world of God's, with a stirring and difficult mission. We are a body of women that is sent. We are going somewhere and our motto can be nothing less than "Adventure for God." Ruth Jenkins Watts

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, hundreds of western women uprooted themselves and became missionaries in China. By the 1920s there were nearly 5000 women, more than half of them single and many college-educated, connected to Protestant mission stations in China, stations which typically included a school for girls. (2) The nature of this social movement and the accumulated influence of these women on their female students and on Chinese attitudes towards women is the broad subject of this study.

By offering education to girls, these women missionaries challenged prevailing social norms in traditional China, where female children, though occasionally provided rudimentary private tutoring, were seldom educated. By 1922, the total number of females under Protestant missionary instruction was over 64,000. (3) Roman Catholic missions also established hundreds of schools for girls in China, adding thousands more female pupils to these numbers. By then, government schools were also available to females, but continued to lag behind the missionary schools in ratio of girls to boys.

Official classical education for qualified males, hard-won through various levels of examinations, had for centuries produced the distinct and powerful upper class of the scholar-gentry and was buttressed by Confucian philosophy. Females were at the bottom of the patrilineal and authoritarian social order. Many were secluded and footbound. The old family system and the subjection of women constituted the most significant context in which western women took up their work in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The perceived "plight" of Chinese females continued throughout the missionary era in China to be the major source of appeal to women and girls in the United States and Canada. Some of the missionary women were themselves among the first female products of higher education in the west. They had overcome at home what they met more strongly in China: a deeply rooted prejudice against educating girls. This study approaches its larger questions by closely examining the mission career and culture of a group of Canadian women who responded to the appeal of "China's unloved daughters" and took up the education of Chinese females in the city of Kaifeng, Honan*. The perceptions of one of these women,

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*Throughout this work I will use the British Postal System spellings for place names in China, and the Wade-Giles system for personal names, in order to mirror as closely as possible the spellings used in my primary sources.

Ruth Jenkins, are highlighted. Her story is used as a narrative thread to access the issues and the times.

In 1920, when this study begins, the missionary movement had reached the peak of its twentieth century manifestations, the Christian institutional presence in China was considerable, and women exceeded 60 percent of the mission work force. There was increasing emphasis on their language training and professional status, based on the assumption that the future was secure. In spite of a long history of Chinese xenophobia, the position of the missionary, as a representative of the west and modernity, had become one of relative prestige in many quarters. At the same time, China was in a state of political and economic instability. The October 1911 Revolution had been followed by a period of weakness in state government: a political experiment had replaced a dynasty in long decline. Disorder filled the political and moral vacuum which ensued. The work of the missionaries of this study was increasingly conducted against a backdrop of crises: warlords fighting for territory, increasing banditry, and periods of severe famine. The missionaries became directly involved in some of these struggles, and, in spite of the protections they had come to expect after the Boxer Uprising at the turn of the century, they were often in physical danger.

Growing nationalism and intellectual ferment among Chinese youth, after the demonstrations of May 4th 1919 and

throughout the decade of the 1920s, including strikes and anti-Christian demonstrations attended by schoolgirls, interrupted the intrusion of western women into China. Missions and missionaries, who of all westerners had penetrated furthest into Chinese life, were among the elements of foreign presence and privilege which came under most direct attack. In 1927, in an explosion of student rebellion and in the military cross-fire of the Northern Expedition, all Christian missionaries were evacuated from China. This study examines the work of the Canadian women missionaries in Kaifeng, and the feminist implications of their presence in China, during these seven tumultuous years.

***

The work of Protestant women missionaries and their impact on females in other countries began to attract new academic interest in the 1980s. To offset the historic attention given to male missionaries and to address issues significant to women's history and feminism, a number of important books have focused on the subject of "women's work for women" and the role of women missionaries as agents of social change in Asia. The majority of these studies are set in the nineteenth century or turn-of-the-century periods of the missionary movement. They have looked across a wide range of female missionary activities and have done so most often from an American perspective. This study engages the

reader in the nature of the missionary enterprise as it had evolved in China by and during the 1920s, adds a Canadian dimension to what was an international story, and concentrates on mission education as it intersected with Chinese society and politics. I examine the motivations, methods, and consequences of this form of missionary activity, particularly as it interacted with rising forces of nationalism and feminism in China. To this end, I have chosen to examine in detail one mission in China, the Canadian Anglican mission** in Kaifeng, Honan, and its women educators. I have used St. Mary's Hall, a girl's school of the Anglican mission in Kaifeng, as a focal point for exploring gender issues, both western and Chinese, as they intersected at this high point of political events.

The selection of Kaifeng and St. Mary's Hall, as well as the Canadian elements in this study, have their origins in the letters of my mother, Ruth Jenkins (1894-1985), who was one of the single women missionary-teachers in Kaifeng during this period and principal of St. Mary's Hall during 1926-27. Her extensive letters to her mother from both China and Japan (1920-40), which have been in the public domain since 1983 (National Archives of Canada), are an unusually rich source of information about the daily life of ordinary women missionaries. Faithfully executed every

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* I use the shorter "Canadian Anglican" to refer to the Church of England in Canada.

Sunday, the letters are voluminous, and they are the more valuable because women lacked ordination and executive rank and so their work typically went unrecorded in the official record and in histories based on that record. Ruth Jenkins' perceptions and attitudes are given considerable attention, both as illustrative of women's work and experience in the period and for their own sake as the life testimony of an intelligent and industrious observer. The letters and reports of Jenkins' female colleagues are also used extensively to add their insights into the strategies and cultural reactions of women missionaries engaged in the education of females in China during a period in which these Canadians were directly challenged by anti-Christian and anti-foreign nationalism.

As a smaller and newer nation, Canada's entry into foreign missions began later than the British or American and was heavily influenced by these models, but Canada's missions also represent a story unique to that country. In proportion to their country's population, Canadian missionaries eventually outnumbered their British and American colleagues.{4} Interest in and support of missions persisted in Canada after they had begun to decline in the United States. Ruth Jenkins and her colleagues' identity as Canadians in China, and the implications of being at the same time British subjects, are explored both in personal terms and in the context of Chinese anti-foreignism. The

cultural factors which helped to attract Canadian women to the mission field and to sustain their work, and the most distinctive policies and present-day legacies of the Anglican Diocese of Honan are examined in this study.

It is not the purpose of this study to focus on Anglicanism as such, although Anglican ties to the Canadian establishment and to the world-wide Anglican communion distinguished the Chinese mission of the Church of England in Canada both from other Canadian missions (of the three major Canadian Protestant missions in China, the others being Methodist and Presbyterian until their union to become the United Church of Canada in 1925, the Anglican mission was the smallest) and from the other missions in Kaifeng. The Canadian Anglican mission co-existed in Kaifeng with other Christian groups, including the international China Inland Mission, the American Southern Baptists, American Free Methodists, the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Young Men's Christian Association of China (Y.M.C.A.). Late in 1920 the first native American Roman Catholic community, the Sisters of Providence from St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, sent sisters to Kaifeng to form a mission; German and Scandinavian Lutherans were in nearby Kweiteh. This international and multi-denominational aspect of the mission field at times led the Anglicans to compete and at other times to collaborate in the delivery of services to the Chinese of the area.

Kaifeng was the capital of Honan province in north-central China. Honan province was one of the last areas in China to be opened to western and Christian influences: the city of Kaifeng was closed to missionaries until 1900. An ancient and industrial city, Kaifeng had been the seat of the Chinese empire during the Sung dynasty (960-1126), and its strategic location near the junction of the Grand Canal and the Yellow River continued to make it a center of interregional trade and a place of urban concentration.

Kaifeng's desirable location was not lost on the ambitious leaders of the first and only Canadian Anglican mission in China, which began its work in Kaifeng on March 15, 1910. Kaifeng was believed to be an ideal location for its headquarters, and for extending to adjacent counties the work of the mission's chapels, schools and hospitals. By the end of 1911, the Canadian mission had two sites in Kaifeng: one in Nan Kuan suburb, a district just south of the city wall, and the other in the heart of the city. Medical facilities, including a large hospital, were later located in the nearby city of Kweiteh.

The Canadian mission was led throughout the period of this study by a controversial and authoritarian bishop, William C. White, who stressed both educational work and the development of a strong indigenous Christian church, staffed with Chinese clergy. White's conception of the projected mission reflected the changing emphasis that was beginning

to be introduced into mission programs, though more emphasized here than in many: in place of the evangelical goal of saving souls, the Canadian Anglicans sought to educate a Chinese Christian community, which would itself administer the church and spread the gospel to their compatriots. Despite his ideal of Sinification which his staff embraced, Bishop White had volatile relations with his staff in the early days of the mission. There was a serious attempt in 1915 by the missionaries to have him removed, but he prevailed. His arbitrary use of authority, and the various strategies the women used to negotiate their objectives despite the bishop, were a further part of the social context into which new women missionaries such as Ruth Jenkins integrated themselves.

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There is no consensus among historians today regarding the final legacy of Christian missionaries in China. To offset the self-congratulatory claims of the early missionaries, there has been a marked tendency by scholars of China to discount missionary writings, and to find internal rationales and interpretations for Chinese advances. To some modern authors, in the total scheme of things in Chinese society, the Christian impact appears to have been negligible, though there remain 5.5 million Protestants in China today, and Christianity is reportedly experiencing a current "boom".(5) For many observers,

writing in the secular spirit of levelling revisionism, the missionary intrusion, with its inherent attitude of cultural superiority and its imposition of religious values, remains perhaps the most odious aspect of Euro-American imperialism. This revisionism has left a residual cry of "orientalism", not least among feminists. In American academia, the more complex relationship of missionaries and Chinese is being recovered. In Canada, at least in traditional circles, a few well-known missionary leaders have remained heroes and the Sino-Canadian relationship of this period remains a thing of pride.

In their assessments of the missionary era, western historians have sometimes acknowledged in passing the pioneering work of women missionaries in China in educating Chinese women, in asserting equality for women, and in various areas of related social reform, such as the abolition of arranged child-marriages and the anti-footbinding movement. But, until the 1980s, the women's missionary movement was not given serious scholarly attention. Until female historians, such as Hunter, Kwok, Garrett and others, began the task of analyzing more closely the work of women missionaries as agents of social change in China, "women's work for women" was understated or trivialized. The work of these women has begun to remind North America about this feminist inter-cultural phenomenon.{7}

Ginsberg, Hill, and Brumberg are among those who have helped to place women missionaries and women's missionary societies in the context of women's history. (8) They have demonstrated convincingly the central importance of the women's missionary societies both to the foreign missionary movement as a whole and to developing public roles for women.(9) These societies were the largest of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century women's crusades in both the United States and Canada. The work of such organizations as the Woman's Auxiliary of the Canadian Anglican Church, for example, was carried out by a class of capable women who handled sizable budgets as they recruited, funded, and published the accounts of women missionaries. It represented one of the most important ways in which the religious sphere provided women with opportunities for development during this period. The present study is a context-specific exploration of this notion, emphasizing both the mission "career" and the ways that, within the mission sphere, western women achieved advances both for themselves and their foreign "sisters". This work describes parallels and links between Canadian social feminism and developments in Chinese feminism. It shows how the missionaries carried many of the same methods and institutions of their own training directly to the women of China, creating within the religious arena a feminist training ground.

This study neither exalts missionaries nor denigrates their mission. Rather it attempts to create a feminist portrait of the missionary era of the 1920s and to strike a balance in appraising women's achievements and failures in a Chinese context. Specifically, it is a study of feminism and nationalism in two contexts, and where they meet at Kaifeng. It argues that the western effort to educate Chinese girls had far-reaching consequences, both intended and unintended, and that, in the general reaction against missionaries, these consequences have been understated or ignored altogether.

Positioning my self

"A woman stands with one hand grasping the generations that have gone before and with the generations to come. It is her common destiny with all women." Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai

Part of the contemporary critique of the ideal of an impersonal, objective knower is an emphasis on personal compensation, on making one's position and assumptions explicit from the outset and their expression part of the scholarly exercise. The task of the scholar is not merely to elucidate the themes and elements her data suggests, but to join in a professional and personal self-examination of the premises and perspectives which are embedded in the work she produces. As Joan Burstyn has written, "...the attempt to find generalisable social laws, valid for all time, has

lost its appeal. Now we have to be more modest in our interpretations, accept the fragmentation of value systems, and take into account the 'place we are at' as we write."{8}

In the social sciences, the recognition of the limitations of "objective" knowledge has led many scholars away from purely quantitative methods towards qualitative approaches which recognize the place of the observer in the processing of meanings, and which emphasize context and inductive reasoning. They argue for the value of partial, "situated" accountability instead of moral neutrality. For, as one author has pointed out, "Above all, rational knowledge does not pretend to disengagement: to be from everywhere and so nowhere, to be free from interpretation, from being represented, ..." {9}

Particularly, with the advent of post-modernism and post-structuralism, there is a revival of epistemological awareness of perceptual relativism and a new emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality. The current preoccupation carries with it an insistence upon the unmasking of hidden meanings embedded in communication, particularly those which reveal relationships of power. This process is linked to a political agenda of its own, that is a move to de-mystify hierarchies of dominance which silence outsiders or obscure diversity.

Feminist scholars, both in their demands to be heard and because of their fundamental concern with the power

relationships in male dominance, participate in both the drive for recognition of plural perspectives and in the ideology of de-constructing power hierarchies. Both elements of change in academia, and feminist scholarship itself, represent a kind of democratization process in choices of subject and methodology.

But among feminist authors, there is wide acknowledgement that women are not universally the same, nor is their oppression equal, that there are important differences of culture and experience, particularly those which relate to race and social class.

The problem becomes particularly complex for the historian who "speaks for" other women across time, or who attempts to cross cultures, to describe events and portray issues in more than one society of women. The special difficulties of portraying women in the frequently dichotomized East-West cultures have been accented by the critiques of Edward Said and others. They have pointed to the ethnocentric distortions which have occurred in western portrayals of the Orient, and the alien meaning systems which have been imposed by sinologists, missionaries, anthropologists and writers who themselves represented the dominant culture. {10} This new sensitivity to plural truths, and to the dangers in speaking for others, has led to much ethical soul-searching by contemporary scholars, and, in my view, to unresolved philosophical issues

regarding the nature of the self and individual accountability.

In taking up a study of Canadian women and the education of Chinese girls, I focus on gender issues in a cross-cultural context. In so doing, it has become imperative that I address the question, what is my social location? How might my social characteristics and identity affect a study I conduct?

Issues of subjectivity are further complicated by my particular use of sources in this study, that is the foregrounding of the letters of my mother, Ruth Jenkins. I cannot pretend to be a disinterested author. My use of evidence suggests "a complex web of relationships, loyalties, and demands." (11) It involves two socially constructed subjectivities, two levels of sub-text, those embedded in the medium of her writing and those in my writing. What was her social location, and how are both her perspective and mine connected in the "lens" I bring to the data? (12) Will my relationship to her prejudice my account? Will I simply be re-inventing western imperialist attitudes and western images of Chinese women?

Social location usually begins with identification of race and social class. Additional variables in my case, such as nationality and age impinge on my analysis. But, as others have found, locating oneself as a member of groups can be problematic. Linda Alcoff points to the difficulties

in defining the boundaries of membership. (13) I was born in Japan to a Canadian mother and an English father. Their racial background of German, Scottish and English, places me squarely in the Anglo-Saxon camp. However, a closely related consideration, my national identity is confused by many geographical moves, from Japan to widely disparate parts of Canada, England, and the United States, including residence in many different kinds of societies within these nations. Although I now pass as American, my history and values come from many sources, some quite untypical of the American experience. This background has quite obviously led me to the part of my study which reaches beyond American historical boundaries in the experiences of women.

But the real issues which drive this exercise in group-identification are those which question privilege and domination. Certainly, I am not racially oppressed. I have, however, experienced the assumptions of Americans that their history and world are the ones which count, and have frequently experienced the negation of my history as different. In most major geographic and political arenas, Canadians are quite clearly marginalized, or simply assumed to be the same as Americans. Canadians have not typically been dominant, though on their own turf their attitudes can be complacent. My perspective, then, is not that of an insider. Though not a victim of racial oppression, I bring to my account some understanding of the nature of national

arrogance and respect for the particularity of experience.

The issue of cultural dominance is an interesting one. In China, the missionaries were not, of course, part of the dominant culture; the Chinese were. My protagonists were part of a small group of foreigners in a large Chinese city in north-central China. The paradox of the missionary position was that while they were in numbers inconsequential, a tiny minority in an enormous society, the missionaries were seen as, and felt themselves to be, ambassadors of a superior western culture and agents of progress. In the period of this study, their religious rhetoric was softer than that of earlier missionaries, not emphasizing "fire and brimstone" or damnation of the heathen but rather the love of God for all his children. Their goal was to help bring about the Kingdom of God, not the kingdoms of the west. Yet missionaries like Ruth Jenkins carried alongside this religious vision the view that progress in China lay in the adoption of western democratic methods and the rule of law. Christianity, democracy, and social feminism were bound together in their notions of bringing freedom to Chinese females, and were mixed together in their message of the worth of the individual girl.

Perhaps the variable of most significance in considering my position and its effect on my work, is that of age, or my location in time. In terms of my age as a new scholar, I am an "outsider within", and because of the

advanced age of my mother when I was born, I stand in a curious place, between generations and cultures and time. So I wish to take the longer view. Because of my unusual connection across the generations of my foremothers - just four since 1837 - I feel compelled to rescue the historical lives of women from the manipulation of contemporary theorists. Herein lies my primary bias. Women in general and, in this case women missionaries, are seen by me to be more progressive, more complex, and more activist than many accounts would have them prior to the 1960s. Not only do I want to add-in women to our herstories, but I want to acknowledge their enormous accomplishments.

Is this because Ruth Jenkins was my mother? I would say, yes, but my work about Ruth Jenkins is also a resistance to over-characterization of women by historical period or over-simplification of women by feminist theory. In regard to Ruth Jenkins and other women missionaries in China, this is not a sentimental or uncritical account, but I take real issue with those who make unexamined accusations against them and offer ideological generalizations about accomplished individuals.

In what ways would this work be different were Ruth Jenkins not my mother? Perhaps I would not feel as strongly about either the injustice of gender inequalities or the self-righteous attitudes of those who make missionaries into cardboard figures. It is because I witnessed Ruth Jenkins'

abilities and accomplishments and saw them take a back seat to those of males; and it is because I am personally cognizant of the daily work and conflicts in the real lives of missionaries that I attempt to put a more humanized and feminized account forward.

When Ruth Jenkins in her elder years first wondered what to do with her old letters from China and Japan (which had been saved by her mother), none of her children were particularly interested; all were involved in their own lives. When she shared the letters with the author Alvyn Austin who reviewed them in preparation for his book Saving China, and later when the letters, found bundled in a bread box, were placed by a cousin in the National Archives of Canada, again none of us took particular notice. In taking up her letters now I wish to rectify that indifference and attempt a more complete picture of Jenkins' character than was possible in the context of Austin's large project. (14)

My place in the family, born last in my mother's reproductive life, has meant that in a sense I knew her the longest. When the others were gone, I travelled with and lived with her into her later years, and perhaps because of this I feel a special connection with her and her life as a woman. Although intimacy can blur the distinction between research and personal relations, it is my hope that my personal knowledge has enhanced the reading and helped to explicate the issues and the culture involved.

My relationship to Ruth Jenkins has brought one obvious privilege of a practical sort: it has helped me gain entry to archives and gain access to individuals who have worked in missionary studies and the China field. And when it comes to reading church records, I do so with the insider's understanding of the language. In addition, I am fortunate in having photographs and other artifacts which link me to Jenkins' China experience, and I have other relatives who have current knowledge of China. I consider these connections a particular privilege. They have helped to authenticate the subject.

The place (Kaifeng) and the time (1920s) and the context (St. Mary's School) of my study have been chosen directly because of Ruth Jenkins, but I have also been selective within her long career, focusing on her China years, years as a single, professional woman. I have chosen context and episode in order to privilege other themes beyond Ruth Jenkins' particular life. These are themes of separate academic interest, several of which I engaged in prior to and apart from this dissertation project: changing social thought; educational and religious reform; and cross-cultural contact. I shall consider them all in the context of women's history and the dynamics of gender relations. My choice of topic and the shaping of my project was dictated, in large part, by my interest in these broader themes, and by the decision that the research on these topics was itself

worth doing, apart from personal and familial considerations.

This project was inspired by Professor Susan Wadley, from whom I learned that there was a new interest in women missionaries, and who encouraged me to examine the Jenkins papers. It was a moving experience for me to look back into the early life of my mother, to try to understand her sense of mission in the context of her times. One of my own daughters is the same age as Ruth Jenkins was when she journeyed to China. I am about the same age as Jenkins' mother, Annie Jenkins, was when she received and saved the China letters. As I read the letters I was at once a daughter, a mother, a mother of my mother, and a granddaughter. My generational identifications were fluid. Yet, Ruth Jenkins sounded just as she always did. Her character was consistent. Jenkins' letters had a powerful cumulative effect. By the time I had read them all, I wanted to write her back.

The choice to use these letters in an academic project was problematic from the outset. My personal connection to the material has, admittedly, made a difficult enough job harder. The tension between dual allegiances: the obligation to academic discipline, and the "existential or psychological dilemmas of the split between subject and object on which all research depends..." (15) raised questions of filial loyalty. Despite these tensions, I have

tried to represent Jenkins in a balanced way and have studied the letters and reports of other women of her period to establish both her typicality and her individuality.

Jenkins was a woman both ordinary and extraordinary. Her letters provide a record which says much about the times, particularly the social attitudes and biases of what Orwell would have called the "lower upper class". Her individual abilities showed early: for public speaking; for foreign languages; for teaching; and for leadership. She had an independent streak, yet contributed much to her immediate community. She became a serious scholar of the Chinese language and of biblical criticism. Her China career represents just one portion of her life. In focusing on what seemed to be the most prominent themes in the China letters, I have had to exclude or subdue others.
There are a few outstanding peculiarities to the Jenkins letters which should be noted:

Any outsider would be struck by Jenkins' dramatic language of devotion to her mother. All letters begin "Darlingest of Mothers" or "Darlingest Most Precious of Mothers", and end with many protestations of love, kisses, hugs, etc. In addition, her love often takes a protective tone. Father is rarely mentioned. This cries out for explanation, but I have none. I have suggested that she was most comfortable in the company of women, her life to this point having been very much filled with women. In the

letters, her father is a shadowy figure; he died in 1930.

There is very little piety or spiritual anguish in these letters, in striking contrast to correspondence from many other missionaries, particularly earlier ones. Jenkins thinks of herself as modern and ecumenical, but the upshot of this peculiarity is that her real work, her most serious of intentions is, relatively speaking, infrequently mentioned. It is in the periphery, and assumed. This is partly a function of Anglican restraint and partly the result of Jenkins' wish to connect to the secular lives of her family in Canada. Her life-long dedication to Christian service belies any other interpretation.

As in all letters there is a certain amount of trivia, reports of weather, exchange of family news, etc. Jenkins makes a huge effort to cover the gaps of distance and culture by an inordinate amount of attention to seasons and celebrations. Perhaps she herself needed this constant orientation to the life and activities of family life in Canada, although it is mostly, I think, that she felt duty-bound to connect and guilty for being so far away.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my dissertation advisory committee, Professors Susan Wadley, Norman Kutcher, and Joan Burstyn, all of whom have given many hours to the thoughtful reading of my chapters as they

were in the making, in addition to providing wise advise along the way. I also thank Professors Edwin Bock, Ralph Ketcham, and Sydney Greenblatt for their valuable participation in the final dissertation review.

During my research I was provided abundant and cheerful assistance by Dorothy Kealey at the Anglican Church Archives in Toronto. At the National Archives, Grace Hyam was especially helpful in facilitating the research and in supervising the photocopying of all the Jenkins' letters.

I acknowledge with gratitude the Canadian Embassy in Washington, for awarding me a 1993-94 Canadian Studies Grant, and the Roscoe Martin Fund at Syracuse University for providing additional assistance.

I am particularly indebted to Professor Charles Burton of Brock University, Ontario for his enthusastic support of this project and to Mark Rowswell, then of the Canadian Embassy in Beijing, for connecting me to Professor Song Jiaheng of Shandong University. I am especially grateful to Song Jiaheng for generously sharing her work with me and to her student, Guan Ping, who conducted research and interviews on my behalf in modern-day Kaifeng.

Notes

Title quotations: (1) Ruth Jenkins Watts, President's Address, Annual Meeting of the Toronto Diocesan Board, April 30, 1962, Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Toronto, GS76-15, Box 46, Anglican Church House Archives, Toronto, Canada.
(2) Ida Pruitt, A Daughter of Han (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford U. Press, 1945), p. 239.

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3. Beach and Fahs, World Mission Atlas, pp. 124-5, 145, 150.

4. For Canada's disproportionately high numbers in the fields see John W. Foster, The Imperialism of Righteousness: Canadian Protestant Missionaries and the Chinese Revolution: 1925-28 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), p. 66. See also in Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 4.

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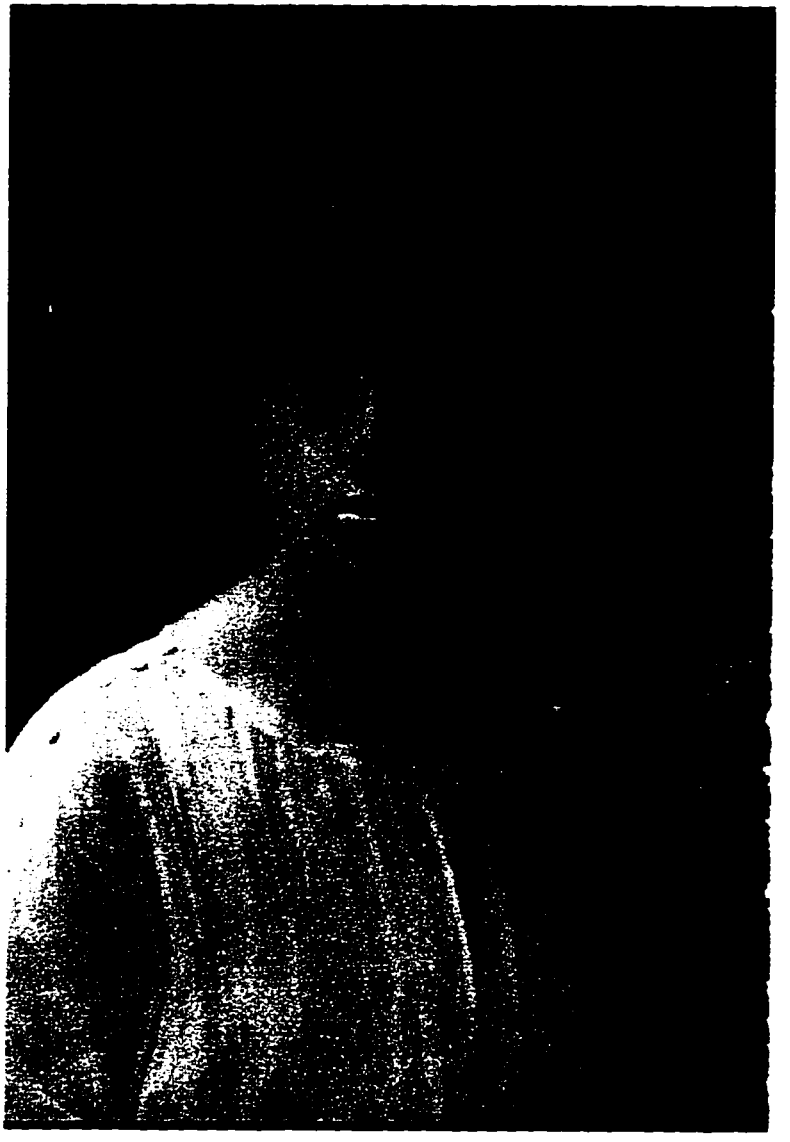
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13. Linda Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others", Cultural Critique (Winter 1992), p. 7-8.

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RUTH JENKINS 1920

CHAPTER ONE

The Journey

On the morning of September 7th, 1920, Ruth Jenkins left her family's summer home in Kingsmere, Quebec, to begin her journey to China. The autumn air felt fresh as she waited to change trains at Badelle, and she was grateful to board the Canadian Pacific Railway "flier" just in time for a 75 cent lunch of poached eggs and a pot of tea. It had been a rush in the end to be ready. After weeks of preparing her "outfit", she was still somewhat askew. After lunch she finally fixed her steamer rug around her big bundle, and put the elastic in her tam. She tried to read a little, but her excitement overcame the gesture. "Somewhere near Cobourg" she put her book down and wrote the first of many letters home to her mother. (1)

As she met each stop of the classic cross-country railway journey - Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, and Vancouver - Jenkins sent home her vivid first impressions of the Canadian scenery she would not see again for many years. "Canada is without doubt a perfectly wonderful country. I only hope you will all some day travel straight across as I have. To pass through the rugged scenery of Lake Superior, then through miles and miles of peaceful prairie land, and finally end up with the majestic Rockies just fills you with thrills all through. I am having a wonderful experience ...

even if it means dreadful homesickness. It's too bad that you can't be out in the world and home at the same time."{2}

The trip increasingly enlivened her, as she was joined by other travellers "from everywhere, going everywhere", many of whom would be sailing with her on the R.M.S. Monteagle from Vancouver to Japan and China. With her for most of the train journey were two other Anglican women missionaries, leaving for Japan. To stretch their dollars they ordered one meal and shared it among three. {3}

In Vancouver there was still much to take care of, in spite of a week's delay in the arrival of the Monteagle: steamer ticket, passport, visas, late trunks, and last minute medicines all needed to be collected, but problems and homesickness were lightened by many letters from her family and school friends, gifts and send-offs from Vancouver cousins, and a network of church women and girls who greeted Jenkins and her companions. Among the gifts they received and the purchases they made were some items which suggest that these missionaries were not seen by their contemporaries or themselves as simply pious or plain spinsters: black silk stockings, grey suede gloves, and black kid pumps with beaded buckles were apparently not seen as inappropriate. {4}

While in Vancouver, the three young missionaries-to-be were treated as celebrities. They were invited to tea at the luxurious home of the former bishop's wife, on the edge

of Stanley Park. A big meeting of all the Girls' Auxiliaries of the Anglican churches in Vancouver was held where the women were introduced and asked to say a few words. There was a special farewell service. The next evening, Jenkins was asked to speak at a meeting of the local assembly of the Daughters of the King. On these occasions the idealism of young girls was consciously appealed to and the plight of their suffering sisters in Asia reiterated, as it had been in years of Sunday school and in missionary hymns. The fundamental message of universalism, God's love for all his children; and the responsibility of evangelism, the spread of the Christian gospel to every nation, were both reinforced. (5)

A testament to their institutional training and leadership experience, Jenkins and her companions took these occasions in stride amid their re-packing and banking. They were already used to their role as public speakers and their function as female role models.

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Ruth Jenkins was 26 years old when she began this voyage to her first posting as a missionary of the Canadian Anglican Church, but this momentous departure from the familiarity of home really began at the age of 18 when she had experienced a religious awakening which she later described as "like falling in love": God was the first "person" she thought about in the morning, and the last at

night. The psychological predisposition or events which led up to this conversion are unclear, but she appears to have been the only member of her immediate family to have turned to religion in a serious way at a young age. Although her grandfather had been a clergyman, Jenkins' own mother and father were prominent Ottawa musicians. A younger sister would follow that route. A younger brother would become a forester. Ruth's profound conversion was also notable for someone who was not prone to easy emotion. A serious student, she generally placed reason on a plane far higher than that of the emotions, and she was a deliberate and thorough planner. Her epiphany inspired a spiritual dimension to her character which, combined with a penchant for scholarship and social responsibility, informed and shaped all of her adult years. This spiritual dimension gave her a quality visibly different from her equally capable, identical twin sister, who became a nurse and hospital administrator.

Ruth Jenkins' decision to go to China as a missionary, alone, was a daring one. Even by the feminist standards of the 1990s, the physical and intellectual courage and independence of missionary women, in choosing to travel half-way around the world to live and work in a foreign land amidst dangerous circumstances, is remarkable. Yet Jenkins' dramatic vocational choice was not so unusual within a whole class of women in her period.

Beginning in the latter decades of the 19th century, hundreds of western women had uprooted themselves, taken a journey such as Jenkins', and become missionaries in China. By the 1920s there were nearly 5000 women, more than half of them single and many college-educated, connected to Protestant mission stations in China. By this time, women exceeded 60 percent of the mission work force there. Jenkins was a late comer to the missionary scene. Indeed, she arrived at the peak of its twentieth century manifestations. {6}

The Canadian entry into foreign missions began later than the British or American, and was heavily influenced by these models, but, in proportion to their nation's population, Canadian missionaries by 1920 outnumbered their British and American colleagues. The cultural factors which drew so many Canadian women to missionary lives can be traced in part to a strong socio-religious climate in female alliances and higher education in Canada in the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century. This climate was among the formative influences which led to a type of female activism which has been called "social feminism". {7}

The Girls' Auxiliary of the Church of England in Canada and the Dominion Order of King's Daughters, the groups to which Jenkins spoke while in Vancouver, were but two of many late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian

experiments in female association. Expressions of a growing faith in national alliances of all kinds across the Dominion's scattered populations, networks of feminine partnerships had developed, particularly among middle-class women, in response to a new Canadian social consciousness. These women were influenced in part by their male relatives, who were also involved in Dominion-wide organizational drives, but the women were also inspired by opportunities new to their gender. By the 1890s Canadian women's lives had indeed broadened: there were growing numbers of women wage workers, new and higher educational opportunities for women, and women were less cloistered by domesticity. There was a surprising amount of travelling among the Jenkins women. Annie Jenkins (then Lampman) had studied piano and voice in Leipzig, Germany in the 1880s. Annie's mother had moved west and started a school in Winnipeg. Whether in education, reform or the Arts, women were called upon to form alliances across the Dominion, and to become the "'Foremothers' of a great nation." (8)

Much of this organizational enthusiasm and feminine nationalism grew out of the Canadian Protestant religious context. By the 1890s, the decade into which Ruth Jenkins was born, Canadian churches and their associations had played a fundamental role in the development of a united, autonomous nation. Nationalist efforts at times involved eclectic cooperation among church and secular groups. In

the young communities of a nation not yet a generation old, it was the activities of the church which "offered middle-class women in particular one of their few opportunities to escape the household's confines." (9) On the new national scene "the missionary societies were the most important of the first great female alliances." (10) Missionary societies, such as the Anglican Woman's Auxiliary formed in 1885, became vast organizations with sizable budgets. They assumed responsibility for mission education among girls, paid the salaries of women missionaries and funded the building of mission schools and hospitals. Missionary societies, in turn, spawned "girls'", and even "babies'" branches, and made penny collections for the missionary enterprise. (These missionary support groups provided extensive study materials to women and girls on the subject of foreign missions. These included regular quizzes and competitions among groups on their knowledge of foreign missions and of the history of host countries.) The other major women's alliances developing out of the 1870s and 80s were also broadly Protestant evangelical: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), and the Girls' Friendly Society. As the twentieth century dawned, these and other Protestant evangelical organizations, some adapted from British and American models and others uniquely Canadian, helped to foster a collective consciousness and gender solidarity

among females. All the evangelical organizations were self-consciously promoted as training grounds for women, actively calling girls to take leadership roles in Christian social service and the regeneration of society. {11}

The Canadian Girls in Training was the largest organization for adolescent girls in Canada in the period 1915-39. As an agency of the major Protestant denominations, and emphasizing special female qualities, it could be considered to be socially conservative, but it manifested the female activist ideal which was embedded in Christian education in this period. C.G.I.T. programs explicitly emphasized post-secondary education and leadership training for females. The organization itself, like the Y.W.C.A., also enabled many women to develop in its own hierarchies their capacities as leaders in church and society. {12}

These organizations also reflected the new liberal theology of evangelical Protestantism and religious education in this period. They attempted to transcend denominational boundaries and bridge a spectrum of positions on theological and social questions, emphasizing individual commitment to Christianity and good works. These programs for girls reflected the latest "progressive" education, as well as current ideas about the developmental significance of adolescence. They attempted to incorporate secular ideas of modernity into the religious sphere. {13}

It was in the context of higher education in the early decades of the twentieth century that the theme of female alliance and national identity was especially striking. "The first generations of Canadian college women were avid joiners, and a significant dimension of their experience of higher education was the opportunity to associate with other women in the multitude of...societies within which they created what they liked to call 'a little sphere' all their own." (14) There was a distinct female student culture in colleges, and the evangelical religious dimension was strong within it. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which became the major missionary recruiting agency on college campuses, inspired female as well as male students by its motto: "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." (15) These women united in bonds of "Christian sisterhood". By requiring commitment to usefulness, sacrifice and service, they "legitimized their rejection of a passive, decorative, and purely domestic femininity." (16) There still lingered in the language of these organizations expressions praising "womanly qualities", reminders of the Victorian faith in female moral superiority, but they only emphasized that women were central in the campaign to remake society. Female students were charged with "great responsibility for the nation" and the Y.W.C.A., among other organizations that met at universities, fully supported the entry of women into the

professions and "an enhanced female presence in church and state." (17)

Out of this educational milieu came a high proportion of the Canadian women who entered foreign missionary service in China. Although Canadian higher education statistics are very unreliable prior to 1920, a sample of 300 Methodist missionaries shows that 33 percent attended some university and that many also received specialized training at normal schools, business colleges, Bible institutes, and medical institutes. These Canadian missionary women appear to have been universally well-educated, overall achieving a much higher level of education than was the norm for contemporary Canadian women. The education of Anglican women recruits was carefully scrutinized by the Candidates Committee of the Woman's Auxiliary. By no means were all applicants accepted. Over the course of its history the Woman's Auxiliary increasingly emphasized the importance of higher education in the preparation of candidates for overseas missions. This led to dozens of "cultured" and "progressive" women into the foreign field. The uniformly high quality of their writing from the mission field evidences their intelligence and education. (18)

Ruth Jenkins' education and training was about average in the Anglican context for this period. She had been a provincial prize scholar while at the Carleton School for Girls in Ottawa, where she graduated in 1912. Prior to her

formal application for foreign service to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.), she taught Sunday school at the large Anglican parish of St. George's, where her mother was the organist and choir leader, and she was involved with educational programs for the Babies' Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary. She was actively involved in the Y.W.C.A. She held a job as an office clerk, at a time when office work was an important avenue of women's liberation from the home. In preparation for overseas missions, she was required to attend a one year special course at Trinity University and Bishop Strachan School, Toronto, and then was sent for two years to the Kennedy School of Missions of Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, where she later received a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree. At Hartford she made many life-long women friends amongst missionary colleagues of many denominational backgrounds. There she imbibed a broad church view and an interest in biblical scholarship. (19)

In all of these contexts, Jenkins, like most of her female contemporaries, lived primarily in the company of women. Her photographs from Hartford were filled with groups of women; and, later, her letters from China, almost entirely written to her mother, were filled with subjects which she selected, at times explicitly, because she thought they would be of interest to women. (Her father was seldom mentioned; her rare notes to him were very restrained and

more intellectual in tone.)

For over ten years, the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford had been used by Canadians for the training of selected missionaries, particularly those intending to focus on educational work. Jenkins was one of the last to participate in this training and to receive this concentrated exposure to American theological and educational trends, for in 1921 Canadians formed their own interdenominational missionary training school in Toronto. Touted as the first ecumenical institution in Canada, the Canadian School of Missions came about as the result of a cooperative effort of Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Mission Board executives, and the chancellor, deans, principals, and leading theological professors of the University of Toronto. By 1924 the Canadian School of Missions served eight Canadian Foreign Mission Boards. Its uninterrupted existence for forty-one years illustrates the tenacity of the missionary movement in Canada - which continued longer than its American counterpart - as well as its cooperative spirit, though there were significant changes in its structure and focus over the course of its history. During the period of this study, the Canadian School of Missions provided popular refresher courses for missionaries on furlough as well as training for intending missionaries, and it served the many other students - in Arts and medical colleges - who made time for courses in

Missions. The social side of the School of Missions, including weekly "teas", and Conferences of Missionaries addressing problems in the several fields, contributed to a self-congratulatory comraderie. Other ecumenical experiments grew out of this effort, including the Inter-Board Committee of the Women's Missionary Societies. {20}

A significant number of Anglican women missionary recruits were Deaconesses, receiving their training at Deaconess House in Toronto, later called the Anglican Women's Training College, some opting for a vow of celibacy at its conclusion. Their focus on theological studies and the religious life led most of these women to focus on the evangelical dimension of missions. Other women missionary candidates were graduates of Normal School, or of one of the schools of Medicine, or had completed some combination of university and deaconess courses. Most had work experience, including experience in teaching, or "Christian work among girls".{21}

It is natural to speculate from the advanced education and long work experience of some of these women that age was a factor in their choice to enter the mission field. Past the optimal marital age, some of these women perhaps sought additional purpose in their lives. It has, indeed, been argued that these women were "redundant" following the large loss of Canadian males during the Great War. The lack of potential marriage partners was indeed a social fact in the

lives of Ruth and her twin sister. But the wide range of ages found in applicant papers, as well as the thoughtful statements of purpose, suggest that these women made this career choice from more "positive" motives. (22)

These women very often chose opportunities to advance themselves in the foreign field which were not available at home. In addition to the adventure of travel to foreign countries, the mission field offered women of this period greater responsibility and opportunities for institutional influence than did available work opportunities in Canada, where women's achievements were "checked by too close an attachment to the affairs of men." (23) Particularly in the medical field, women doctors obtained considerably more autonomy and breadth of experience in places such as China; nurses became instructors. In education, teachers, like Ruth Jenkins, were made school principals. And in a spirit of heroism, still echoing from Canada's involvement in the Great War, missionary women were able to conceive of themselves as taking a part, like their brothers in service had, in something much larger than themselves. These women carried with them to foreign missions something of the certitude of the Edwardian age, perhaps deliberately defying the new cynicism produced in many quarters by WWI. If this commitment to larger purpose was compensation for, or escape from, elements of dissatisfaction in their own lives, it also provided them with a moral framework in which

preoccupations with the self were subdued. (24)

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On September 19th, the Royal Mail Steamer, Monteagle finally sailed from Vancouver, but she was held up at Union Bay on Vancouver Island for re-coaling. Once again the young women missionaries, now four in number, were seized upon to speak at the small Anglican Church of Union Bay and in the nearby village church of Cumberland, and to lead the hymn singing. (25)

The steamer was a "delegation boat", overflowing with delegates to an international Sunday School Convention in Tokyo. There were other missionaries besides Jenkins and her three companions, including a number of Presbyterians en route to Korea. Jenkins' fellow passengers came from England and many parts of Europe, and included many Americans. Canadians were in the minority on board. Jenkins and her three friends were the only representatives of the Anglican Church. But so many of the passengers seemed to be interested in missionary and Sunday school work that Jenkins felt sure that she was bound to make lots of friends. In interdenominational church services and adult Sunday school classes held on board, they enthusiastically sang, "We've a story to tell to the nations." (26) Untroubled by the implications of their venture, the shipboard Community went forward together "...to make disciples of all nations." (27)

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The R.M.S. Monteagle's passengers evidenced the spectacular growth of the Sunday School in the nineteenth century as an educational institution and transmitter of cultural values. By this time the Sunday School had affected four generations of Euro-Americans. From the mid-nineteenth century, the Sunday School had increasingly promoted active involvement in the missionary enterprise, by inculcating in children themes which included attitudes of pity towards other cultures. The hundreds of hymns written for children, and sung by them, provide instructive examples of these social attitudes. (28)

O'er the realms of pagan darkness,
Let the eye of pity gaze;
See the kindreds of the people,
Lost in sin's bewild'ring maze:
Darkness brooding on the face of all the earth. (29)

and,

'Tis to my sovereign grace I owe
That I was born on Christian ground;
Where streams of heav'nly mercy flow,
And words of sweet salvation sound.

I would not change my native land
For rich Peru with all her gold:
A nobler prize lies in my hand
Than East or Western Indies hold.

How do I pity those that dwell
Where ignorance or darkness reigns! (30)

Many stories and hymns about children in other countries portrayed them as spiritually "missing out", and echoed the scriptural passage in which Jesus said, "Suffer

the little children to come unto me." (31) The offensiveness of idol worship was often impressed upon children in such hymns.

O soon may the heathen of every tribe and nation
Fulfil thy blessed Word and cast their idols all away!
O shine upon them from above, and show thyself a God of love,
Teach the little children to come unto thee! (32)

The number and popularity of missionary hymns for children in the Sunday School increased by the middle of the nineteenth century. The image of people in other lands, particularly children, calling out for help, asking for rescue, became even stronger:

"The wail of men and mothers,
the children's piteous cry,
'Come, help us, we are brothers;
Come help us, ere we die." (33)

Appeals for help were often combined with more specific, racial imagery, with gendered references to women's oppression:

"Where o'er the slopes of Persia
the fiery crescent gleams,
From distant dark Uganda
and Niger's deadly streams,
From China's unloved daughters,
From flower-crowned Japan,
the cry is heard, 'O tell us
God's wondrous love of man.'

From lips of suffering sisters,
'Neath India's glowing sun,
From earth's dark, cruel places,
From many a weary one,
the cry is 'Come and help us,
Who grope as in the night,
Our eyes are blind and sightless,'
O show us the true light.'" (34)

Couched in the religious language of the period, and integrated with messages of helping others, attitudes of racial superiority were nonetheless unmistakable and frequent. Attitudes of "imperial mission" were modified in some hymns, but certainly did not disappear. A series of contrasting sets, of polar values, of "before and after" images was evident, particularly that of darkness versus light. The helplessness and ignorance of other races was described in terms of darkness; the message of Christian nations was that of wisdom and light. (35)

For the darkness shall turn to the dawning,
And the dawning to noonday bright,
And Christ's great kingdom shall come on earth,
the Kingdom of love and light. (36)

and,

Can we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Can we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny? (37)

Central to all missionary enterprise was, of course, the scriptural story that Jesus told his disciples to "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations...". (38) The increasing emphasis on this form of Christian witness in the nineteenth century carried with it a social activism designed to bring about a better world. Although Sunday school teachers, the missionaries themselves, and other reformers of this Christian era were politically implicated by their western identities, they frequently disassociated themselves from imperial and national concerns. Their first

message was that of universal brotherhood. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, a general increase in broad social concern - in social justice, in social welfare, and in the brotherhood of all races - was reflected in hymns. The Christian flag superseded national flags. These hymns reinforced the value of the "family of man". (39)

Coming, coming-yes, they are,
Coming, coming, from afar-
All to meet in plains of glory,
All to sing his praises sweet,
What a chorus, what a meeting,
With the family complete. (40)

In missionary hymns one can find many further examples of the shared culture of the community of Protestant evangelism. These hymns and the views they contained were carried directly to the mission field and were often the first things taught to the children there. Missionaries attempted with their musical messages of love and peace to children to bridge cultures, to suggest commonality under God. They placed their best hopes in the next generation, the "rising race", in collecting the children. (41)

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
'the pulse of one fraternity. (42)

But this form of idealism also carried with it a certain naivete about the enormity of the task, well illustrated by the story of a Chinese woman who had been trying to lead a Christian life and was asked why she had not applied for Christian baptism. In reply she said that she could not do

this as she understood that baptism would entail upon her the obligation to leave her home in order to preach the Gospel to all nations, and this she was unprepared to attempt. Unfortunately, this story was a source of amusement in the mission field instead of wisdom. {43}

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Because of the crowd on the steamer, the four women missionaries found themselves bunking together in the steerage, good humoredly, despite the cows stabled above them. But rats and mice running over their beds soon drove one of the women out to sleep on a couch in "the writing room". Jenkins had her first bath in salt water and, to avoid sea sickness, frequently walked fourteen times around the deck to make a mile. {44}

The Sunday School Convention crowd was not a fussy one. Dressing for dinner was simple and they entertained themselves with impromptu concerts and addresses. A sense of community grew stronger among the passengers during the many weeks they travelled together on board ship. A reflection of the international composition and interests of this community can be found in the subjects of their "excellent addresses" on Brazil, Alaska, Korea, Japan, China, India and Holland. Later in the trip, a steamer newspaper was produced with representatives of different countries taking turns as editors and a Russian serving as illustrator. {45}



RUTH JENKINS

as

"The Rev. Theologicus Humbug D.D."

on board the Monteagle

Once the Monteagle reached open sea the spirits of the "community" were subdued by mal de mer. Jenkins was one of the few who was - rather proudly - unaffected by what turned out to be a very rough passage. She was put in charge of a number of the children whose mothers were incapacitated. In this context she created a Mad Tea-Party for the birthday of one of the children, for which the whole community dressed in costume. In the safety of make-believe, Jenkins borrowed a full clerical outfit from a fellow passenger and cross-dressed as a male clergyman, calling herself the Rev. Dr. Theologicus Humbug from Rat Alley. Her reception was so positive that she retained the identity of the dignified pseudo-parson for most of the trip. Her predilection to make light of the "dignity" of male parsons continued throughout her life. Particularly she made fun of their clerical "costumes". Jenkins' mockery of male pretense reflected her sense of the deep injustice churchmen accorded women of equal or better ability. It also reflected her own ability to separate her religious faith from institutional "trappings". (46)

As Jenkins traveled, her letters - perhaps self-consciously - took on a more writerly quality. She wrote of the sea:

> Last night a few of us sat for a while at the extreme end of the boat, at the stern and watched the phosphorus in the water. It looked very strange to see the water sparkling in the black of the night. The sea is certainly a beautiful sight all the time. On some of the days of gale that we have had, I stood by the rail and watched the waves breaking

for an hour or so. It was a wonderful sight to see. The huge masses of green water rise up beside the boat and break into white foam, and then go plunging into the depths again. (47)

On October 9th, the Monteagle, twenty days out of Vancouver, passed en route by the Empress of Japan, (friendly, if envious cables were exchanged), finally approached Yokohama. Jenkins wrote,

All to-day we have seen land and it is a most cheering sight. It has been a beautiful day with a fairly calm sea and bright sunshine. Sailing boats and fishing boats of strange shapes loom in view every few hours and it really feels as if we were getting there.

After three rough weeks on the water- only two calm days in it all - and a late start, there was great excitement as they approached the dock at Yokohama.

All the passengers were assembled in the dining-room for police inspection and one by one we filed out before Japanese officers and upstairs to the Ladies Reading room where we had our passports examined. Soon we were steaming into Yokohama... Japanese laborers and officials thronged the wharf, and passengers strained their eyes looking for friends.

Members of the Canadian Anglican mission in Japan waved from the wharf; a friend from Hartford met the boat and took Jenkins under her wing for some sightseeing. Most of the passengers, including the other Canadian women, were at their journey's end and headed for Tokyo, leaving Jenkins whose final port would be Shanghai. (48)

Jenkins was excited to be on land and thrilled by her first sights of Japan. Although she was surprised by the comfort of her first ride in a jinrikisha from the dock to the Railway Station, she was more struck by the modernity of

the cities and their similarities to home.

> The streets in Yokohama are wide and not so very different from the streets of our cities. Being a port town, the buildings and stores are many of them American and on first glance suggest the homeland.

The large department stores, though full of bright silks, were laid out just like stores at home. Even the country was "not so different from our own." Only the houses looked eastern to her, low buildings with roofs of tile and thatch. {49}

In Tokyo, just one-half hour away from Yokohama by rail, the mixture of modern and ancient was apparent on all sides. "Fine buildings, street cars and automobiles keep company with hand carts, jinrikishas and low Japanese buildings." She continued,

> It speaks so much of the spirit of Japan to-day, and is typical of the transition through which Japan is passing. Here you can see the East meeting the West. You see the same thing in the clothes. Every second Japanese man is dressed in western clothes, and seems to like western methods in his business, but their houses are entirely Japanese. The women never wear anything but Japanese clothes. Some of the men wear Kimonos with Western hats, and seem quite mixed up in their clothes.

A western lunch was served to Jenkins and her friend in a restaurant called the Paulista Cafe. {50}

As the women viewed the moated Imperial Palace grounds and, their "chief interest, the temples," Jenkins noted the beautiful carvings and the well-kept grounds. Her observations were those of an interested tourist viewing relics of a past left behind by the educated and modern classes with which she identified herself.

[The temples] are all much the same, and consist of little more than a large room on one side. The people come to the steps, and bow two or three times and their worship is over. All over these temples are bits of paper with Japanese characters on them, which we supposed were prayers. It was rather interesting to see some of the Japanese students come up to these shrines and take pictures of them or examine them from apparently the same standpoint as we were examining them. Apparently they had little religious significance to them. These temples are still largely used, but by the common people. (51)

Jenkins was very attracted by the playgrounds full of brightly dressed Japanese children, often carrying babies on their backs. She was especially impressed everywhere by the fondness of the Japanese for their children. "Everyone seems so kind to them, and the mothers and fathers seem so proud of them and so happy with them." She reported a further image of westernized Japan: "the older boys and girls were playing baseball and tennis in the playground and were managing their wooden shoes remarkably well." (52)

Jenkins conveyed something of envy (rather than cultural superiority) in her reports of the Japanese parents and children, but assuredly an "otherness" in her description of the women. In one of her rare letters to her younger sister, she wrote,

One of the most interesting things about Japan is to watch the people. They are all small, gentle, and polite. You don't see many of our gruff westerners - and very attractive and clean in appearance. The women are particularly attractive. Dressed in dark kimonos, and always carrying a parasol, they look like dolls. We had great fun examining the hair dress of the different ones on the street cars. The young girls wear their hair very high with a certain kind of bun on the top. The married women have their hair done up in two buns (I think) with bead ornaments. The older the woman is, the flatter her hair dress becomes till it is pulled right flat - more like ours. The women <u>never</u>

wear hats but carry parasols instead, and most of them carry babies on their backs." {53}

Jenkins was of average height by western standards, but large boned. She wore her brown hair in a mid-length bob. Her dress was plain, with a middy blouse. Her western shoes with sturdy heels were laced. She wished she were dainty like these Japanese women, and more like her mother, whom she sometimes addressed as "little birdie."

Jenkins experienced some unease as she returned aboard the Monteagle for the final lap of her journey through the Inland Sea to Shanghai. The ship was very quiet now, almost eerily silent with the jovial convention crowd gone. 113 passengers had been deposited in Yokohama, so Jenkins was moved up to a corner state-room on the upper deck, with lavish furnishings. {54}

Jenkins described the harbour as the Monteagle sailed away.

It was just at sunset, and the little fleet of fishing boats, steamers, and battle ships which lay anchored for several miles along the coast looked most picturesque. I stood on the deck until dinner time watching the coast which changed every minute as the evening shadows crept over it. For many miles little suburbs of Yokohama stretched alongside the water, and soon the whole coast was a blaze of lights. A gentle ripple on the sea kept the boats rocking, and their lights flickered up and down in perpetual motion. A strange silence only broken by the gentle movement of the water seemed to cover everything and I realized that we were leaving the gay bustling streets of Yokohama and Tokyo far behind us. {55}

She was not alone for long. On the voyage across the Pacific, she had met a young American couple, new missionaries to South China, who would continue the trip

with her. Five Canadian Methodist missionary women - all going to West China - had come aboard at Yokohama after spending a month at a summer resort in Japan. Three were returning to their work and two were going out for the first time. One, Miss Coon, was an experienced missionary from Ottawa. Jenkins reminded her mother, "we used to read about her in the paper - and I have found that it was she that gave the outfit list to Miss Smith." Jenkins' new cabin mate, Mrs. Chu, was a young American bride of a Chinese student who had been studying at Columbia. This small group of like-minded travellers provided the comfort of common purpose. (56)

The Monteagle sailed along the coast of Japan where "great high cliffs rise up everywhere like a great wall of defence". The mountains were "very much indented and look like a series of pyramids, resting on mountain slopes. Covered with trees, they have a soft green appearance and they rise in majestic silence straight from the sea." Rice fields, arranged gracefully in fresh green terraces, stretched up the less precipitous mountain slopes. In awe, she added "I only keep wishing you were all here. There is quite a high wind but we are going very steadily." (57)

Landing next in the port city of Kobe, Jenkins found herself

> in a section of the city that might as well have been Toronto or Ottawa. The streets were wide with side-walks on each side, and fine large modern buildings stretched from block to block. As we passed these large stone and brick

structures, we noticed that the names printed in front of them were nearly all American ones - Banks, Insurance offices, Law offices etc. seemed to have all congregated here...
The Oriental Hotel occupied a whole block, "entirely American in structure, containing a handsome lobby with English speaking Japanese ready to serve us at every corner." {58}

They moved farther into the city, beyond the western front, where it was soon evident that they were in Japan.

The streets were narrower, and sidewalks were conspicuous by their absence. A street car line extended along the street, but the shops were characteristically Japanese - low and opening on to the street. Following this street, we soon reached the really Eastern section and there we saw all kinds of new things. Very narrow and with no sidewalks , the street presented a gay and crowded appearance. Pedestrians, handcarts, rickshas and bicycles going every way, seemed to be all mixed up together and gave a sense of buzzing activity. Women with babies on their backs, and men in every kind of costume paraded up and down bent on business apparently. The shops seemed all huddled together - they were all very low - and the whole front opened on to the street. Kimonos and silks of the most brilliant hues hung everywhere adding much to the gaiety of the scene. Many of the little shops were selling candy and cakes which they made there right before your eyes. Every kind of manufactured thing was done by hand before the eye of the public. Matting was made right on the street, parasols, baskets, bamboo furniture etc. while here and there a woman would be squatting beside a pail doing the family washing. Some of the streets were only about six feet wide! The marvel to me was the way they managed their traffic in such a mob. A number of men and women were carrying heavy burdens attached to the two ends of a bamboo pole and slung across the shoulder. Human labor is evidently cheap and therefore almost entirely used. A horse is seldom seen, and is a poor looking creature when he is. In most of the little shops there is a small platform in the middle covered with matting and on this matting men and women sit and watch their goods. If anyone wants to buy, they step off the platform, put on their shoes, and show their goods. In general appearance these shops resemble booths at a fair, only that they are lower and more crowded. As we walked toward the mountains at the back of the city we came upon Japanese houses hidden, most of them, behind a low wall.

The roofs were all the same, made of tile, and of pretty sloping shape. The roof of the house was usually all we could see above the wall. Like everything else Japanese, they seemed very low and very small. Occasionally at the back of some of the little shops, we could get a peep at a Japanese room and it looked most attractive. Almost completely bare, with nice matting on the floor, it looked bright and clean. The walls were always of white paper with sliding glass doors. We longed to go inside but we had to be content with occasional glimpses. All morning long we wandered through these streets, thrilled with the novel scenes they presented. ... We then came to what appeared to be the Fifth Ave. of Kobe - the main business street. This was a little bit wider than the others, and paved, ...Very fine Japanese shops lined the street, and there seemed no end of the traffic. The shops were of a little better class, some of them even having glass window fronts, though all were still low. There were some attractive looking art shops, druggist shops, Kodak shops, gas and electric shops, jewelry shops, and in fact every kind of shop....cake shops were the most numerous and candy shops. ...[As evening approached], lanterns and electric lights flickered everywhere - all hung rather low - and the gaily decorated shops assumed quite a festive appearance. {59}

From Kobe they travelled to Moji, where the ship stayed a whole day, coaling, and Jenkins was intrigued with the process.

Enormous barges, loaded with coal settle themselves beside the steamer, and men and women pass baskets of it into the coal bin of the ship with amazing rapidity. There were four barges doing the business, two on each side, and between them they were passing a ton a minute. Some of the women had babies on their backs, but that didn't seem to interfere in the least with their work. They all work very hard and very fast, and without a stop the whole day. It was rather [strange] to see some of the costumes. One man, only had on a garment like the top part of a pyjama suit! Later on, he removed that! Nobody seemed to think anything of it at all. ... we saw a few more men at the dock dressed also in nature's garments. It is a little bit of a shock at first but you soon get used to it! {60}

At last, on the afternoon of October 16th, 1920, the steamer pulled into the dock at Shanghai. Jenkins was met by the wife of a staff member of the Y.M.C.A. and taken to a

brick house on a street of American houses, where she was put up overnight, along with yet another American bride and her Chinese Christian husband. (He had been studying in America for six years and was, Jenkins wrote, "thoroughly Americanized".) A Chinese Amah (nurse) announced Jenkins' bath was ready, and she retired promptly. (61)

Jenkins described Shanghai as a place where there were

> loads of western people ... so that you see them everywhere....The buildings are western in type, and all the signs are in English. The city is laid out in sections - the British, the French, the Chinese etc. - so that in this English speaking section, you can buy anything, and, in fact, live as at home. (62)

Yet there was something about the Chinese people which immediately endeared them to her. She wrote,

> I certainly am glad that China is to be my home, rather than Japan. I do like the Chinese faces so much better, and the upper class Chinese are so very nice. I have seen very few women, as they do not appear on the streets very much, but those that I have seen look very nice. They wear trousers and a coat, and wear their hair drawn tightly back. They are quite different from the Japanese.

What Jenkins' preconceived notions were of the faces she would see in Japan and China are unclear, or just why she liked the Chinese faces "so much better". Perhaps it was in part a function of wanting her assignment to be the right one, but her reaction suggests that she also felt more at ease with the Chinese women, that perhaps their plainer dress made them seem more accessible than the Japanese "dolls". Her response to upper class Chinese was consistent with her own class-conscious appreciation of cultivated manners. (63)

The next day, with trunks and dunnage bag now transferred to the train station, Jenkins set out on the 36 hour trip to Peking, where she was to spend a year studying the Chinese language. The five week journey from Kingsmere had already ameliorated any sense that she was alone in her pilgrimage. Far from feeling that she was doing anything so very far from the ordinary, she wrote that she looked forward to reaching Peking, so that she could "get back to normal life again." {64}

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The journey Ruth Jenkins took was a familiar one to many Canadian missionaries of the period. Each one represented a unique personal commitment, but took place within a culture which fostered and validated the choice. Christian education and the lessons of the Sunday school had promoted a universalist vision of commonality under God, with an active female role in sharing that vision. The lessons and hymns of the Sunday school were laden with images of injustice and inequality in the lives of Asian women. Women missionaries were able to respond because Protestant institutions in Canadian society had combined with nationalism to generate Dominion-wide female alliances that encouraged expanded gender roles and a bold form of social feminism. The religious arena as a social feminist training ground was transported by the women missionaries to China. The very forms and methods used by churches and

Protestant organizations in Canada, and the religious and social values they represented, would be duplicated by the women missionaries to liberate their Chinese sisters.

Ruth Jenkins embodied many of the characteristics of her time, place, and culture. She was one of a class of educated, articulate Canadian women who, with both strong religious beliefs and professional ambitions, chose a career within the church and overseas missions. Many of these women had extensive theological training. Today they would seek ordination. The women of this period accepted auxiliary roles, but not without comment. Jenkins, herself, though admiring of the leading theologicans and church leaders of her day (all male), was prone to mock the foibles and costumes of ordinary male clergy and to resent their gender-based status.

Despite the ennobling idealism and extensive preparations of these women missionaries, they seemed unaware of the revolutionary nature of the Christianity they embodied and evangelized. These women from English Canada, where Protestant Christianity had been assimilated into much of the culture, revealed little recognition of the enormity of their task, as they set out to "take on" an entire culture for the sake of China's "unloved daughters". Their vision was seemingly unclouded by speculation about their reception in China.

Jenkins' early impressions of Japan and China in the

year 1920 suggest some of the orientalism of travel literature of the time: the strong sense of "otherness", of East and West. (65) The impact of the experience was reduced, however, by the already westernized port cities and the large contingents of westerners already entrenched in them. The new missionaries' journeys were more comfortable but perhaps less zealous than their earlier, more pious foregoers. They were taking up a professional career.

Notes

1. Ruth Jenkins to her mother, Annie Margaret Jenkins, Canadian Pacific Railway, "Near Cobourg", September 7, 1920, MG 30 D 183 JENKINS, Frank Maurice Stinson (1859-1930) and Annie (1866-1952) Musicians. Correspondence from Ruth Jenkins, 1920-1938. (volumes 3-5). Finding Aid No. 1131, Manuscript Division, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
(Henceforth cited as RJ to AJ, NAC.)
2. RJ to AJ, Vancouver, September 14, 1920, NAC.
3. Ibid.; C.P.R., "Near Winnipeg", September 9, 1920, NAC.
4. RJ to AJ, Vancouver, Sept. 14th, Sept. 16th, Sept. 18th, 1920, NAC.
5. Ibid.
6. Statistics are drawn from Harlan P. Beach and Charles H. Fahs, eds., World Mission Atlas (New York: Inst. of Social and Religious Research, 1925); and Milton T. Stauffer, sect. & ed., The Christian Occupation of China: General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian forces in China, 1918-21 (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922). To properly understand the complexity of missionary impacts and Chinese responses, Paul Cohen has stressed the importance of recognizing the evolving nature of the missionary enterprise, in Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900", Cambridge History of China (New York: Cambridge U. Press, 1978-) [CHOC] Vol. 10, Ch. 11: 1978, p. 544. Some of its 20th century manifestations (increasing professionalism and institutionalism) will be illustrated in the course of this dissertation.
7. For Canada's disproportionately high numbers in the fields see John W. Foster, The Imperialism of Righteousness: Canadian Protestant Missionaries and the Chinese Revolution: 1925-28 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), p. 66. See also in Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: U. of Toronto, 1990), p. 4.
The term "social feminism" was used by Margaret Prang, in her essay, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-39", Canadian Historical Review, LXVI (1985): 173, and Alison Prentice, et al., in Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988) to describe a major stream of Canadian feminism before and after WWI, but it was invented by William O'Neill to describe a generation of American activists at the close of the nineteenth century "who sacrificed the struggle for women's equality to the ... aspiration to reform society" in Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969) Second revised edition Feminism in America: A History (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1989), 77-106. "Social Feminism" grew out of a

tradition of female charitable work towards the urban poor, and became increasingly professionalized and to some extent elitest. For a full discussion of this development in ninteenth century U.S. see Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, (New Haven: Yale U., 1990), passim.
8. Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Setting the Stage': National Organization and the Women's Movement in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977) vol 1, p. 102 and passim; Cross, Suzanne, "The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal", in Ibid., p. 66-86.
9. Strong-Boag, "'Setting the Stage'", p. 89.
10. Ibid., p. 88.
11. Ibid. p. 91-2; For historical information about the Anglican Woman's Auxiliary, see Woman's Auxiliary GS76-15, Anglican Church House Archives, Toronto, Canada (**Henceforth cited as ACH**). Examples of mission study quizzes as well as of girls and baby branches of the missionary societies can be found throughout Anglican and other denominational missionary journals. Such study groups and the imagery they fostered are also described in Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870-1910", The Journal of American History, Vol. 69 (1982): p. 353 and passim. For a discussion of Canada's developing social consciousness in the late nineteenth century, and its connection with Canadian churches, see also Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1985)
12. Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be'...," in Can. Hist. Rev., 66 (1985): 154-184.
13. Ibid.
The psychologist G. Stanley Hall in Adolescence: It's Psychology and its Relation to Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education (New York, 1904) helped to create in early twentieth century United States and Canada a new emphasis on adolescence as a developmental stage. It gave new importance to "care-free girl-hood" and healthy "games". For a discussion of the perceived absence of female adolescence in non-Christian societies, a contrast which heightened the pity of western women, see Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages", J. Am. Hist., 69 (1982): p. 363.
14. Diana Pedersen, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920", in Paul "Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education (Kingston: McGill-Queen's U. Press, 1989) p. 187.
15. For the confident rhetoric of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, see George Sherwood Eddy, The New Era in Asia (New York: Missionary Education Movement of

the U.S. and Canada, 1913), passim.
16. Pedersen, "'The Call to Service'", p. 188.
17. Ibid., p. 189. For a full discussion of the Victorian ideal of womanhood as it intersected with arguments against higher education for women, see Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984).
18. Candidates Committee Reports of Woman's Auxiliary of Canadian Anglican Church, in The Living Message journals, ACH. For the study of the education of Canadian Methodist missionaries and reference to large group of cultured and progressive women, see Rosemary R. Gagan, "More than 'A Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony': the Education of Methodist Women Missionaries, 1881-1925", in Historical Studies in Education 1 (Fall 1989): 239-59.
19. Letter Leaflet, January, 1919, p. 94, ACH.
The Kennedy School of Missions on the Hartford Seminary Foundation reportedly specialized in such fields as phonetics and language study, the history and methods of missions, missionary practice, the missionary phases of sociology, psychology and pedagogy, and preparation for specific mission fields. It was essentially a graduate school, and claimed to admit only those who had taken a full college or university course, or a very high-grade professional course. The Mission World, Dec. 1917, Vol. XV No. 12, p. 512, ACH. Jenkins completed two years at the Kennedy School of Missions prior to her departure for China, returning to Hartford during her furlough in 1925 to complete her degree in Pedagogy.
20. "The Canadian School of Missions and Ecumenical Institute: Historical Facts" MM30 C125, ACH; Living Message, March 1924, p. 75, and November 19, 1927, p. 367.
21. For sample of Anglican women missionaries to the overseas field and their wide range of training and experience - including frequent cross-border influences - see Candidates and Furloughs Committee reports in Letter Leaflet, December, 1922, p. 391.
22. William Rathbone Greg first used the term "redundant" to refer to a surplus of single, middle-class females in 19th century Great Britain, women who were meant to be wives and mothers and not to work for wages but who responded to the demand for single women to serve as zenana teachers in India. The gender imbalance of this period was chiefly caused by emigration and a higher infant mortality rate for males. William Rathbone Greg, "Why Are Women Redundant?" Literary and Social Judgments, (Boston, 1873) p. 282, cited in Geraldine H. Forbes, "In Search of the 'Pure Heathen': Missionary Women in Nineteenth Century India", paper presentation at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association (New York). Panel: "British Women in India", p. 5. Subsequently printed in Economic and Political Weekly XXI (1986): WS.2-WS.8.

23. Gagan, "More than 'A Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony'", Hist. Stud. in Educ. 1 (1989): p. 255.
24. Ruth Jenkins, for example, in her public addresses, made frequent mention of commitment to larger purposes than self. Sample: President's Address to W.A. Members, April 30, 1962, W.A., Dio of Toronto, GS 76-15, Box 46, ACH. Reference to certitude of Edwardian age comes from Henry Kissinger, N.Y.Times book review of The Unruly Giant by Norman Rose, July 16, 1995, p. 7. Kissinger is referring to Edwardian "faith in uninterrupted progress and in the essentially benign operation of human intelligence" prior to the cruelties of twentieth century wars and dictatorships.
25. RJ to AJ, R.M.S. Monteagle, Sept. 19th, Sept. 20th, 1920, NAC.
26. Ibid. Hymn "We've a story to tell to the nations,
That shall turn their hearts to the Light
A story of truth and sweetness,
A story of peace and right." verse 1,
by H. Earnest Nichol (pseud. Collin Sterne) [Eng. Ang. (1862-1928], 1896, The Book of Common Praise: The Hymn Book of the Church of England in Canada (Toronto: Oxford U. Press, 1938), "Missionary Hymns", Hymn # 294, p. 297.
27. Matthew: 28, 19.
28. A comprehensive history of the Sunday School as a movement in the nineteenth century, and as an institution for American children, is found in Anne M. Boylan, Sunday School: the Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880 (New Haven, 1988). General observations about the expansion of the Sunday School, and about some of the changing expectations of evangelical Protestants are drawn from this source. Complementary analyses of hymns are found in Susan S. Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord: Hymns As a Reflection of Victorian Social Attitudes (Athens, Ohio, 1978) and Sandra S. Sizer, Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism (Philadelphia, 1978). See also Hymns for the Nursery (Hartford, 1815), A Selection of hymns for the use of Sunday Schools (New York, 1819), and A Sunday School Hymn Book for Youth (Hartford, 1818). To supplement Watts'Divine Songs for Children, and Ann Taylor's Hymns for Infant Minds, as "elementary books of religious instruction". Early American Imprint Series.
29. Cotterill, Thomas, 1819, "O'er the realms of pagan darkness", verse 1, Edward Bickersteth, Christian Psalmody (London, 1833), hymn #412, in Tamke, Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord, p. 123-4.
30. "Praise to God for birth and education in a Christian land", verses 2,3, and from 4, in A Selection of hymns for the use of Sunday Schools (N.Y., 1819), hymn #45.
31. Luke: 18, 16; Mark: 10, 14.
32. William M. Hutchings [Eng. Congregationalist (1827-1876)], "When mothers of Salem", 1850, The Book of Common Praise, "Hymns for Children", hymn # 689, verse 4, p. 692.

33. "Hark! hark!, the voice of numbers", C.M.S. Bickersteth, from verse 1, no date.
34. Katharine S. Mills, [Canadian Anglican 1850-], "Awake! awake! O Christian", 1899, The Book of Common Praise, "Missionary Hymns", Hymn #288, verses 4 and 5, p. 292.
35. For further analysis of contrasting images in hymns, see Sandra S. Sizer, Gospel Hymns.
36. Nichol, "We've a story to tell to the nations", The Book of Common Praise, Hymn # 294, chorus, p. 297.
37. Bishop R. Heber [Eng. Angl. (1783-1826)], "From Greenland's Icy Mountains", 1819, Book of Common Praise, "Missionary Hymns", Hymn # 275, from verse 2, p. 280.
38. Mathew: 28, 19.
39. H. Augustine Smith, Lyric Religion: The Romance of Immortal Hymns (New York, 1931), p. 95-7. Reference to the hymn "Fling out the banner" by George Washington Doane, [Am. Episc. (1832-1913)] 1848, Book of Common Praise, "Missionary Hymns", Hymn # 272, p. 278. "The banner" is the Christian flag, symbolic of world brotherhood and representing Christianity as the basis for internationalism. The author describes "dramatic correlations", such as all flag bearers kneeling and lowering their flags, "pointing them toward the Christian Flag".
40. J.W. Macgill [Scottish Presbyterian (1832-1902)], "Coming, coming -- yes they are", 1895, Book of Common Praise, "Hymns for Children", Hymn # 684, verse 5, p. 687.
41. Sizer, Gospel Hymns and Social Religion discusses very effectively the "community of feeling" created by hymn singing, and the notion of a "sacred community" e.g., p. 52, 113, 134-6, 158, and elsewhere in her treatment of "social religion", passim.
42. Symonds, "These things shall be! A Loftier race", verse 3, 1880, The Methodist Hymn Book (London, 1904).
43. The New Era, February, 1912, p. 48.
44. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Sept. 19th, Sept. 20th, 1920, NAC.
45. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Sept. 20th, Sept. 21st, Oct. 7th, 1920, NAC.
46. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Sept. 21st, Oct. 7th, 1920, NAC.
47. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Oct. 7th, 1920, NAC.
48. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Oct. 10th, 1920, NAC.
49. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Oct. 10th, 1920, NAC.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. RJ to her younger sister, Dorothy Jenkins, the Monteagle, Oct. 10th, 1920, NAC.
54. Ibid. and RJ to AJ Oct. 10th, 1920, NAC.
55. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Oct. 10th, 1920, NAC.
56. RJ to AJ, Mogi, Japan, Oct. 12, 1920, NAC.
57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. RJ to AJ, the Monteagle, Oct. 15th, NAC.
61. RJ to AJ, Shanghai, China, Oct. 16th, NAC.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. For a commentary about the distortion of "the orientalist lens", the stereotypes and prevailing notions which it reinforced, see Judith Tucker, "Travelling with the Ladies: Women's Travel Literature from the Nineteenth Century Middle East", Journal of Women's History, 2 (1990).

CHAPTER TWO

The Missionary Establishment

The long journey north to Peking from Shanghai - requiring three trains and a ferry - had gone without mishap. Jenkins had passed the flooded rice fields and rolling farming country, all cultivated except for sacred burial mounds and villages of mud houses crowded with families. She had seen the men, women, and children working all day in the fields. At train stops, shouting fruit sellers were lined up and small children scrambled for coppers thrown from the train. But it was in the main streets of Peking that the conditions of overpopulation and the desperate poverty of the people were particularly evident to the young Canadian.

> People swarm everywhere - and seem desperately poor. The coolies are the most numerous, and work all the time - driving rickshas, and doing heavy transport work. Human labor is terribly cheap, and you see coolies carrying the heaviest things on their backs. Most of their loads are carried on the ends of a pole, and they drag along the streets making strange sounds - a sort of low singing which helps them to carry their burden. (1)

Jenkins was profoundly moved by this sight of the people moving about their business - so human and yet "so out of reach". The persistent presence of poverty would always trouble her, the patient and good-natured endurance of the people contributing to her growing fondness for China and the Chinese. But poverty remained a backdrop to a very different life for her.

For Jenkins, the academic year of 1920-21 in Peking would be one of enormous variety and fascination. She would be introduced to the hard work and satisfaction of Chinese language study. As she prepared to be a teacher of girls, we pause to look at the pioneering efforts of the missionaries who came before her in the education of girls in China. But while Jenkins moved forward in her own training she was quickly drawn into and flattered by the high social style of the international community in Peking, a city which seemed permeated by western cultural influences and institutions. The Christian presence seemed more often affirmed than not in this place, and indeed the missionaries proved themselves especially useful during "the great famine of 1921", a horror which drew their concerted effort in obtaining international relief. But Jenkins' first contacts with Chinese culture and her awe in encountering China's past were effectively muted by the constancy of the expatriate community and the accommodations of the Chinese. The larger economic and political realities were only vaguely perceived and, when they were, the spiritual force of Christianity was believed to be the only path to solution of conflict. Among lively college women and within the international community of Peking, Jenkins found her national identity as a Canadian problematic but privileged. By the time she was summering in Peitaiho she was fully acculturated into the attitudes and habits of the sizable

missionary establishment in China.

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Arriving in Peking on October 18th, 1920 Jenkins was two weeks late for the starting session of the Peking Language School. She was advised to wait for a November 1st starting class. The intervening weeks allowed her welcome time to settle in. By prior arrangement, she was to board with a family she already knew: Eleanor, a friend who had attended Vassar, had married Lawrence Mead who was now stationed in Peking with the Y.M.C.A. They lived, with their two small children, in a house of Chinese style, with the rooms opening on to courts, and decorated extensively with lattice work; Jenkins was given a small room just off the living room. The Meads were lively and hospitable Americans, whose home was open to constant visitors. Jenkins soon found herself in the center of a thriving international community, in which Americans and British dominated. {2}

Within hours of her arrival she had met old friends from Hartford and made new ones from the Y.W.C.A. and the school of the American Board Compound across from the language school, "all college girls." Jenkins was delighted to find herself among so many educated women. She thought of herself as modern and distanced herself from any image of missionaries as unthinking and pious. "I am getting to know more people all the time, and they are certainly a fine

bunch that have collected out here. - all university people, and clever and interesting - with lots of common sense." She added, "most of the girls I know so far are Americans, and I feel almost as if I were back in Hartford." {3}

Together, Jenkins and seven other women made a weekend trip to the Ming Tombs, staying in a small railway hotel and hiring donkeys for the long ride across the plains, returning by starlight. They passed trains of camels and fields of peanuts and orchards of red persimmons and "neat looking villages, where mud houses hid behind mud or stone walls." Walls seemed to be everywhere; "China is a country of walls," she wrote, wondering at all the strangeness of what lay hidden behind them. Then the women rode a freight train through the mountains to the Great Wall from which they looked out to the plains of Mongolia and down to the blue-garbed Mongolians making their way slowly through the pass. {4}

On their way down the mountain they came upon a mother with eight children squatting by a stream washing clothes. Such occasions of women meeting provoked mutual curiosity. Clearly western women were an unusual sight in the countryside, travelling in a group without children or men, or useful purpose. One, who could speak Chinese, carried on a conversation for the group. The bluntness of the Chinese woman on the sensitive subjects of age and marriage,

generally avoided in polite western society, aroused Jenkins' comment: "The mother wanted to know our age at once, as all Chinese do, and if we were married." Perhaps the woman's questions were an expression of disdain as much as curiosity, reflecting the assumption in much of Chinese culture that a woman's value was stamped in early marriage and the bearing of sons. For Jenkins' part, she was intrigued with the family scene and domestic methods. "The oldest little girl was thirteen, and she, like her mother, was scrubbing clothes. They rubbed the clothes on a stone by the water, and then rinsed them." (5)

The following weekend Jenkins was invited by a friend to travel by car to the Summer Palace of the deposed Ch'ing dynasty, north-east of Peking, and the nearby Jade Fountain in the Western Hills. These were sights frozen in past glory. Jenkins' lengthy descriptions of all these sights in her letters home were full of awe; they were delivered without suggestion of religious comparison or cultural superiority. Indeed, she heaped praise on the city of Peking.

> I am so glad I am having a year in this interesting city. In Peking there is the real native life untouched and uninfluenced by foreign disciplines and regulation. Everything that is most splendid and most interesting in Chinese life, workmanship and art, reaches its highest level of excellence in Peking. Being the metropolis, all that has been best in the last seven centuries has gravitated to it. Here there is Imperial splendour. The best of the Chinese army is here. The most efficient native police force is here, the best and largest universities, the finest art collections, the richest temples, the most magnificent palaces; the most vigorous people physically. The most

elegant colloquial dialect is spoken here, and I believe, the city has the healthiest climate in the lowlands of China. {6}

Jenkins began to know her way about Peking, but her favorite place for walking each day was on the great stone wall, 17 miles long, which surrounded the Tartar city (the main city). "High above the city, and covered with grass and shrubs, it is a great refuge. You can walk quickly up here, and be free from the crowds and noise and dust." Walking on top of the walls, instead of in their shadow, became Jenkins' habitual exercise during her years in China, and one way of controlling their mystery. {7}

A formal reception for the nearly three hundred language school students, double the enrollment of the previous year, was held in October in an immense reception hall in the Forbidden City. In a black silk skirt, and dark blue tunic, the President of China, Hsu Shih-ch'ang, descended the carpeted steps to the hall from his apartments, preceded by a guard of soldiers. An exchange of custom and language was observed. "As soon as he appeared we bowed three times, while he bowed too. He then read an address in Chinese, which was interpreted afterwards by an English-speaking Chinese official, and Mr. Dwight Edwards, a graduate of the language school, spoke in Chinese for the School." Jenkins wore her best afternoon dress, a velvet one, her best hat, and white kid gloves, "which seemed exactly the right thing." The degree to which the Chinese

government had taken on the ceremonial and institutional forms of the west was noted in Jenkins' observation that the refreshment process was "much the same as that conducted at Government House at home. We just helped ourselves from the tables, and there were all kinds of cakes and sandwiches, besides tea. Foreign [western] food, of course, had been supplied." With their acceptability acknowledged even by the President of China, the missionaries-to-be went ahead eagerly with their studies. {8}

The language school was ten minutes walk from Jenkins' new home, "held in a number of Chinese buildings hidden from the street by a wall and separated from each other by courts." In language class no English was spoken. From nine until four each day Jenkins listened to one teacher after another saying in Chinese that day's new words and the simple sentences which included them. Jenkins explained that the switching off of teachers every half hour was everyone's salvation. "Otherwise we would die of the strain." The concentration required for this total language immersion left new students exhausted. The thirty students in Jenkins' class were later divided into groups of eight for sectional and individual instruction. The daily routine was usually broken only by a fifteen minute chapel service at ten. Soon character writing and home-work were added, and reading books on China was also part of the required work. {9}

Jenkins reported that language study was hard mental work but that it was very interesting "especially when you feel it is going to be so useful." The tones were the difficult thing, but as the daughter of a musical family, Jenkins had a trained ear and she was careful to give each word its proper tone right from the beginning. Soon she began to understand some of what her hosts said to the servants and to catch occasional words on the street. {10}

Jenkins' introduction to Chinese girls and their education began early. From mid-November to early June she taught an English class twice a week at the Bridgman Academy of the American Board. To gain extra language and teaching experience, western students in Peking often took up part-time teaching posts, fitting into classes which were held in their own after-school hours. Jenkins was a confident teacher and enjoyed the lively curiosity of her Chinese students.

Jenkins' week days were disciplined and orderly, the intensity of language study broken by walks on the city wall and playing the piano at the house. She reported to her mother regularly on her progress with the language as the months passed. "It is getting harder of course all the time, and is demanding more and more time out of school. Reading and writing characters has to be practised daily at home, and it is sometimes quite hard to get the time - but I really do enjoy it, and am sorry when the day is over."

Like many other women missionaries who wrote about their language study, Jenkins longed to be free of her "present dumb stage, and be able to talk freely " with the Chinese. By February she was able to converse with shop keepers. She purchased an expensive Chinese-English dictionary and was saving for a big, $26.00 English-Chinese dictionary "which I will need all my life." By late in March she could read and write a good many characters, and felt the language was coming "as easily [to her] as to anyone else in the school." She began the third term studying the prayer-book "in the Wen li - the literary or classical language." By May she was "getting a fair mastery over about three hundred characters." For their June examinations the students were required not only to write the characters but to be able to analyze and explain their etymology. Jenkins sent home the following report card: "Chinese Teacher's grade: 90; Foreign Teacher's grade: 98; Character writing and analysis: 100, and Dr. Rawlinson's course on 'Christian and Chinese Religious Ideas': 91." She and her companions took language teachers with them on their summer retreats to carry on their courses for half days. After they joined their assigned mission, they would continue to study for demanding qualifying examinations. All of this effort laid the basis for Jenkins' later career as the first instructor in the Mandarin language at the University of Toronto's Chinese Studies program. (11)

The seriousness with which language study was taken at this time was a reflection of the increasing professionalism of twentieth century missionaries. It was both an acknowledgement of the difficulty and sophistication of the Chinese language and of the inadequate preparation of many of the earlier Protestant missionaries who had struggled alone with whatever tutelage they could find at their mission stations. It also clearly represented a major assumption: they had come to stay. Jenkins expected to need her dictionary "all her life." (12)

The design of the curriculum at the language school also suggests that by this period considerable effort was made to convey to the language students the broader culture of their host country, and to bring them abreast of current political developments. Weekly lectures on Chinese history were included in the curriculum, and frequent topical lectures on China by guest lecturers were given to the whole school for an hour in the morning. For example, the speaker on Jenkins' second day was Mr. C.T. Wang, "one of the leading men of China, and one of the representatives of China at the Peace Conference." A week or so later, a talk was given on "the great artistic past of China" by Dr. Ferguson, a member of the Advisory Council of the President and a student of Chinese art for many years. Special lectures on topics such as "The Siege of the Pei Tang during the Boxer Uprising" and "The Present Economic Condition of

China" indicate that the missionaries were expected to grapple at some level with the realities of their adopted country. A required course on the religions and philosophic ideas of China was given by Dr. Frank Rawlinson, the prominent Presbyterian missionary and editor of The Chinese Recorder and China Mission Year Book. {13}

Such classes reflected the evolving nature of the missionary movement and suggest that a more serious effort was being made at cross-cultural understanding than in earlier periods, when their predecessors were sometimes discredited as intolerant and abrasive. Indeed, in 1920, with May Fourth not far behind, the position of the Christian church in China - as perceived by leading missionaries in the international community of places like Peking and Shanghai - was beginning to be uncertain. It was all the more important to show effort in appreciating Chinese history and culture. Though still largely confident, viewing the "transitional dissatisfactions" of the Chinese as a time of "opportunity to plant new ideas", Christian leaders in China were beginning to write articles in language of self-examination. Christians were being challenged by Chinese, for example, with the prevalent economic question "Can Christian ideals be made to work(?)," and were beginning to reevaluate the role of the missionary in the rising self-consciousness of the Chinese Christian church. For the most part, however, optimism reigned. The

uneasy responsiveness of a few missionary leaders to Chinese criticism did not appear to reach far into the foreign community. (14)

For Jenkins, Christianity was the only solution to political problems. Jenkins agreed enthusiastically with the passivist English Quaker, Dr. Hodgkin, who reportedly argued at a meeting of the International Fellowship Association in Peking that

> the political and revolutionary methods used to-day would never solve the present day problems, but a real and vital Christianity was the only solution. He emphasized of course, the method of non-resistance force, pointing out that spiritual and moral forces must be greater than physical. He feels we have got to find out a way of meeting evil with something other than evil - of meeting war with something else than war, - if a permanent fellowship of nations is to be realized. (15)

The opinions she affirmed on this occasion are an instructive reminder that the vocational choice of missionaries was usually more than narrowly religious, that their vision extended to world peace. For Jenkins, Christianity was an explicit alternative to further war.

The confidence of the missionaries was bolstered by such convictions. Their presumptive position was also strengthened by the presence of a community of Chinese Christians and western educated Chinese. But perhaps, most of all, the Christian institutional presence in China was physical evidence that they had a long future in China. The size of the Peking community-in-training itself - the number of language school students, the organizations and

associations connecting them - suggests something of the magnitude of the missionary enterprise by 1920, in all its denominational and institutional guises, and its undeterred intentions. The thousands of churches, schools, hospitals, and philanthropic associations which "dotted the Chinese landscape" by this period, all required staff. Educational institutions alone: 219 kindergartens, 7,114 elementary schools, 333 high and middle schools, 18 industrial schools, 42 teacher training schools, 24 colleges and universities, 125 theological and Bible training schools, 11 medical schools, and 26 nurses training schools represented the work of Protestant missions from Australia and New Zealand, Canada, the United States, Great Britain, and other European countries. The propensity of westerners to form associations had by this time also led to a multitude of professional organizations, such as the nation-wide Educational Association of China (EAC) involved with improving the quality of education in China. (16)

Among the foreign "Christian forces occupying China," 62 percent of them women, many were now employed to serve the educational needs of Chinese girls. What had once been a controversial issue among missionaries regarding their purpose and strategy - both in China and on missionary boards at home - was now largely accepted as a central and appropriate task, in part as a way of accessing the Chinese family through its children, and in part because of the

increasing demand of the Chinese themselves, in some quarters, for western secular education. The elusive "educated elite" in China, their approval long sought by missionaries, now wanted English and piano lessons for their daughters. It was hoped by mission strategists and teachers that these influential families would be moved to explore the religion behind the lessons. Secular education in general was to be served up in an atmosphere which would somehow also sell Christian values. The 1920 "college girls" studying in Peking with Ruth Jenkins, many of whom themselves were among the early products of higher education for women in the west, would soon scatter to mission stations throughout China, taking up positions as teachers and advocates for females in China. (17)

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The women collegians were extending their predecessors' pioneering work in the education of Chinese girls, begun in the mid-nineteenth century. By offering education to girls, women missionaries had challenged prevailing social norms in traditional China, where female children, though occasionally provided rudimentary private tutoring, were seldom educated. Some girls learned the basic characters "as hangers-on in the school room of their brothers and male cousins, or from half-educated aunts," (18) or acquired some functional literacy on an as-needed basis, but there were no schools for girls prior to the arrival of western

missionaries in late Imperial China. The overwhelming majority of females were illiterate. (19)

There was no governmental elementary education system even for boys, although schools were encouraged by awarding imperial land endowments to those willing to set up private schools. Basic literacy was generally acquired in the home or in village schools set up by cooperating families. Instruction closely followed well-known preliminary texts, such as the Three Character Classic. Only then, through an extensive examination system at various levels - from county to prefecture to province - students qualified for official classical education. Finally, the graduates of the examinations entered the "distinct upper class" of the scholar-gentry and became powerful officials in the bureaucracy, or teachers, becoming part of an ingenious system of merit-based appointments which was largely "an appendage of the state." (20)

The hard-won status of these examination graduates, a status second only to the emperor and his kin, achieved only after many years of memorization and interpretation of complex Confucian and literary texts, created a "bifurcation of Chinese culture into classically literate and comparatively illiterate compartments." (21) At the higher level of education and culture, the sophistication of the Chinese had long been well known, widely reported by the Jesuits and other early visitors to China. Under the Sung

dynasty (960-1279), China had become the first society with printed books. This, and the growth in educational academies and the creation of the immense and intricate examination system, had been sources of amazement and admiration to outsiders, despite the system's attending corruption. Buttressed by Confucian holistic moral and political philosophy, and by the idea of civil government, this educational system and its largely loyal products were central to the Chinese notion of itself as civilized, and underlay the considerable political and moral harmony it strove to achieve for centuries. {22}

At the bottom of this carefully defined social order were females. The "three bonds" and the "five cardinal relationships" central to Confucian moral teaching defined a series of servile relationships to which "filiality [was] the essence of ...virtue and the fundamental principle of education." {23} The three bonds consisted of "the ties that bound subject to ruler, son to father, and wife to husband." {24} The five relationships: sovereign-subjects, father-sons, husband-wives, elder and younger brothers, and friends, placed individuals in hierarchies of superior and subordinate positions and prescribed behaviors of deference and submission. The genius of this value system lay in the fact that the authoritarian structures of the state and that of the patriarchal family were inseparable. As Wu Yu explained, "the moral code governing ruler and subject and

that governing father and son ...had a mutually reinforcing, complementary relationship." (25)

In the family, patrilinear authority was absolute; females were taught to obey their fathers, their husbands, brothers, and their grown sons. The "patrilineal joint family system" (26) in which only male children were heirs had as its chief aim the perpetuation of the male line of descent and its purity. To this end, "female chastity was rigidly enforced on the one hand, and a system of plural wives to facilitate the birth of many sons was widely adopted on the other." (27)

The inequality of the sexes was philosophically grounded. The Sung philosophers "stressed women's inferiority as a basic element of the social order." (28) In the perceived social and cosmic continuum, the complementary elements of Yang and Yin were invoked to describe the different sexes. "Yang was the attribute of all things male, bright, strong, and active. Yin was the attribute of all things female, dark, weak, and passive." (29) These "necessary" and complementary elements informed behavior patterns of subordinating girls to boys from infancy, wives to their husbands, and mothers to their grown sons. (30)

This is not to say that Chinese women did not find ways to exercise their will, using experience and common sense to guide their husbands, and carrying considerable influence in

the home. And the power of the mother-in-law over younger wives in the family is popular knowledge: "... the principles of female subordination ... tell us more about how the upper class thought women should behave than how they actually did." (31)

Nevertheless it remained the case that respectable females were largely kept to their chambers "so that they [were] not even seen by their close relatives." (32) And, in many parts of China, the feet of girls were bound, so that, immobilized, they had few opportunities to acquire experience or education, or to develop or express their talents. Prior to the existence of schools, girls had almost no social knowledge of each other. The "tyranny" of the old family system over the individual and its subjection of women has been most powerfully reported by Chinese women themselves in their autobiographical writings. It constituted the most significant element of the social context in which western women arriving in China found themselves, and where they encountered a deeply rooted prejudice against educating girls. (33)

The early treaties did not concede to the foreigner the right to educate Chinese children, only the possibility of establishing schools for the education of foreign children in China. This clearly did not stop Mrs. H.V. Rankin in Ningbo and Mrs. W. Young in Amoy who founded schools for girls in the 1840s. Mary Ann Aldersey, an English woman of

the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, is most often cited as establishing the first girls' school in China in 1844, shortly after the Opium War. In the early 1850s, two other missionary wives, Sophia Doolittle and Lucy E. Hartwell, organized day and boarding schools for girls in Fuzhou. Mrs. Eliza Bridgman founded a girls' school in Peking in 1864 which later became the prestigious Bridgman Academy. {34}

In spite of great difficulty in recruiting students, the numbers of girls in the mission schools increased steadily. In 1860, there were just 12 schools with approximately 196 pupils; in 1877, the number of schools increased to 38 with 524 pupils. By 1897, there were over three hundred mission schools with an enrollment of over seven thousand girls. In 1906 the existence of many missionary schools was finally recognized legally. In 1922 a national report indicated that in that year alone there were more than 64,000 female students in primary and middle Protestant mission schools. Roman Catholic missions had by now also established hundreds of schools for girls in China, adding thousands more female pupils to these numbers. Even after government-supported schools for girls were instituted in 1907, inadequate funds had left many parts of the countryside to the missionaries. Later, when the number of girls in government-supported schools began to exceed that in mission schools, the ratio of girls to boys was much

higher in Christian schools than in government schools until well into the 1920s. In 1922 the higher proportion of girls to boys in mission schools as compared to government schools was "on the elementary level, eight times as many; on the secondary level nine times as many; and ten times as many on the post secondary level." (In regard to the latter, the major government university admitted its first female student thirteen years after missionaries opened a college for women.) Statistically, in the context of China's 300 million population, the number of mission-educated females was small and, fewer yet became Christian, but the proportion of the whole educational provision for females in China which Christian institutions supplied was considerable. (35)

Since the schools were agencies of proselytism, it is clear that some students were the children of Chinese converts. Others were themselves made missionaries: young girls were consciously used to reach otherwise inaccessible mothers. Christianity tended to attract particular groups of females: rural women were more likely to respond than women in the cities, since rural women were less secluded and in general less influenced by the dominant Confucian tradition. Young girls and older women, such as widows, freer from family responsibilities and "situated somewhat at the margin of the family system" (36), were among those women more likely to become active participants in church.

Women, traditionally, had also frequently been drawn to heterodox, non-Confucian Taoist and Buddhist sects. By 1890, Chinese women formed approximately one-third of Protestant communicants. One can fairly speculate that these women were persuaded to have their daughters attend mission schools. (37)

That the missionaries initially paid a small sum to the girls' families to induce them to attend school has been the source of modern accusations of bribery. Moreover, the early Protestant mission schools provided free tuition, books, food, and accommodation, drawing many girls from poorer families until well into the 1890s. That is, these students were "bought", but no more than scholarship students are "bought" today, and in keeping with the long charitable and Christian traditions of learning and social education in the west. The issue of social class was the more significant one, in a society which was particularly sensitive to status and power relations. The destitute status of many of these accessible families put them outside formal and traditional restraints. Among the most disadvantaged classes, they were "the very people whose stake in the existing Chinese order was most tenuous." (38) The class and social background of students in the girls' schools and of female Christians in general was to become more mixed - allowing fees paid by wealthier students to cover the expenses of charity students - but, in general,

even into the 1920s, the majority came from lower and middle-class backgrounds. Not only were they more accessible socially, but the special appeal of Christianity to the destitute and powerless - for Christianity was traditionally the religion of the underclass and the religion of slaves - had always lain in the value it placed in the individual, and in the affirmation of the "meek" as worthy. This appeal was no less real to the Chinese poor and the Chinese females who linked themselves to the mission stations.

Initially, the purpose of Christian schools in China was, like early schools in America, to provide the basic literacy needed to read the Bible. Most missions required some knowledge of the Bible as a prerequisite for baptism, and therefore were heavily involved in teaching all of their students to read. The basic requirements for baptism included, among other things, knowledge of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the life and passion of Jesus. Competency standards for baptism varied among missions, particularly in rural areas, but by 1907 the literacy rate among Christian Chinese women compared to non-Christian women was "exceptionally high." (39) Many of these women had attended mission schools. These literate females, empowered by the missionaries, were a small but important link to both the reform movement and female activism in China.

It is the issue of what lessons were imbibed along with literacy and other academic subjects that are especially intriguing. The western women taught the Chinese girl that she had a soul and that it was of equal value to that of a boy. Being taught that she was equal necessarily put her participation in such education in conflict with the boundaries of filiality. Family conflicts frequently attended her association with the mission. She was at once empowered by learning to read and faced with choices that brought potential personal and cultural confusion.

In addition to the academic and religious education of girls, mission schools adopted a social agenda which "raised the consciousness" of females in China. The relentless missionary-led opposition to footbinding in the second half of the nineteenth century had led to a proliferation of anti-footbinding societies which included both missionary and Chinese women. Not only did many mission schools require for admission that the girls' feet be unbound but some contracted with parents for the right of refusal of marriage until the girls reached the age of twenty. Some mission schools refused to employ women with bound feet as teachers. Such strong cultural interference on the part of the missionaries sometimes created the need for them to provide continued emotional support, and sometimes physical refuge, to the girls who suffered conflicts with their families and communities as a result of missionary

socialization. Even the girls who fought for their new education continued to suffer social and cultural anxiety, as reported in many of their own accounts. Within the context of the schools, anti-footbinding was but the most dramatic way in which the missionaries clearly reached the girls and affected their life choices and those of their children. "The mission schools helped to generate a social climate wherein the old customs were incompatible with educated womanhood." (40)

However, there was a more eclectic cultural model in mission schools than is sometimes assumed to be the case. In an effort to adapt to its Chinese audience, reading materials were modeled on the Chinese style, such as the Christian San tzu ching (Three Character Classic), which was written in rhymed couplets of three characters. Mission schools in the 1880s also widely adopted the Chinese female classics, such as Nu Hsiao-ching (a female classic on filial piety) to teach pupils the Chinese idea of propriety. (41)

It has been argued that the traditional Chinese authoritarian style of instruction, which involved considerable learning by rote and memorization, was offset in the mission schools by more lively pedagogical methods, ensuring "better" results. A less authoritarian pedagogy might also have empowered the girls to speak out about their ideas, leading to further conflicts with their families and

their families' expectations. "Children learned to play Chinese and foreign games, listened to stories from the Bible and history, and, much to the disgust of old-fashioned scholars, also sang hymns and other songs." (42) Hymns were, indeed, the most popular way of introducing the doctrine, because even the illiterate could memorize them and they provided a vehicle for group participation. Other teaching methods, such as the use of Biblical picture cards were later augmented with "magic lantern shows" using novel picture slides to illustrate the life of Jesus and other Biblical stories. The most popular history books used were compilations of American, British and "world" history published by missionaries in the last decades of the nineteenth century, such as Elijah Bridgman's Lien-pang chih-lueh, William Muirhead's Ta-Ying-Kuo chih, and D. Z. Sheffield's Wan-kuo t'ung-chien. (43)

The curriculum and methods of the mission schools for girls were not static. Arguments that these schools were merely "Sunday Schools every day," (44) or that the only curricular addition to lectures on Christianity was domestic science are too dismissive. Other subjects were gradually added to the curriculum of girls' mission schools, such as Chinese characters, history, geography, arithmetic, and basic science. By 1900 the curricula of a representative group of girls' schools included, besides religious studies, Chinese classics, mathematics, history and geography and

subjects in the sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology and geology. In addition, music and singing were taught in most of these schools and some offered English as an optional subject. (45)

Curricular additions of Western subjects were occurring in a great majority of Protestant schools of all levels, and further reflected a broadening of missionary attitudes and educational facilities. One woman missionary made the following argument for a western-style education for girls:

> With the study of Chinese classics there must go hand in hand the study of Western science, made more and more thorough, more and more extensive, as the years go on, giving to them broader and broader vision, making their hand stronger and yet more strong to help in uplifting the daughters of China. (46)

While the larger goal of education was always to prepare individuals to better receive Christianity, the specific goal for females was initially to prepare them to be better wives and mothers, particularly as "partners" for Chinese male converts in the imported conception of Christian marriage. As missionary education expanded into higher education, ostensibly to train Chinese Christian teachers and future leaders, it became "increasingly divorced from evangelical aims" (47) and familial ones as well. Many missionary teachers took pride in their students' scholastic achievements and encouraged students with promise both to go on to higher education in China and, for a few, to visit other countries abroad. Most remarkably in the Chinese context, these opportunities were obtained by

a few women students. Among the graduates of mission schools and foreign education were some students who had come full circle to be the teachers, language instructors, and friends of the 1920 missionaries at the Peking language school. {48}

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One of Ruth Jenkins' first acts in China was to register at the British Legation. She was required to do so again in the new year. As a Canadian, and formally a British subject, she was now under British protection. For a fee of $2.00 she received a certificate indicating her protected status. {49}

The need for protection was accepted by Jenkins without comment, the certificate with mild amusement. There was no apparent recognition that the missionary enterprise in China was compromised by the need for gun-boats, that Chinese "cries for help" portrayed in hymns were not what they had seemed, or even that danger to life was particularly serious. Though there was widespread recognition among representatives of the west that there was political and economic unrest in China, these observers seemed to regard it as merely unfortunate and chronic, not threatening, and, indeed, an opportunity for influence. Missionaries had come to expect protection since the anti-Christian violence of the Boxer Uprising at the turn of the century in which many missionaries were murdered (and many thousands of Chinese

Christians were slaughtered). The remarkable fact had been that the violent uprising didn't diminish missionary recruitment. Undaunted by the long history of xenophobia and anti-Christian sentiment in China, women missionaries appeared in even greater numbers after the Boxer Uprising to volunteer for the "prized assignment" of service in China, and what could become martyrdom. (50)

Jenkins' registration at the British Legation instead ushered in a series of social events which served to cloud opportunities for self-reflection, and are instructive examples of the nature of the international community in the city of Peking in 1920.

The Vice-Consul advised Jenkins to join the Canadian Association which she did at once. Special dinner parties, teas, and garden parties for Canadians in Peking were held, a group which included a wide spectrum of business and government people in addition to those of Jenkins' ilk. One such Canadian association dinner, in full evening dress, was held at the Wagon-Lits Hotel, "the grandest foreign hotel here." After dinner the doors were thrown open onto a brilliantly lighted ballroom for dancing to the music of a full orchestra. Jenkins reported on several occasions "watching the dancing," an admission which probably disappointed her mother and sisters, but was likely thought by Ruth an appropriate response for a missionary. She came to appreciate the efforts of the association "to make our

little group of Canadians as much at home as possible, and to help us remember that we belong to Canada. It is hard not to become completely submerged in the large American group, and lost altogether in it." Jenkins was asked if she would be on the Executive Committee of the Canadian Association "to represent the female element," and she accepted. (51)

British Legation functions were also ever-present. On Armistice Day, the language school students turned out "in full force" to watch British soldiers march to the legation grounds for a large service held on the lawn. Spectators saw the large coat of arms over the British legation gate, dozens of rickshaws, carriages and automobiles lined up outside. Along the same road they saw the tall standards of dozens of other legations, with the flags of their countries flying in the capital of China. (52)

On the first Tuesday of each month Jenkins' hostess received callers. Jenkins "received" with her and reported that "there is a very large foreign community here in Peking, and a great deal of calling done. How glad I am now to have my cards, and the plate you gave me a few years ago." On other days, she went calling with her hostess.

> It was exactly like calling at home. Every house was full of callers, and we saw little of our hostesses. I know such lots of people now that I hardly go anywhere without finding some friend. And, I am getting to know such lovely people, both Chinese and foreign. (53)

Social events began to fill Jenkins' spare time.

Typically, her status as a Canadian seemed to make her socially acceptable at both British and American functions. As she tried to find her own place, she was at first struck by the cultural differences of the women.

> There is something quite different about these English people from the Americans. They are quieter and in some way, seem more cultured. ... They are all very fine educated women, and I hope I will see a lot of them. (54)

Some of these women were in charge of the Anglican girls' school in the West City of Peking; some were teachers at one of the government schools for girls. Back and forth between British and American legation functions, British and American chapel services, and Y.M.C.A./ Y.W.C.A.- hosted social and cultural events, Canadians were welcome guests, their muted national character unthreatening. Later Jenkins wrote,

> There are so few Canadians altogether, that I find I am constantly having to adapt myself to some other kind of people - most often either Americans or English. Of the two, I think I prefer the Americans. We seem to have more in common. It is funny to see the Americans and English together. They don't seem to be able to get along at all. They simply can't understand each other, and <u>really</u> don't like each other, though they are too nice to say so. We Canadians sort of come between the two and get along pretty well with both! (55)

The predictable middle ground so often taken by Canadians lent Jenkins and her Canadian colleagues a special opportunity to act as mediators among cultural differences abroad. Jenkins' own nature was to be such an agent, and she was always careful to show support for each group, not to offend. (56)

But as an English Canadian she was also prone to display deference and social snobbery, for Jenkins was impressed by class and status. In January, she went with another Canadian missionary to Sir Beilby and Lady Alston's reception. Lady Alston was

> the first lady of the land (the British section of it) and all the Legation ladies receive together at her house. ... It was, of course fearfully grand. We drove there in rickshas, and on our arrival, were ushered into the most magnificent room, where we removed our coats and left our cards in the various boxes placed on a table in the centre for the purpose. Then we were led along a long narrow hall-way and into a large reception room where the guests were assembled. Lady Alston received us most cordially, ... All the Canadians sat together at a table and had tea, and then we went into another room, where a lady gave a monologue. It was a beautiful room with wonderful furnishings, and we found it hard to tear ourselves away from such grandeur when it was time to go. The whole place was rich in Chinese coloring and furnishing, and altogether the most beautiful house I have ever been in. {57}

The formality of British functions such as these, transported to China in perhaps exaggerated form, were offset by American efforts to celebrate their home-grown social functions in their most cliched forms. Jenkins wrote of the Hallowe'en party at the American Board Mission.

> All the girls of the mission were there as ghosts, Dutch girls, Indian girls etc. and a few girls from the Women's University here in Peking. ... We had a very fine supper on the porch which was lighted up with Chinese lanterns, and afterwards moved into the house where a bright fire was burning. We arranged ourselves comfortably on the floor around the fire-place, and told stories, ate chestnuts, toasted marshmallows, and popped corn. The room was trimmed with Jack-o-lanterns made of persimmons, and with black paper witches & bats. It was a genuine Hallowe'en party as you see and we quite forgot we were away off in China. {58}

But other national influences were part of the mix. The Canadian flag was strung up with many others across the

platform of the language school. Twenty-three different countries were represented among the students, and "four kinds of Chinese were among the teachers: the real Chinese ('sons of Han'), the Manchurians, Mongolians, and Mohammedans. So you see what a cosmopolitan group we are." The teachers were often invited to the student parties and picnics and reciprocated with their own invitations. (59)

Jenkins joined the British Women's League of Fellowship, and spoke of looking forward to knowing some "fellow Britishers." In all of these engagements her struggle with national identity was symptomatic of the confusion of Canadians abroad: their felt difference, yet historic association with Britain, and their proximity to American culture. In the immigration papers of Canadian missionaries as late as 1936 one can see examples of this confusion, with many listing their "nationality" as British or British subject, echoing pride in commonwealth, and others emphasizing their Canadian identity with underlines. (60)

Jenkins' hosts appear to have actively engaged in match-making, frequently inviting single men for dinner or to their Sunday evening "open houses" for tea and hymns. Not long after her arrival in Peking, Jenkins was taken in tow to dine at Princeton Court, the home of the "unattached" Princeton men who worked in the Y.M.C.A. Later she and a woman friend were encouraged to go skating at the American

Legation rink with two Yale men who were visiting Peking. This event was followed a few days later by the annual Fancy Dress Carnival which was held on the Y.M.C.A. rink, accompanied by the Customs Band. (61)

She was also invited by a Chinese male friend from Hartford to dine in "Central Park" along with some other friends. One was the editor of a magazine called Life, another a student worker at the Rockefeller Medical School, another a student worker in the Y.M.C.A. and his fiance a Chinese woman doctor. All of the men spoke English; the women either did not or only a little. Jenkins and her friends ate Chinese food with chopsticks, but served western style. (62)

It is obvious that by this time western influence had worked insidiously into the surface cultural life of urban China and that westerners had come to assume a level of acceptance, even welcome, and accommodation in places like Peking. But there were also instances in which cross-cultural influences operated both ways. Chinese theater and Confucian music concerts, for example, were among the ways in which Chinese formal culture reached westerners, not always with pleasure.

Early in Jenkins' Peking experience, she wrote of her first visit to a Chinese theater, displaying a mixture of admiration and cultural separation:

It was just what I imagine the stage must have been like in the days of Shakespeare. There was lots of room for your

imagination. At one time, a carriage was represented by the two women who were driving in it walking across the stage, each carrying at her side, a bit of red cloth, with a wheel drawn on it. When flowers were picked, there was just an imaginary garden, and the motion of picking flowers was enough to suggest it. Whatever scenery there was, such as chairs, thrones, etc. was shifted right before our eyes by men who loafed about the back of the stage for this purpose. The costumes were the most marvellous things. They were certainly gorgeous.

As the whole thing was in Chinese, we didn't know much about the play, but the acting was very interesting - exceedingly formal but very graceful. Half the time the actors used a strange falsetto voice, which sounded weird, and was very difficult for anyone to hear and understand. Apparently, at these times, the Chinese themselves found it difficult, because they would sit around and talk to each other, and eat and drink tea, oblivious to all that was going on the stage! These Chinese plays evidently go on for hours and hours, and the people come and stay for hours. Downstairs the men sit smoking and drinking tea. Eatables are sold, and wet towels passed around for wiping of faces and hands! The women sit in the gallery, and talk and eat a good deal - moving around with their children during the uninteresting parts. And all the time, an orchestra plays to the left of the stage and succeeds in making an awful noise. The air reeks with smoke and the floor with dirt of all kinds, but neither the Chinese audience, nor the Chinese actors, which are all men, seem to mind! (63)

Cultural exchange of another kind was experienced when Chinese women of the Women's University performed Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird" in Chinese at the Y.M.C.A. Hall. "It was the prettiest thing and wonderfully done." (64)

In January all the language school students were invited to the American Legation to hear some of the old Confucian music.

For the first time in history this Confucian music was played away from the temples, and it was a wonderful opportunity of hearing it. ... The musicians played in the drawing room [of the American ambassador's home] and quite a number of us went. ... There were about eight people playing the instruments - all men of course, and most of the instruments were flutes of some kind. There didn't seem to be any time, or rhythm, or harmony, or anything else to it!

It was all very slow and dreary, and apparently with little variety. The head musician explained that to us it would seem that way but that if we understood it, it would be full of meaning! I am afraid none of us appreciated it as we might have. When the playing was over, we were allowed to look at the instruments, and the head musician explained them to us. They are all the instruments supposed to have been used in the time of Confucius. I am enclosing the paper that describes these instruments. I am sure it will interest you. I thought of you and Father so often that evening, and kept wishing you were there to hear it. (65)

In February,the Chinese Y.M.C.A. secretaries performed in a play about themselves. This time, Jenkins enjoyed it tremendously, though she still needed an interpreter. "The hall was filled with Chinese, and a good many women and children came out too. ... [It] was very modern and original, and exceedingly well acted." (66)

The Y.M.C.A. hall seems to have been the center for much of this sort of mixed cultural activity. The teachers of the language school also entertained the students with a play in Chinese, a comedy based on the story the students had been studying. Movies in English for the Chinese were also held there on a regular basis. (67)

The Y.M.C.A. was also a center of evangelistic activities aimed at Chinese students. The style of recruiting converts was one we have come to recognize in the revival meetings of Billy Graham. In March, Jenkins wrote:

I have just got home from a large student meeting in the Y.M.C.A. where Bishop Burney [Birney] of the Methodist Church made a most stirring appeal to the students to become Christians. It was a wonderful sight to see that large hall <u>filled</u> with men and women students, and to see the number that at the close made definite decisions. Bishop Burney has been addressing large meetings of students all week, and this was the final gathering. (68)

By far the greater cultural influence was of west to east. Among the cultural influences, hymn-singing and western instruments gave the Chinese a new style of music. On Easter Sunday, Jenkins told of her visit to the Chinese church in the American Board Compound.

> The church is quite a large one, and it was filled with Chinese - quite a sight! The boys of the boys' school, and the girls of the girls' school sang special Easter music. We [of the language school] sang our part, and the male quartette from the Union Medical College sang an Easter Hymn. {69}

The Peking Symphony orchestra and the Peking Chorale Society, whose members had "drifted to Peking" from many countries, and visiting European musicians also added to the westernized cultural scene. {70}

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Coexisting with the brilliantly lit, largely imported, social style of the international community in Peking, with all its apparent complacency, the Great North China Famine of 1920-21 was creating "the greatest calamity since the famine of 1877-79," {71} in which approximately twelve million Chinese had starved to death. The dust storms which swept through Peking in October of 1920 were a reminder that there had been no rain for the previous spring's wheat and barley crops. Rarely a letter of Ruth Jenkins went home to Canada without comment on the famine situation and the responses of the international community.

> The famine situation in north China is perfectly terrible, and steps are being taken by the Missionary Association of Peking to urge all foreigners to reduce their standard of

living in order to be able to give generously to the famine relief funds. Fifteen million are suffering at present, and it is certain there will be many more when the cold weather comes. Relief fund organizations are at work everywhere, and the American Red Cross is contributing funds and workers. While the famine barely touches Peking, it is all around us, and death is facing millions every day. So we are doing our best to save money in every way, to send to the stricken districts. In our home here, we have closed up the dining-room and the study and are living in the living-room. ... I have moved out of my room into the guest room which is on the other side of the living-room and which has a stove in it. Thus the purchase of a new stove will not be necessary. Closing up the dining-room and study means no stoves in those rooms, and therefore the saving of fuel.

We are also saving on food. No icings, dessert only once a week, and meat once a day (where we had it twice) and the doing away with luxuries such as pickles, candy etc. We are also urged to refrain from buying any clothing that is not necessary. Patched garments are considered a badge of honour. We are to save on riksha fares, and in every other possible way - and all this for the next seven months - so good-bye for the present to all luxuries. We are really living now in the shadow of one of the most terrible, if not the most terrible calamity, that has befallen any one part of the world, - and appeals are being sent to the whole world for immediate help. Perhaps the appeal has already reached your corner of the earth. {72}

The leadership of missionaries in Peking and elsewhere in China - Canadians in Honan province among them - in the work of famine relief represented a greater degree of involvement in China's domestic affairs than ever before. As in the case of education, famine relief and famine prevention projects still needed to be defended among those missionaries who considered such work secondary to their first task of evangelism and who also thought it "wrong to engage in such a quasi-governmental role." {73} The Chinese themselves had tolerated some missionary involvement in relief of the famine of 1911-12. Now they requested it, calling on the foreign community to assist in reaching a

wider audience for the raising of funds. Westerners in China responded with their usual habit of forming associations and societies. (74)

> While societies are being organized all over China, and appeals for help are being sent all over the world, it seems impossible to bring adequate relief funds and workers to the famine area - and millions are sure to die this winter. ... ninety miles south of us, the famine area starts, and stretches for 700 miles east and west and 200, I think North and south. Honan, the province in which our mission is situated is right in the midst of it, and is experiencing all kinds of suffering. The people everywhere are eating leaves and the bark of trees in their efforts to get food.
>
> Next Thursday, being the American Thanksgiving Day, we are having a holiday and a regular Thanksgiving dinner. ... It does seem to me as if Thanksgiving dinner might be cut out this year, but the Americans don't seem to think such a thing possible. (75)

The following week the Americans were somewhat pardoned for their celebrations.

> On Thanksgiving evening there was a great big Famine Relief Ball given, at one of the large foreign hotels. ... a gorgeous affair. I did not go as it was a terribly late affair lasting till the wee small hours of the morning, and I knew I would be no good for Language School the next day. They made $15,000.00 for the famine. (76)

Among the Sino-foreign Famine Relief Committees organized in the principal cities of China, an Executive committee was formed in Kaifeng, the capital of Honan, in which four of the six foreigners on the Committee were Canadian missionaries who came to take significant leadership roles. The Anglican bishop in Honan, William C. White, head of Jenkins's forthcoming mission station was officially recognized by the Chinese for his leadership in famine relief. Indeed, his famine work in 1911-12 had significantly delayed the educational work of the mission

and the task of educating girls. For his own part, White believed that famine work had already enhanced the reputation of the Anglican mission in Kaifeng with the much-sought gentry classes. Now, in 1920, with official government backing, Canadian missionaries in Honan - both those of the Presbyterian mission to the north and the Anglican mission in Kaifeng and Kweiteh - worked to distribute supplies, find work for famine victims, supervise road building and dyke repair, and introduce Western concepts of sanitation and public health to help reduce the spread of the epidemic diseases which accompanied famine, such as typhus. Women medical missionaries supervised improvised tent hospitals for the treatment of thousands of women and children. Teachers and students in the Christian schools assisted the missionaries in relief work. Small children contributed pennies and prayers. (77)

In Peking, Jenkins and her colleagues continued to make small sacrifices to save money, and they put up posters in the large foreign hotels to try to get the tourists, "who throw money around so," to subscribe generously to relief funds. Jenkins postponed for months having a fire in her room. As winter skating began to attract the attention of the social crowd, she turned down the opportunity to rent skates @ $4.00 for the season in order to save for the famine relief fund, a true sacrifice for a Canadian and avid skater (sister of the Canadian national champion in 1921).

The language school held a campaign for three days in the school, getting $3000.00. The Missionary Association held special meetings, attended by large crowds of foreigners, with speeches on the famine, which prepared the ground for a big International Famine Relief Campaign to begin on February 20. An association was formed to guard against the outbreak of typhus which was expected in March. Jenkins reported that appeals for workers were made constantly to both foreigners and Chinese, and those who knew the language were especially valued in the field. Some such Peking missionaries left for the famine region for many weeks at a time. {78}

One such valued person was Jenkins' host, who was director of the English department in the Y.M.C.A. commercial school and fluent in the Chinese language. To release him to direct the famine publicity work, Jenkins volunteered to teach his night classes two nights a week. She soon described her thorough enjoyment in teaching his two English classes and a Bible class, but the experience accentuated the foreignness of Christianity to Chinese students.

> The English classes are were very large, and the students just as eager and interested as possible. There were just about a dozen men in the Bible Class, but they were very much interested, and it was rather a new experience teaching men who had never had anything to do with Christianity, and to whom the Bible was a completely new book. {79}

Other language students substituted in the day classes. Together, they were asked to look upon this as their famine

relief work.

As the months passed, and conditions worsened, Jenkins wrote from a Peking perspective of the cooperation of all nations and denominations and ages in China, and the great responsibility of the work.

Famine conditions are getting worse all the time, and constant appeals are being made for workers to help distribute food. Hundreds of Chinese students are now volunteering, and they are showing a splendid spirit in their readiness to suffer hardships and privations in order to help these famine sufferers. A number of missionaries, especially those who know the language well, are giving their whole time to relief work, and things are beginning to get really efficiently organized. We are all hoping that the appeals for money at home are getting results - for money has got to come from somewhere immediately, if lives are to be saved. (80)

The great difficulty in the work of relief now is the transportation and distribution of the available grain. In a country where the railroads are so few, and the roads so poor, it takes endless time to transport provisions - and every hour of delay means death to hundreds. A letter came to-day from Mac's husband who is working in the famine area, saying that they had enough food for 1/3 of the people there. The other 2/3 must die. We are wondering how they decide which third will live. (81)

The work of the distributing committees is terribly responsible. In every village there are about 19% in starving condition, and only 9% can be helped with the available relief. They have got to choose which are to be saved and which are to die. The missions are now releasing many of their men for this work and everyone is asked to give as much money as they can possibly spare. Three dollars will save a life, until the middle of June, when new crops are expected. If you have any chance of influencing the <u>rich</u>! at home to give even a dollar to help, please talk hard. Every copper helps. I imagine you are hearing about it in the papers and magazines, for we have a very efficient publicity committee here simply looking after that side of the work. There is wonderful co-operation on all the Famine Committees, and the best men, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, American, British, Chinese etc. are being used. The five big committees, - Shanghai, Tientsin, Honan, Shansi, and Peking, are now united, and the funds are all pooled, so that every district will get an equal share. Mr.

Famine Photographs

These photographs were sent home by Ruth Jenkins during the winter of the Great North China Famine of 1920-21.

I am enclosing a few famine pictures taken by Lawrence [Mead] on one of his trips [to the famine district]. I wish I could send you more, but they cost a good deal. They may help to give you some idea of the poor famine sufferers. We really see just such scenes as these every day on the streets of Peking, for there is a great deal of poverty here, and the beggars are everywhere - and these pictures will give you an idea of the padded garments which the people wear in winter time. (February 27, 1921)

The following inscriptions were handwritten by Jenkins on the back of the photographs. A few words have been lost due to the photo album mounting. Note that many of these photographs are of females, reinforcing images in the west of the suffering of Chinese women and girls.

1. A famine victim near Shuntehfu.
2. ... two oldest of four sisters in the region of ... Changhsintien, ten miles southwest of Peking on the Peking Hankow Railway. Within a month after this picture was taken, the youngest sister a baby, was sold by the mother for a hundred cash. Upon a return visit the mother and her remaining four children were found and willingly c... to be brought back to Peking to be cared ... the newly opened refuge near the Dru..
3. These are bags of coppers collected on Tag Day - for famine relief.
4. A group of famine sufferers outside a place of refuge. Inside there was a case of small-pox. [note some have bound feet]
5. A refugee mother begging from house to house...in the effort to get enough to sustain ...self and her family of five children. Upon return visit a month later this mother was found and with her, three older daughters and little son. In the meantime, she had sold the little baby girl she is carrying for a hundred cash.
6. A refugee family.
7. This refugee family from Tamingfu section of Chihli are finding this brick kiln on the outskirts of Shuntehfu anything but a warm place in which to live.
8. ....looked decidedly empty to this poor ...in one of the famine hit villages. Her home - one small room - was literally bare of everything in the way of furniture, fuel,

1.



A famine victim near Shuntehfu.

2.



Two sisters near Changhsintien.

3.



Bags of coppers collected for famine relief.

4.



A group of famine sufferers outside a place of refuge.

5.

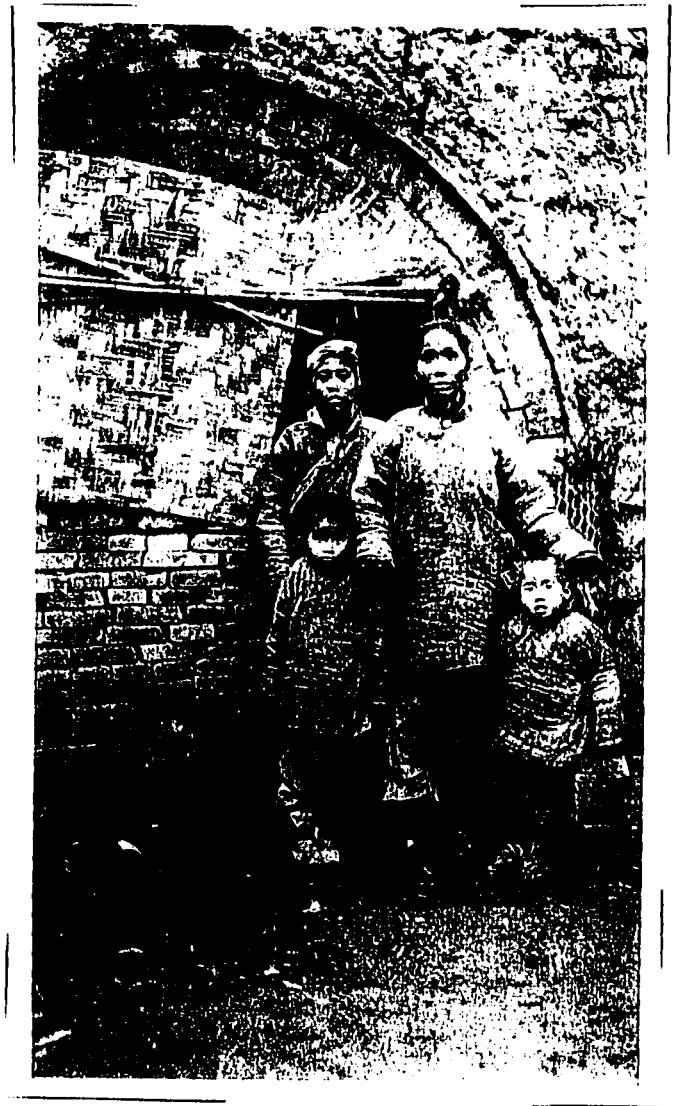


6.



Refugee families begging from house to house.

7.



A refugee family living in a brick kiln near Shuntehfu.

8.



A woman in one of the famine-hit villages.

9.



Relief workers moving refugees to a mission refuge.

10.



Refuge in a ruined temple.

11.



A man and woman living in a dug-out covered in matting.

12.



Children in the Refuge Home north of Peking.



A group of refugees outside a brick kiln.

and food. The picture shows her exactly as she was found. It was not posed.

9. Here some of the relief workers are moving a group of eight refugees to a mission refuge. These refugees have been living for over two weeks crowded under the moat bridge of the South Suburb - Shuntehfu. During their sojourn under the bridge, two of their number, grown men, died ... exposure and under nourishment.
10. Some famine sufferers that have taken refuge in a ruined temple.
11. This man and his wife were found living in a dug-out covered with matting.
12. These are some children in the Refuge Home in the North of Peking.
13. A group of refugees outside a brick kiln.

Jenkins never got used to the poverty around her. She struggled to comprehend the way of life which accompanied it, and particularly the apparent indifference of the mass of people to the values which were of such importance to her. She wrote to her father in March 1921,

The general mass of the people are in desperate need. They are in need and yet seem to be too degraded to feel it. They plod along day by day, sober, industrious, patient, and contented: knowing of nothing that is wanting to their happiness. They are full of their business and their pleasures, taking care of their families; some questioning within themselves deep problems of philosophy, but most of them live from hand to mouth depending from day to day on whims of their goddesses and gods whom they trust. Some look upward, and some downward, and some inured for their life. But all seem to be little curious of the purity, wisdom, and goodness of which they are capable, and which is their right.

I cannot get used to the bare dreadful presence of poverty which you see everywhere. Beggars follow you along every street, with nothing but a few rags thrown over their bodies, and beg for a copper - and the coolies are just beasts of burden, working hard day and night for a few coppers. Its just a big struggle for existence everywhere. Yet through it all they are so patient and cheerful - always ready for a joke, and in every way, so very human. I think they are the most lovable people on earth. I just long to be able to speak their language and so be able to talk to them. (March 6, 1921)

Edwards, the General Secretary of the Peking Y.M.C.A. is head of it all, and he is a man in whom everyone has the greatest confidence. Every dollar that is given in we may feel perfectly sure will go as far as possible. (82)

Jenkins also described some of the frustrations frequently associated with international relief work.

The workers are having all kinds of difficulties. Grain is being held up by robbers - and corrupt officials have been dishonest in their dealings etc. but things are getting into better shape now, and much hope is being placed in a financial campaign that is to come off very soon. The International Committee is very efficient, and if only they can get money enough, thousands of lives will be saved. I hope Canada will give a good share of money towards it. We out here, are giving our money and every possible available worker - but it is not a quarter enough. (83)

One response to the threat of corruption in the distribution of relief funds was especially significant. Joint management structures were developed, in which executive committees of international relief organizations were made up of equal numbers of Chinese and foreigners, typically a Chinese Chairman and foreign Vice-Chairman, and a Chinese and foreign Treasurer. Bishop White, for example, who arrived December 5th in Peking for relief work, served as Vice-Chairman of the China International Famine Relief Committee (CIFRC) for many years. This model for aid and development, though seemingly fair, in fact represented a significant loss of sovereignty on the part of the Chinese for whom relief work had always been a well defined area of government responsibility. It was yet another example of the influence and intrusion of the international community in China at this time. Westerners imposed this Sino-foreign

diarchy on a weak government as the price for aid. At the local level, missionaries took on functions hitherto belonging to the gentry, as agents of state power. For them this development was remarkable, giving them new opportunities for local influence and power out of all proportion to their numbers. For a time they were received with gratitude, their reputation for integrity was enhanced, and they were encouraged to believe they had excellent relations with their local officials. {84}

Missionary reports and photographs of famine refugees, such as those sent by Ruth Jenkins, soon reached Canada, and Canadian newspapers and ministers across the country picked up their appeals. Although Canada was still suffering from post-war depression and unemployment, the public responded with enormous generosity, raising nearly three quarters of a million dollars. Canada proudly ranked third after the United States and Hong Kong among foreign donors to famine relief. Annie Jenkins was among the many individuals who sent additional small bills in their letters to missionary kin. {85}

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For those missionaries who were dispensable enough to withdraw from famine relief work, summer brought attractive options for escape. At the seaside resort in Peitaiho, Chihli, missionaries shared a life which would be difficult to match anywhere. The fourth term's language work which

Jenkins and others from language school took with them (along with selected tutors) to Peitaiho was light, and allowed time for walking on the cliffs and in the valleys, moonlit picnics by the sea, and tea on the wide verandahs of the summer houses they shared. Silk parasols, pith helmets, and colored glasses - to deal with the intense eastern sun - accompanied the women's light summer dresses. Jenkins and her companions swam daily in the breakers and played tennis in the afternoons. (86)

Peitaiho was a resort which was frequented by missionaries from many parts of China, to escape the summer heat and, for some, to revive their health and spirits. The missionaries stayed for varying lengths of time depending on their commitments but many, like Jenkins, stayed for as long as two months. Jenkins lived with two American women and a Swiss couple. But she frequently walked to "East Cliff" where a number of Canadians were staying. Altogether there were about thirty Canadians among this international contingency in Peitaiho, most of them from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in North Honan, and a number of their small children - most of them under the age of ten. On Dominion Day the Canadians gathered for a picnic on the Lotus Hills to celebrate. Traditional races for the small children were held, followed by the awarding of prizes, the singing of "O Canada" and "God Save the King." (87)

Peitaiho - even more than the foreign life-style of

Peking - was a self-consciously western world. Jenkins wrote,

> It is almost like going away from China for a breathing space and getting in touch with the life of the home-lands. It is almost entirely foreign - and the life is so entirely foreign, with picnics, sports, lectures, concerts etc. For missionaries who live in the interior, where all year they only see a small group of foreigners, it is very refreshing and helpful. {88}

During this period almost their only contact with the Chinese people - except for their shared language tutors and their servants - was on Sunday. Jenkins was Superintendent of the Primary Department of the Peiteiho Sunday School, held in the nearby village. About sixty children - composed almost entirely of missionaries' children - attended the Beginner's and Primary Departments. Curious Chinese from the streets peered in through the windows and doors all through the Sunday school sessions. {89}

But after Sunday school Jenkins attended the services of the Chinese Christian church in the village which had a large Chinese attendance. Her language skills were such that she could now understand the sermons in Chinese and read enough to join in the hymns, and she was much encouraged. She was finally in touch and excited to see the number of Chinese Christians. The Chinese congregation seems to have consisted of servants and villagers. The men all sat on one side and the women on the other. On July 10th she wrote,

> It was one of the most thrilling services I have ever been at, this morning. The Assembly Hall where the services are

always held is very large, and it was filled to the brim. The Conference of the Home Missionary Society is being held here during this week, and there are quite a number of delegates here. A very fine Chinese preacher from Shanghai took the service, and it was most inspiring to hear those hundreds of Chinese singing their hymns to our hymns tunes. (90)

Jenkins had gained a reputation for the quality of her Sunday school teaching during the previous months in Peking when she had taught a Senior Girls' Sunday school class at the Union Church Sunday School, held at the Y.M.C.A. for children of the foreign community. Here in Peitaiho, as in Peking, denominational differences were commonly shed: inter-denominational Sunday schools and Union Services were the most popularly attended by members of the foreign community.

The willingness to cast aside denominational differences in such settings abroad was in part a response to Chinese confusion, but put the missionary community ahead of much of the rest of the Christian world. Later in July, for example, a Conference on Church Unity was held in Peitaiho, led by Bishop Norris, Bishop of North China (Church of England), with papers presented by leaders of the various denominations in North China. Jenkins wrote,

Here in China, there is so much co-operation between the denominations, that Church Unity will not be so difficult to realize. We have just got the news here of the uniting of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in Canada, and there is great rejoicing. (91)

This spirit of cooperation was not always carried to the mission stations, however where, in some centers, there was

tremendous competition between sects.

Peitaiho and the other favorite summer resorts were centers for revivifying the convictions of the missionaries. For example, visiting speakers, spiritual healers, and the Student Volunteer Movement for the Chinese Ministry used the opportunity to stir up the church. Others inspired fresh thinking. Famous preachers, such as Dr. Fosdick from New York, preached on "Science and Religion"; another Dr. Kelman, also of New York, gave a lecture on "Three great Victorians, Carlyle, Matthew, and Browning"; Dr. Freeman from Shanghai was another distinguished visitor. (92)

For Jenkins, these men represented the "scholarly broad-minded liberal type, and are doing much to break down the old conservative missionary methods and theology." If not denominational differences, there were generational differences among the missionaries in Peitaiho.

> The older missionaries think we younger ones with our advanced theological views are going to the devil and taking the Chinese there too - and they are in quite a state of frenzy. They have formed a 'Bible Union' and are putting up a strong fight against Higher Criticism etc. It looks as if the mission field were going to be divided, unless they stop their warfare. Most people think it will die a natural death. Dr. Fosdick's purpose in coming to China was really to defend the liberal side and he has done much to kill the party spirit and calm the fears of the conservatives. (93)

The Student Volunteer Movement for the Chinese Ministry formed a committee headed by Dr. Stuart, President of the Peking University to take charge of a campaign for funds; Jenkins and two other women were appointed to this committee. The money raised was to go to supporting

visitors to colleges, universities, and conferences, in order to address the need for the ministry. "The movement is doing much to produce some very fine educated Chinese for the ministry, which is what the Chinese Church needs very badly now." Jenkins' comment was an early reflection of what would become a growing recognition of the need for Chinese clergy to staff a Chinese indigenous church. {94}

The damp of the rainy season now permeated summer activities, and soon too much rain was damaging what crops there were. By August floods were compounding the effects of famine.

> Here in China, the rains have caused most disastrous floods, and many of the poor people who suffered from famine last year, are suffering from both famine and floods now. In the flood regions, crops have been destroyed, and whole villages completely swept away. Mail has been delayed, because of floods and many people are going to be stuck in Peking (who want to go to Shanghai) for a week or two, as the trains cannot get through. The Yellow River and the Yangtze are the worst offenders. {95}

By this time, the summer at Peitaiho was drawing to a close. The final base-ball match between the women of "Rocky Point" and "East Cliff", in uniforms of middies and bloomers, was played before a large audience. The last horse-back riding alongside the sea was followed by hymn-singing on the rocks. The children's Sunday school picnic in full Canadian style included games such as "The Farmer in the Dell." Jenkins was delighted with the children, who had by this time discovered where she lived; she had been "besieged with small boys and girls who have come to play

with me." She wrote, "I am so glad we are thrown with children out here. I think it helps to keep you normal." (96)

The normalcy of children playing was added to Jenkins' enormous pleasure in the outdoor life provided her in Peitaiho. On an early morning in August, Jenkins and a few friends went by donkey along the beach to the sand dunes nearby, taking their breakfast with them. Always an outdoor lover, Jenkins was in her element. But there was an encounter with Chinese culture on this trip which - "away from civilization" - she was able to appreciate.

> The tide was low and we were able to wade right through streams and little rivers. The sand was firm and very easy to walk on - and we found the beach full of interest with its bits of sea-weed, jelly-fish, and shells. Every now and then we passed a large group of fishermen hauling in their nets and chanting their fisherman's song. As they sang, they kept time with their feet and it was most fascinating to watch them. They sang splendidly together and it sounded perfectly lovely in the early morning air. It was a beautiful scene altogether as we walked along the beach, with the long stretch ahead of sandy shore, and beyond that the hills of white sand standing up against the dark mountains in the distance - and the whole thing set to music, as it were, by the song of the fishermen. We reached the sand dunes about half past eight, and on the top of one of them ate our breakfast. (97)

Increasingly, Jenkins spent time with the two Canadian Anglican women, Miss May Watts and Miss Daisy Masters, who would be returning soon to their mission station and to the women and girls of Kaifeng. Jenkins - her trunks and her book boxes - was to go with them.

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There had been many and varied impressions made upon

Jenkins between her arrival in Peking in October 1920 and her departure for her mission station in Kaifeng in September 1921. The year in Peking and Peitaiho had been full of interest, but it had for the most part taken her to a rather different place than the true objective of her long journey and her religious idealism, the Chinese people. If Jenkins' vocational vision had been larger than life, an illusion of social grandeur was now added to it, encouraged by the luster of Peking entertainments. Ruth's social skills had carried her through a seemingly unending stream of encounters with the people and institutions of the Christian enterprise in China; these encounters had served to ground her thoroughly in the foreign establishment and to acculturate her to the society of missionaries. That stream of contacts would soon narrow to a trickle in the large interior city of Kaifeng.

Notes

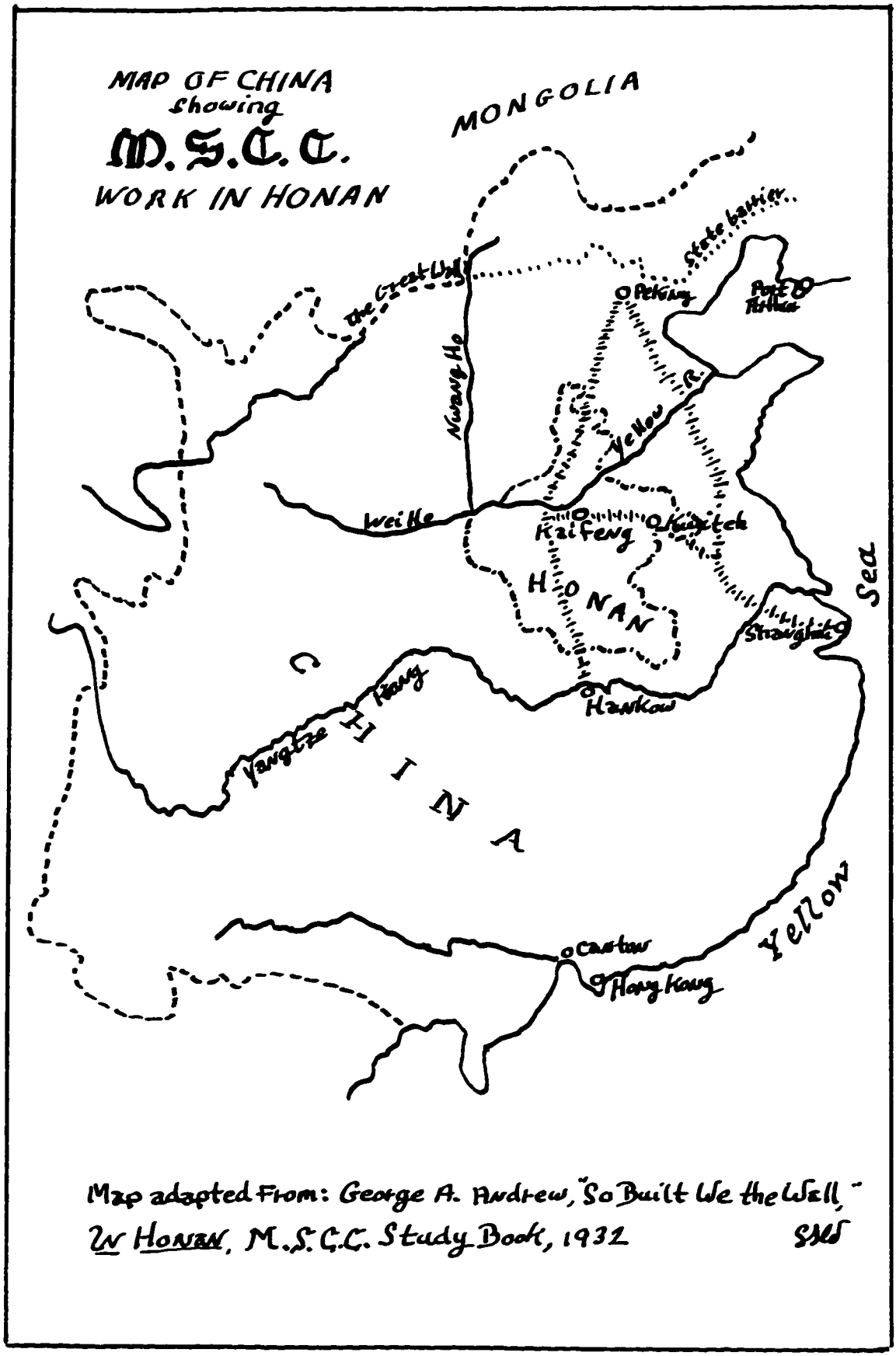
1. RJ to AJ, Peking, October 19, 1920, NAC.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. and November 1, 1920, NAC.
4. RJ to AJ, Peking, October 25, 1920, NAC.
5. Ibid.
6. RJ to AJ, Peking, October 28, 1920, NAC.
7. Ibid.
8. RJ to AJ, Peking, October 25, 1920, NAC.
9. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 1, 1920, NAC.
10. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920, NAC.
11. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, December 5, 1920; February 13, 27, March 6, 26, May 15, 22, June 5, June 19, 26, 1921, NAC.
12. Although there were distinguished individuals among early Protestant missionaries who, like the Jesuits, became masters of the language, spent years compiling dictionaries and the like, the poor mastery of the ordinary woman missionary has often been cited as yet another example of the lack of respect for the culture of the Chinese which is associated with orientalism and cultural imperialism. For an example of earlier, local struggles with language, see Eva Jane Price, China Journal, 1889-1900 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989).
13. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 1, 14, 1920; March 6, April 17, 1921, NAC.
14. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC, Vol. 10, Ch 11: 1978, p. 544; quotations from F. Rawlinson, China Mission Year Book (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1923), p. iv. For further treatment of May Fourth and other beginnings of the anti-Christian movement, see ch. 4 of this dissertation and Jessie Gregory Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, Indiana: Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1988), p. 27-54.
15. RJ to AJ, Peking, May 22, 1921, NAC.
16. Harlan Page Beach, Charles H. Fahs, eds., World Missionary Atlas (New York: Inst. of Social and Religious Research, 1925), statistical tables p. 124-5, 145, 150, "Societies in Asia" p. 58; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC. Vol. 10, Ch. 11: 1978, p. 577.
17. Milton T. Stauffer, sect. & ed., The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of Numerical Strength and Geographic Distribution of the Christian Forces in China, 1918-21 (Shanghai; China Continuation Committee, 1922), title and language throughout uses the military language of "occupation"; percentage of women missionaries Ibid., p. 297; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC Vol 10, ch. 11: 1978, p. 573-4, 576; Ch'en, China and the West: Society and Culture 1815-1937 (London: Hutchinson

& Co., 1979) p. 125; For discussion of mission education in China at odds with vision of Presbyterian mission founding fathers, see Margo Speisman Gewurtz, "'The Cinderella of Mission Work': Canadian Missionaries and Educational Modernization in North Honan, 1890-1925", Paper presented to International Conference on Christianity and the Modernization of China Organizing Committee, March 3-5, 1994.
18. Yi-Tsi Feuerwerker, "Women Writers in the 1920s and 1930s", in Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, eds., Women in Chinese Society (Stanford, 1975), p. 155.
19. John King Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution (1800-1985) (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), p. 67.
20. Ibid., p. 191.
21. Ibid., p. 68.
22. Fairbank, China, p. 93, and passim. For a valuable discussion of the Confucian idea of the state and its concomitant notion of social responsibility, in fundamental opposition to western ideas of individualism and self-expression see Ralph Ketcham, "East Asian Counterpoint: the Shadow of Confucius", in Ketcham, Individualism and Public Life: A Modern Dilemma (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 71-90.
23. Ono Kazuko, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution 1850-1950) (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 94 and 96.
24. Ibid., p. 94.
25. Ibid., p. 96. Wu Yu (1872-1949), scholar and writer.
26. Ibid., p. 94.
27. Ibid.
28. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 69.
29. Ibid., p. 68.
30. Fairbank, China, p. 19.
31. Joanna F. Handlin, "Lu K'un's New Audience: The Influence of Women's Literacy on Sixteenth Century Thought", in Wolf and Witke, eds., Women in Chinese Society, p. 13.
32. Editorial in Shen-pao, Shanghai, August 9, 1878, as quoted in Ch'en, China and the West, p. 380.
33. Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 244. Ch'en, China and the West, p. 123; For a good discussion see Yi-tsi Feuerwerker,, "Women as Writers in the 1920s and 1930s", in Wolf and Witke, eds., Women in Chinese Society. The 1991 film, "Raise the Red Lantern", and various popular autobiographical novels, such as Jung Chang's Wild Swans (London: Harper/Collins, 1991) also vividly depict these issues.
34. Ch'en, China and the West, p. 122 and 123; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC., Vol. 10, ch. 11, p. 583; Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, p. 28; Pui-Lan Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), p.15.

35. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 17, and 131. Kwok's 1922 figures are taken from Stauffer, ed. The Christian Occupation of China; Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility, p. 25. Population figure taken from Beach and Fahs, World Missionary Atlas, p. 184.
36. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 69 and 70.
37. Ibid., p. ; see section II, p. 29-51.
38. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC, Vol 10, Ch. 11: 1978, p. 557; Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility, p. 22; Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, p. 28.
39. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 67,68, and 70. Kwok reports that nearly half of the female communicants and one-fourth of the regular attendants of worship were able to read. Reports of female illiteracy in the general population vary widely, from 80 to 99.1 percent, well into the 1930s. For further discussion of links to female activism, see chapter four of this dissertation.
40. Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, p. 29; Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 11; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", p. 582; Alison Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement 1840-1911", in Richard Guisso and Stanley Johannesen, Women in China (Youngstown, N.Y.: Philo Press, 1981); see also Y. Feuerwerker, "Women as Writers in the 1920s and 1930s" and other essays in Wolf and Witke, eds., Women in Chinese Society.
41. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 29, 104.
42. Ch'en, China and the West, p. 122.
43. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 76; Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", p. 580.
44. Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, p. 28; Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 16.
45. Kwok, Chinese Women and Christianity, p. 107.
46. Ibid., p. 105 (Quotation Laura A. Haygood, 1890).
47. Cohen, "Christian Missions and their Impact", CHOC, Vol. 10, Ch. 11: 1978, p. 574.
48. Following the abolition of the old examination system in 1905, the United States, followed by France and Britain, turned back its Boxer Indemnity Funds to educate Chinese students in American universities. Due to the "notorious head tax" and exclusion laws, however, only a few church-sponsored Chinese students attended Canadian universities. Alvyn J. Austin, Saving China (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 108.
49. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920; January 23, 1921, NAC.
50. For attitudes of missionary observers to China's unrest see China Mission Year Book, (1920-1923), passim. Jane Hunter suggests the resurgent interest in missions after the Boxer Uprising was partly due to "a particular enthusiasm for the development of the 'New China' rising from the ashes of the Boxer debacle." Hunter's observation

is supported by the frequency with which "The New Era" of opportunity in China was mentioned in missionary journals of the early twentieth century. Hunter also suggests that "by the early twentieth century, ... missionaries seeking a hearing from the Chinese had replaced their reliance on military force with a reliance on the broad appeals of their culture." Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility, p. 5.
51. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920; March 6, 1921, NAC.
52. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920, NAC.
53. Ibid.
54. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 21, 1920, NAC.
55. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 28, 1920, NAC.
56. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920; January 23, 1921, NAC.
57. RJ to AJ, Peking, January 16, 23, 1921, NAC.
58. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 1, 1920, NAC.
59. RJ to AJ, Peking, February 20, 1921, NAC.
60. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 28, 1920, NAC; Immigration Papers filed in 1936 by returning missionaries, M.S.C.C. collection, GS75-103, Series 6, Box 116, "Overseas Personnel" (1907-1940), ACH.
61. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 21, 1920; February 6, 1921, NAC.
62. RJ to AJ, Peking, May 1, 1921, NAC.
63. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920, NAC.
64. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 28, 1920, NAC.
65. RJ to AJ, Peking, January 23, 1921, NAC.
66. RJ to AJ, Peking, February 13, 1921, NAC.
67. RJ to AJ, Peking, February 20, 1921, NAC.
68. RJ to AJ, Peking, March 26, 1921, NAC.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid; For discussion of the international community in Shanghai in early Republican China, evocative of Jenkins' Peking, see Albert Feuerwerker, The Foreign Establishment in China in the Early Twentieth Century (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan, 1976).
71. Margo S. Gewurtz, Famine Relief in China: North Henan in the 1920s, Working Paper Series No. 50, University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1987, p. 2.
72. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 14, 1920, NAC.
73. Gewurtz, Famine Relief in China, p. 1.
74. Ibid., p. 3.
75. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 21, 1920, NAC.
76. RJ to AJ, Peking, November 28, 1920, NAC.
77. Gewurtz, Famine Relief in China, p. 2, 3, 4-6 with reference to Presbyterians in North Honan. For references to Anglicans and Bishop White, see chapter 3 below.
78. RJ to AJ, Peking, December 5, 1920, NAC; January 23, 1921; March 6, 1921, NAC.
79. RJ to AJ, Peking, March 6, 1921, NAC.
80. RJ to AJ, Peking, January 16, 1921, NAC.

81. RJ to AJ, Peking, January 23, 1921, NAC.
82. RJ to AJ, Peking, February 6, 1921, NAC.
83. RJ to AJ, Peking, January 23, 1921, NAC.
84. Gewurtz, Famine Relief in China, "The Diarchy of Famine Relief", p. 9-16.
85. Ibid., p. 7.
86. RJ to AJ, Rocky Point, Peitaiho, Chihli, June 12, 19, 26, 1921, NAC.
87. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, July 3, NAC.
88. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, August 21, 1921 [misdated as 1919], NAC.
89. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, July 3, 10, 1921, NAC.
90. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, July 10, August 7, 1921, NAC.
91. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, July 31, NAC.
92. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, August 7, 12, NAC.
93. Ibid.
94. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, August 7, 1921, NAC.
95. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, August 28, 1921, NAC.
96. Ibid.
97. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, August 7, 1921, NAC.



Map adapted From: George A. Andrew, "So Built We the Wall," In Honan, M.S.C.C. Study Book, 1932 SMS

figure 1

CHAPTER THREE

Canadian Daughters in Kaifeng

When Ruth Jenkins travelled to Kaifeng in September of 1921, one year from the time she left Ottawa, she left behind the seductive social world of the international community in Peking and for the first time entered the real world of the Chinese she had sought to serve. At first she was only lightly touched by the political and military instability of the country. Ordered by the Bishop to take "the Special", a new express train from Peking to Hankow, changing for Keifeng at Chengchow, she was aware that there was "some fighting going on in Central China" and she saw that the ordinary trains were "packed full of soldiers". Cushioned from this reality, she and the two other Canadian Anglican women missionaries, Miss May Watts and Miss Daisy Masters, who were returning to Kaifeng from their summer holidays in Peitaiho, rode in comparative style, in a French line fitted out for tourists, with sleeping compartments and a diner. As they travelled, they did see signs of the recent floods:

> The country we passed through got flatter and flatter as we went south, and everywhere showed evidence of too much rain. Miles and miles of land were under water. Around this district, I am afraid there is going to be famine suffering because of floods. The crops are all completely destroyed. (1)

When Jenkins arrived much of the city was under water. She

toured the city by boat and saw the people bailing the water from the floor of their houses. (2)

The ability of missionaries to distance themselves from local circumstances and so to sustain a determined optimism in their collective mission was often strained, but it was increasingly assisted by the physical and social arrangements they constructed. In contrast to the lonely and often miserable arrivals of early missionaries, Misses Jenkins, Masters, and Watts were welcomed at the train station by the whole mission, driven in the Bishop's Ford car, his latest indulgence, to their assigned house on Lau fu men (street), a house which was decorated with flowers "arranged in every corner", where "a delicious dinner awaited us". A community of like-minded Canadian women awaited them: "the girls of the mission, Miss Peters, Miss Jones, Miss Clarke, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Smith, came with us and sat with us while we ate - and then went home." (3)

In spite of this greeting and further cordialities within the Kaifeng mission, Jenkins found herself struggling to keep her spirits up. Her letters do not disguise her shock at the sudden cultural change as she confronted the strangeness and remoteness of Kaifeng, where there were so few foreigners. And she was more than a little depressed by the small world of Kaifeng after the stimulation of Peking. "I am so afraid of getting narrow and provincial in this small place, and so I have made up my mind to read a lot,

and so keep in touch with the outside world." This self-conscious effort to separate herself from her new surroundings took the form of clinging to her Canadian identity, reading the Toronto Saturday Night which her father sent her regularly, and subscribing to several periodicals on China-at-large, such as The Far East Review and Asia. (4)

This "small place" was a city of nearly 300,000, the chief city of the province of Honan, situated near the Yellow River which was seven miles to the north. The country in this part of north-central China was quite flat. To the north and west of Kaifeng it was sandy and "dismal", but to the east the south lay more fertile tracts of land. Renamed numerous times over the centuries as the capital of the Empire, Kaifeng was most renowned for its high cultural life during the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). With palace ruins suggesting its former glory, Kaifeng's importance in 1921 was as the official military and educational center of the province. The city of mostly one-storied houses, built closely together, was surrounded by fifteen miles of wall. The provincial mint and arsenal were there, and the old civil service examination court had been razed to make room for Parliament buildings and offices. (5)

Religious belief was represented in forms of Confucianism, over 150 Taoist and Buddhist sects/temples, and approximately 6000 Moslem families who had built several

mosques and - interestingly - a school for women. Most of the populace paid tribute to the tutelary deity of Kaifeng city, Hieng-Sin, the City Emperor. Tablets and the site of a synagogue were all that remained from a community of Jews which had once existed in Kaifeng during the Han dynasty.{6}

Kaifeng was the last provincial capital to open its gates to Christian missionaries. It was notoriously anti-foreign, at one time even refusing "cartloads of famine money" because foreigners had a hand in it. It was not until 1902 that barriers were sufficiently removed for the China Inland Mission to rent premises for a mission station and soon after for its work to begin among women. Though still relatively young in years of Christian "occupation", by the time of Ruth Jenkins' arrival in Kaifeng, Roman Catholics, the Greek Orthodox Church, American Southern Baptists, American Free Methodists, in addition to Canadian Anglicans had established themselves there, as well as the Young Men's Christian Association of China. Based on numbers collected in 1919, the Protestant missions in Kaifeng taken together reported: 46 missionaries, 57 employed Chinese workers, and 520 church communicants. 59 percent of the employed Chinese mission workers in Kaifeng were classified as educational workers. 1278 students were reported to be under Christian instruction. {7}

Most of the work of the Kaifeng missions extended outwards into adjacent counties. Additional denominations

were represented there, the largest number from the recently federated Lutheran United Board of Missions. In Honan province as a whole, unlike the other provinces, the 394 foreign missionaries were widely scattered and the proportion of church members was much larger than in the major cities. Overall, at this time, there were 262 women missionaries in Honan. One of the largest denominations, the Canadian Presbyterian mission, reported 80 missionaries, 50 of them women. The Canadian Anglican mission was small, in both staff and membership. Jenkins joined a force of eighteen, twelve of them women, distributed largely between Kaifeng and Kweiteh. Both written and verbal comity agreements - definite understanding of field limits - existed among many of the missionary societies, though in the Kaifeng area there was considerable overlap of services. By this time the educational work for girls in Kaifeng had been taken up by both the Southern Baptists and the Anglicans. (8)

Among the adjustments Jenkins was required to make at her mission station was to adopt what was considered appropriate female behavior. Chinese expectations of women, acknowledged and adopted by missionary authorities so as not to offend, were imposed on new women missionary arrivals. Used to considerable independence, the newly confined Jenkins wrote:

There are a good many restrictions here that were not felt in Peking. No low-necks must appear anywhere where there

are Chinese. There can be no farewell or welcome kisses on the platform. It is not well for a girl to go out on the street alone - that is if she is walking - so if I go anywhere unescorted, I must take a ricksha. There must never be shaking of hands with a gentleman! etc. etc. I am being daily advised and exhorted." (9)

No longer allowed to walk alone on the city wall, Jenkins developed a program of calisthenics - walking, running and dancing in her room, but she couldn't get anyone else to join her in her gymnasium. Determined to keep her physical health, she also slept in the open air in the courtyard, much to the disapproval of the servants. Both of these efforts were a form of withdrawal into her former self. They suggest her determination to stay in control and her reluctance to becoming assimilated into the ways of her new community. (10)

Atypically, the house occupied by Jenkins, Masters and Watts was not in a separately constructed missionary compound in the suburbs, but in the city of Kaifeng itself. It was a Chinese house, the first building purchased by Bishop White when he arrived in 1910. But western alterations had been made: the floors were wooden, the walls were plastered, glass windows and electric light had been added. There was a brick fireplace and - the inevitable symbol of western culture - a piano. Many of Jenkins' early Kaifeng letters home were dominated by updates on living arrangements, what the carpenter was building for her room, and her own decorating plans. She revealed the excitement and the anxiety of a newly independent 27 year old at her

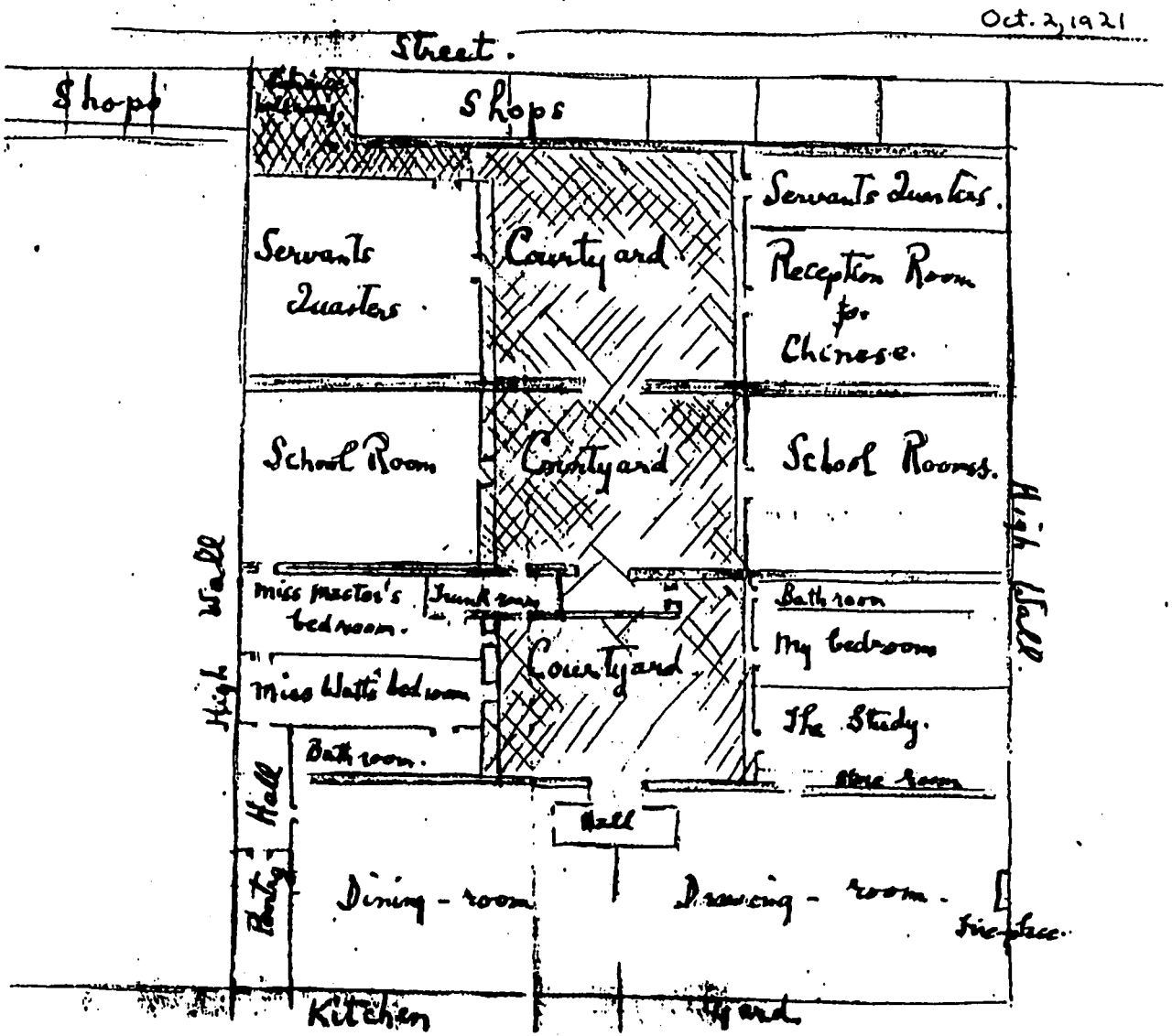
first professional assignment, but there were few references at this point to her spiritual purposes. (11)

A secular emphasis was unavoidable in the first years of many women missionaries of this period. After a full academic year of language training and courses on China in Peking, new missionaries were expected to continue studying the language with Chinese tutors, but largely independently, at their mission stations, for five to six hours a day. The basic accomplishments of the language school were immediately challenged by differences of local dialect. (For example, Jenkins' earliest efforts of study were to change her language tones. Both the tones and pronunciation in Honan were quite different from those in Peking.) Thus, at first, new arrivals were only peripherally involved in direct missionary work. Many of the women expressed repeated frustration over their inability to contribute more to the mission during this period of language study. However Jenkins reported such postponement with approval and a certain tone of relief:

> I am not to do much work this year, but to put most of my time on the language. The Bishop is very particular about our getting the language properly - and I think it is so wise of him. There are regular language examinations to be passed each year, until we go home on furlough - so that practically the first term on the field is a language term. I will probably do little jobs here and there.

Bishop White's emphasis on language was by reputation "the toughest of all the missions." (12)

Modern travel, established living arrangements, and the



The Lau fu men House

figure 2

The Lau fu men House

I am enclosing a diagram of our house and I hope you will study it...You will see that the rooms are all built around Courtyards. The Courtyards have stone brick floors, and are entirely open above. Upon entering from the street, the first thing you see is the Servants' quarters. The gate-man is always there, ready to respond to any knocking, and of course acts as a guard, because no one can enter without his knowing it. The entrance door is as wide as the hall-way and opens from the middle thus: ⊡
From the street this is all you see of our home. There are shops on the other side. Having passed the gate-man's quarters, you find yourself in the first courtyard. On each side lie the rooms of the servants and the Reception Room, in which Chinese callers are received. It is fitted out in Chinese fashion and is quite attractive. The next Courtyard is the school courtyard, where the Women's Day School is held. Miss Masters and Miss Watts have charge of this. It just goes on in the mornings. Finally you get to our own Courtyard. The Chinese idea of a house is just the opposite to ours you see. The servants are at the front of the house instead of the back. The further back you get, the better the house is. You will notice that our bedrooms open right onto the open Courtyard. I sleep just outside my room in the open air. The proportions of this diagram are not exactly right. The bedrooms should be more the shape of a square. Our dining-room and drawing room (or living-room) are beautifully large rooms and pretty and bright. To get to either room I have to cross the courtyard, as you see! This means running in winter time and in the rain! There is a covering roof over a narrow strip on each side - a sort of verandah effect.

The inside of the house is fixed up like a foreign house...We have wooden floors, plastered walls, and glass windows - also electric light. The only thing we haven't got is running water. We have to use tin bath-tubs and jug and basins. We are really just as comfortable as possible.
....
This Bishop has bought this house, so it belongs to the mission and we feel we can fix it up. We have had a good many repairs done and are planning to have some of the bricks taken up from our Courtyard and making a garden.
Kaifeng, Honan, October 2, 1921.

The Servants

We have four servants... Servants are very cheap here, and each servant has his particular duties, and refuses to do any one else's. If he does he "loses face". Therefore you cannot manage with one or two.

In the first place, there is the gate-man. He watches the gate (which is really a large door, but is always spoken of as the gate) and he is our telephone. When we want to communicate with any of our friends, we have to write notes. He does this delivering of notes, and other little messages such as posting letters, little bits of shopping etc.
The servant who ranks the highest is the cook. He gets the largest wage and is considered the head of the servants. His main responsibility is the meals. He also does all the marketing - going out every morning, and buying the meat and vegetables etc. Of course, he has to keep his kitchen clean and he usually helps the Table Boy with the dishes.
The Table-boy has the hardest job. He waits on table and does the cleaning. On Mondays, he washes; on Tuesday, he irons; on Wednesday he cleans the silver; on Thursday he cleans the brass; on Friday he cleans our bedrooms; on Saturday, he cleans the living-room and dining room. And every day he sweeps and dusts the dining-room and living-room. He also brings the hot-water for our baths in the morning. The gate-man keeps the courtyards clean, and looks after the plants.
Our fourth servant is The Woman. She dusts our bed-rooms and does our beds. She brings us hot water for washing before each meal (We have to be very careful about washing before we eat, here in China where germs are rampant!) And sews for us...mending... and she also does any little sewing such as hemming, altering etc.
The average wage of a servant in Kaifeng is six or seven dollars a month! So you see with our four servants, we don't pay any more than we would pay for one servant at home, and we get much better service.
Oct.9, 1921

milieu of scholarship and professionalism all served to offset the dramatic personal, self-giving choice of Canadian women to serve their Chinese sisters. Jenkins remarked that she was far more comfortable than she expected to be. In varying degrees new missionaries were protected from, and protected themselves from, perceiving, at least for awhile, the enormity of their social and spiritual task.

Meanwhile, Miss Watts and Miss Masters put in long working days, carrying out their duties in the women's day school and the city day schools for girls, as well as having full Sunday schedules of church services and classes for women and girls. As Jenkins watched and listened from her comparatively solitary post, she gradually came to learn about the Canadian Diocese of Honan. Her earlier statement in a letter from Peitaiho that she had heard that "everyone loves Bishop White" would need to be reconsidered.{13} She learned that he would need to be handled with care. And she learned about St. Mary's Hall.

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It was with a mixture of pride and financial unease that the Anglican Church in Canada had taken up the invitation of the Anglican Communion in China to enter the field with an independent mission there. It had been something of a coming of age when, in April 1907, a few years after the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.) was formed, Canada was first invited to

undertake a missionary diocese of its own in China. By the time of the united appeal to all branches of the Anglican Communion throughout the world which issued from the General Anglican Conference held in Shanghai in March of 1909, the Canadian General Synod had already agreed to undertake work in the province of Honan; and Canada was congratulating itself for receiving the first call and for being given the first choice, "the pick of the territory." (14) At the 1909 conference, the resolution formally approving the province of Honan as the new Canadian Diocese was passed unanimously. With excitement and self-importance, in keeping with Canada's ever-growing sense of itself as a nation, Canada's Anglican leaders announced their ambitious program to occupy one of the territories as yet untouched by missionary work of the Anglican communion. The formation of the Canadian Diocese of Honan, the first Diocese outside the borders of Canada, represented to them Canada's new level of social responsibility, and was a statement that she was indeed capable of entering the Foreign Field. (15)

Canadian Anglicans were, and have continued to be, the smallest in number of the major denominations in Canada: the largest was (and is) Roman Catholic; second and third were Methodist and Presbyterian, which joined forces in 1925 to become the United Church of Canada. Despite its rank in numbers, Anglicans' presumptive position as part of the established Church of England with ties to the Commonwealth

and the wider Anglican Communion, and its consequent links to the Canadian establishment, lent it social and political eminence and led it to assume attitudes of self-identity with "Canada". The Canadian Anglican mission was the smallest of the Canadian Protestant missions in China, but carried with it some of these assumptions of superior status.

Among the many favorable circumstances seen to be connected to this moment in the history of the "Canadian church" was that "all the neighbouring religious communions combined to give us a hearty welcome and valuable offers of cooperation."(16) The unanimous endorsement of the General Synod, of other countries and of other denominations represented in the field, betokened "the presence, guidance, and blessing of the spirit of God."(17) And it was felt that "the Canadian church [was] ripe for such a foreward movement." (18)

The province of Honan in north-central China was seen to be "ideal in every way for a missionary Diocese",(19) positioned in the heart of China, densely populated with over 35 million people, and easy of access since the opening of the Peking-Hankow Railway (1905). Kaifeng's strategic location near the junction of the Grand Canal and the Yellow River made it a center of interregional trade and urban concentration. Therefore Kaifeng seemed an ideal location for the mission headquarters, whence it would expand its

work outwards to adjacent counties. Kaifeng was thought by Canadians to be a post of unique advantage and opportunity "as though a great strategic position had been kept in reserve for us." (20)

From the outset, the Canadian Diocese of Honan was to be an educational mission, one which was not to be duplicated by other bodies doing missionary work and which was to be provincial in scope. Its Bishop Designate was William C. White, a British-born Canadian who was already working in China under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) of the Church of England. As the man on the spot, White had observed that the two missions with well established work in the Province of Honan, the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, north of the Yellow River, and the interdenominational China Inland Mission, scattered throughout the province, had been engaged primarily in evangelizing. In 1909 he announced, "...the spirit of the times in China, now demand educational missionary work...". (21) Unlike the founding fathers of the Canadian Presbyterian mission in North Honan, for whom the provision of education had been a contentious issue, White stated (with considerable ambiguity which later allowed him room to maneuver) that the Anglican mission was to be "established on an educational basis with a view to evangelistic and pastoral work." (22)

Always something of an opportunist, White argued that

because there was no strong educational mission in the populous part China between Peking to the north, Hankow to the south, and Weihsien to the east, Kaifeng would be "the best possible centre for such a work." (23) Perhaps disingenuously he stated,

> when this policy for our Mission was first formulated, it was with a view to utilising the best method for general missionary work at the present time, and without any thought as to our Mission being of much use to the other Missions who had already gained a footing in Honan. It now appears that not only will our own Mission be strongly established by such a method, but the other missions will be greatly helped. If we can put in a thoroughly good educational plant the other Missions will not duplicate our work and will in all likelihood send us their students from the very start. (24)

Consistent with this policy, and as a firm promoter of buildings as the material machinery of mission, White stated

> we are trying to buy a large piece of land - 20 to 30 acres - and according to the shape and dimensions of the land will lay plans for a complete educational plant such as we may require in the future, but to begin with the schools and buildings will be laid down only as means will allow. Yet the better and more complete our equipment at the beginning, the sooner will our work be effective and strong. (25)

A great deal of White's energy, and that expected of many of his missionaries in the course of the first ten years of the Diocese, was consumed in planning, changing, and supervising the building of the mission "plant". White was always directly involved in the building process, buying brick lime and timber and supervising the builders. Such tasks demanded vision and enterprise. Empire building of this sort was seen frequently in colonial communities of the day, but was nevertheless breathtaking in its conscious

ambition and, indeed, accomplishment. Bishop White's building plans were explicitly intended to impose. (26)

From the beginning, the educational plant was to include buildings for the teaching of women and girls. White emphasized this aspect of the plan, saying

> the need for this is almost greater than that for the boys, and ought to be arranged for from the very first. There is an unlimited field in this for the Woman's Auxiliary (W.A.), and we sincerely trust that they will consider this their special department in our new Mission, and send us women missionaries as well as undertake the full responsibility of the support of the women's part of the work. (27)

Similar broad appeals to western women were being made during this period, such as that which came out of the Student Volunteer movement meeting in China in the summer of 1910:

> to the educated women of the West, work among the women and girls of China offers a wide field. Chinese women are to a large extent untaught and neglected, and thus China is deprived of what should be the most potent factor in her elevation and advancement. (28)

This appeal argued, once again, for that connection of special female qualities to national advancement, for social feminism to join with nationalism, as it had in Canada. The education of females would strengthen that "most potent factor" to China's elevation. Adding flattery to this lofty notion, western volunteers were to be "broad-minded, thoroughly equipped, and scholarly in attainments ... to dominate the educational standards of the East by sheer force of merit, efficiency, and spirituality." (29)

White was more specific a few months later when he

appealed to the Woman's Auxiliary to "rise to the importance of their great opportunity, and send four women missionaries this year if at all possible, to at once take up the work of women and girls, which is especially urgent." (30) He appealed directly to the national pride of the Woman's Auxiliary, already supporting some individual Anglican women missionaries in the foreign field under the auspices of the Zenana society, an auxiliary of the C.M.S. "Surely if a Diocesan W.A. can support as its own missionary under an English Society a lady who has never even seen Canada, it is not too much to expect that the W.A. will respond most generously and loyally for the support of her own daughters in a missionary Diocese that is the especial and independent charge of the Church in Canada." (31)

While home in Canada for his consecration as Bishop, White continued his appeal to Canadian women with all the marks of a real showman. Often dressed for his speeches in the costume of a Chinese official of high rank, he amplified the history and characteristics of Honan with colorful stories, and advertised his plans for Kaifeng, "now to be the centre of a great educational mission.... [...] Women's work will be carried on from the outset, by means of station classes and schools,..." he said. (32) He spoke of the new era in the hitherto sealed Chinese empire, its growing educational ambitions, and its political aspirations for freedom. And, unabashedly, he spoke of China's appeal not

only to Christianity, but to Christianity of the Anglican Communion, "the dignified order and liturgical beauty of which are peculiarly attractive to the Chinese, with their instincts for ordered reverence and their devotion to the past." (33) Finally, he spoke of China's special call to Canadians. "The Conference of United Missions appealed to the Church of England in Canada to undertake this task, and Canadians are much in demand and greatly valued in the East, where many of them hold positions of trust both in religious and commercial enterprise." (34)

One of the first Canadian daughters to rise to this call and to the perceived need of her Chinese sisters was Miss Katherine Robbins, born and educated in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, but at the time a school teacher in Winnipeg. St. Matthew's Anglican Church, Winnipeg, the church where she taught a girls' Bible class, undertook to be responsible for her support in the mission field. In March of 1910, at the age of 31, she sailed for China, along with two younger single women, the Sedgewick sisters. Robbins was eager to bring her teaching experience to the new educational mission in Kaifeng. (35)

But it was soon evident that Bishop White had become distracted by opportunities other than education. "Educational work will not be able to be done for a year or so", he wrote the following summer. (36) Instead he reported his plans for a hospital. Indeed, Bishop White's

plant, which he regularly revised, had thus far no educational buildings but had begun with the usual evangelistic trappings: a city church with rectory, mission-hall, and dispensary, all begun in a rented Chinese house, and - in the first of what was to become a major thrust of his administration - plans for a reading room to attract educated Chinese. (37)

Next, after many months of negotiation, White purchased what he considered to be the best site in or near Kaifeng, 96 Chinese "mou" (about 30 acres) of land in Nan Kuan suburb near the South Gate of the city. After the first Mission House was built on it for his own occupation, the foundations for the second building - a girls' school and women's residence combined - were dug. The land was divided by a road and his plan now was that the smaller part north of the road would be set apart for women's and girls' work, and the larger piece be devoted to men's work and missionary work generally. (38)

Katherine Robbins, like all White's missionaries, had to be flexible. The school teaching of Chinese women and girls had to wait for more than a year. In addition to Bishop White's own changing mission objectives and restless intelligence, famine and war, both to become regular intruders, interrupted the planned work in education.

It wasn't until the spring of 1912 that a school for girls finally opened, with Robbins in charge, and even then

it was held in temporary quarters in the city. There is no information about how the first pupils were recruited; many apparently were not connected in any prior way with the mission. Twenty-two boarders and four day pupils were registered. Robbins described the first day in a letter home:

> School opened March 12, in a blinding dust storm, which hindered half the pupils coming until one or two days later. The wind was bitterly cold, and the dust and sand penetrated the tiniest cracks. It was impossible to do much teaching in a school room where the doors and windows have worse cracks than an ordinary stable at home, but we all moved to one of the bed-rooms, and had a singing lesson, teaching the children to sing the first verse of 'Jesus Bids Us Shine'. {39}

She later added:

> Night came and many a child cried with home-sickness, and we had no words available to comfort these Chinese children who were all more or less afraid of us. However, the first few days passed slowly, and we soon settled down to the daily routine of learning to read and write, sing a few hymns and read one of the gospels. {40}

Given the time of year, the first term was a short one, ending July 1st with an invitation to the parents to see the pupils drill, but the results were deemed successful, with the pupils doing "splendidly in their examinations." {41} The girls ranged in age from ten years of age to eighteen. Robbins was particularly pleased at what she felt was "evidence of growth in character and an apparent interest in Christianity," at least social Christianity, the civilization which Protestant missionaries always saw as the precondition of conversion: "It was a great joy to notice that little girls who came from very dirty, untidy homes,

learned to enjoy cleanliness and order, and several who were noisy and rude learned to moderate their voices and become thoughtful of others." (42) The quiet virtues of orderliness and thoughtfulness were those of Robbins' herself.

The new school term opened in October with thirty-eight pupils, fourteen by the day, as there was insufficient room for them to sleep in the school's cramped temporary quarters. Robbins reported "several more wished to come, but it was not convenient for any one in their homes to escort them back and forth every day, and it is not quite proper or always safe for a Chinese girl to go on the street alone, so they have had to wait." (43) On occasion, in stormy weather, those who lived some distance away slept at the school, three to a bed. (44)

Robbins noticed some carry over of influence from the first term.

> When new pupils came at the beginning of the second term, I was able to notice a greater change than I had before realized in those who were present during the first term, and one girl of fourteen who was my greatest worry during the first term seems completely changed now. Eleven girls have already asked to be admitted to the catechumenate [approximately 6 months preparation for Baptism], four of whom were admitted early in December. None of these four girls have even one Christian parent, and one girl was very much afraid her father would not consent to her becoming a Christian. She was to go home and ask for permission on Saturday afternoon, and the Friday evening before I overheard a conversation she had with several other girls expressing her fear. A Christian girl at once told her own experience under similar circumstances ... I shall not soon forget the look of joy on the girl's face when she told me her father had said it was a matter about which she must make her own decision, ... (45)

At a later date, Robbins reported that "with the exception of one or two new girls, every girl who is old enough to decide for herself is either a Christian or anxious to be a Christian." (46) With loyalty and cultural honesty she added, "it is not always easy for them to be Christians either. Three girls have been very anxious to be baptized for about two years, but their parents will not believe in Christ and only scoff and make fun of them." (47) One can see both the insinuation of western indoctrination and the profound cultural conflict at work in the personal lives of the girls as she continued,

> I was at their home for a feast during our last holidays and the oldest girl in the presence of her mother and two heathen women asked me to say 'Grace' before our meal. How many girls would do it under the same circumstances at home? I told the girl last Sunday in a quiet conversation I was having with her, how pleased I was that she had asked me to pray before we ate. She said, 'Oh! we girls always pray before we eat at home. At first they asked us what we were doing and made fun of us, but we said if we did not thank God for our food it would not go down'. (48)

Robbins was well aware of this cultural conflict. "I like to have school girls wait a little longer than necessary according to rule, for both baptism and confirmation, that they may have an opportunity of testing their faith in their homes during the holidays. It is so easy to be a Christian in school, and sometimes so difficult at home." (49) But, she wrote, "of the girls who are over 13, only one now remains who does not seem to care for Christianity." (50)

Robbins' account suggests that missionaries did not force their students to become Christian, although their

hopes and expectations were clearly in that direction, and that they were sensitive enough to acknowledge the difficulties faced by their students in making such a choice, admitting both the students' suggestibility within the school context and the consequent family conflicts. For the missionaries, the higher truth of Christianity was worth discomfort, their own and their students. On the part of some non-Christian parents there appears to have been considerable latitude allowed their daughters in making their own religious decisions, and a willingness to invite the missionaries into their homes.

When the new building on the property outside the city - St. Mary's Hall - finally opened for the winter term of 1913, there were seventy-one girls, as well as more teachers, and servants under the administration of Miss Robbins. Robbins was surprised by the advances the girls were making and somewhat in awe of the responsibility. "The new work looks very big as I think of it, and I know is quite beyond my powers, but I try to remember that the One whom I serve has all power, and with each duty will provide all that is necessary for its fulfilment if I only look to Him." (51)

Katherine Robbins was a diminutive woman. Neither her physique nor her gentle methods would have been as awesome to the Chinese as the presence of some of the large western women who came into their midst was. Her quiet independence

and perseverance also gained her many years of comparative freedom from interference from Bishop White - though he insisted on making himself "president" of the school, since she was only a "junior missionary." (52) However, her unassuming approach should not mislead. Her commitment to the advancement and education of females was complete. She believed the work of her school had begun at a particularly auspicious moment. She wrote of the changes occurring in China by the year 1912,

> perhaps nothing has changed more than the condition of the women of China. From a condition hardly better than slaves in the home, they have suddenly risen to a position on equal or nearly equal footing with men, and are clamoring for equal rights. They are eagerly seeking an education, both young and old, many of the Government Schools having gray-haired women fifty and sixty years of age as students. Surely this is a time for educational mission work among women. (53)

In spite of the optimism of Robbins' observations in 1912, a time when woman's suffrage was not yet a reality in either China or Canada, Honan was relatively backward in mission educational work, reporting even by 1919 only 257 lower primary schools and 45 higher primary. Three out of every ten primary students were girls. The two Canadian missions reported the highest proportions of students advancing from lower to higher primary schools (and the Anglicans the highest percentages of literacy among Chinese females) within the province. In addition, the Canadian Anglicans had one of the highest proportions of primary schools to evangelistic centers: 16 lower primary schools, 4

higher primary schools and 3 middle schools for a total of 646 students. The Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists and Anglicans reported most of the mission middle School work (equivalent of high school). In some cities they were the only providers of middle schools for girls. Kaifeng was the most important mission educational center, but there were still no mission education facilities above middle school anywhere in Honan, though many middle schools included courses in teacher training, with a view to preparing their students to teach in lower and higher primary schools. (54) (Vocational opportunity for female students, as teachers in their own schools, was a major drawing card.)

Though government schools had been burgeoning since the Emperor's edicts in 1905-6 and the Republican Revolution of 1911, in 1916 Honan was considerably below the average for China in government educational facilities and numbers of students, and only 6 percent of government lower primary students passed on to higher primary school. The ratio of girls to boys was considerably lower than in mission schools. By 1918, there was only one government normal school for girls in Honan, and that was in Kaifeng. The only other higher educational facilities in the province were also in Kaifeng: an Agricultural college and two Law colleges. (55)

Unlike the women in the port cities, where female activism had grown alongside educational reform, most of the

women in Honan remained untouched by issues of feminism. Bishop White described the people of Honan as "probably the least enlightened of any province in China." (56) Typical of the millions of women and girls in China's interior who had not yet been influenced by the anti-footbinding movement, all the girls and women still had bound feet, except the Manchu women who historically did not follow this custom. The custom of footbinding, which reinforced the subjection of women, was reversed at St. Mary's where girls were not allowed to have bound feet. (If they came with bound feet they had to be unbound at the school.) Robbins admitted that educational work for girls was still very backward in Honan and that "many of St. Mary's graduates were not Honanese girls, but girls from some other Province whose parents have employment here...". (57)

The Bishop's wife, Annie Ray White, who had been a Deaconess in her own right prior to marriage, put her support behind the Girls' School by writing to Canadian women on behalf of its financial support. Using the classic argument for the mission education of girls, she wrote that "It means that the girls themselves are not only being taught, but the Gospel is entering their homes through their influence." (58) The belief that "winning the women was winning the homes of China" was common currency. (59) Annie White had initiated a system for the support of the mission orphanage - "Door of Hope" - of which she was in charge,

whereby women at home "adopted" a particular child and took on her expenses. This same strategy - appealing to women's traditional identity as primarily maternal and nurturing beings - was taken up by St. Mary's Hall to raise funds. This approach reflected a certain unwillingness to challenge the church women at home. These persuasive techniques deliberately bypassed the need for more radical feminist arguments. In their assumption that the women at home could be reached through their domestic instincts, one can detect at times a hidden attitude of disdain for the W.A. members - their sewing circles and bales - whom the missionaries were required to thank frequently for their handouts. Those offerings were not to be compared with direct missionary service. (60)

But that charity was essential, for the Girls' school proved to be very expensive. Although the school had grown rapidly in numbers, reportedly few girls were able to pay for more than their books and clothing. In her own appeal to the women at home, Katherine Robbins wrote,

> the people have come to have such confidence in our mission that if we had the money for running expense we would easily fill the building to its utmost capacity - about eighty - but for the present it will be necessary to limit our numbers. ... We are very anxious that individuals or Sunday school classes, or other organizations, may undertake to support individual girls in our school. It requires about twenty dollars to meet the expense for support of a little girl, and twenty-five dollars for a large girl. I trust that very soon more people may be willing to support and pray for 'daughters' in China, that we may be able to educate and train for our Master many of those who are anxious to come to us. (61)

Though Robbins made a point of emphasizing the girls' knowledge of scriptures, which she stated "could put to shame many a pupil in our Canadian Sunday Schools", (62) it is clear that at St. Mary's Hall every day was not a Sunday School. Except for one-half hour prayers and religious instruction in the morning, and evening prayers, regular lessons were held, in Chinese, between 9:30 a.m. and 12, and between 2 and 4 p.m.; and there was academic study every evening between 7 and 8 p.m. in preparation for the next days' lessons. (63)

Only four girls were not individually supported by the women of the W.A., but the cost of running the school had led to the need for a waiting list of potential pupils. Cost combined with a shortage of potential teachers left the school's future challenged when Robbins came due for a furlough, and no clear plans for the school in her absence were forthcoming. Robbins, who was fiercely proud of the progress of her girls, refused to go, for fear that the school would be closed. She wrote,

> I shall not think of going home until we can make some good plan for the school. ... I feel that we must not close the school. It has just gradually grown and improved and is being more and more appreciated every term. We used to lose a great many girls every term at first for various reasons, but very few dropped out this last term. (64)

In the year 1914 she reported that six girls had graduated from the Lower (Primary) Course, receiving School Certificates, and five were expected to return to take the next course of four years (Intermediate). Four girls were

to graduate from the Higher Course in January, and Robbins hoped she could open a High School Course for them. Others were in progress. She described the work in the school as "intensive rather than extensive". She said, "there is good solid work being done, and it is bringing about changed lives, and the work must not stop. Do send us more help." {65}

Robbins, herself, had been teaching four and a half hours a day, as well as superintending everything from sweeping, washing and scrubbing to the teaching of all classes, and she needed a rest. She admitted that "it is more than I ought to do, but I have no assistant capable of teaching most of the subjects I was taking." {66} Besides, she wrote that "I wanted to get a better acquaintance with some of the books we have in use." {67} Her commitment as a teacher was complete.

As the school developed, one of the greatest difficulties was in obtaining "good, competent, Christian teachers" from among Chinese women. As in many other missions there was work waiting for their own girl students as fast as they could train them, and this became a selling point with their parents for keeping the girls in school. Robbins explained that,

> the education of girls and women is very much behind that of men in Kaifeng. A little over a year ago there was only one Government Girls' School for this large city and that only had about one hundred and thirty pupils, including kindergarten, primary, intermediate, Normal and a class for old ladies. Since then five or six Primary Schools have

sprung up in different parts of the city, so we will hope for better things. (68)

Besides becoming teachers, some girls from St. Mary's began to train as nurses in the mission's developing medical work. Another outcome which seems to have been acceptable to the mission educators of girls was that they become part of a Christian marriage. Match-making on the part of the missionaries was quite common, and marital promises to parents were sometimes used unashamedly to prevent the withdrawal of girls who were believed by their parents to be of marriageable age. In the fall of 1914, Robbins wrote,

> I have been just making a marriage arrangement for one of my girls. She is one of my finest Christian girls, but both her parents are heathen and poor, and I have been afraid they would engage her to a heathen, and so I am particularly pleased that they have consented to my choice for her, a nice Christian boy who is to train for a catechist. She is 17, and is to come to school to me until she is 20, so I shall have three more years of opportunity in her life. The girl is pleased, too, because she is to marry a Christian and have an opportunity to teach other women later. (69)

One wonders at just how pleased this girl was, but since girls were used to having their marriages arranged, perhaps it was perceived as the better of possible evils. The important point for Robbins was that she would have three more years to teach a promising student and potential teacher.

Although the fundamental prejudice against educating girls had weakened, Robbins' educational and vocational goals for her girls were frequently thwarted by the Chinese custom of early, arranged marriages. She fought for her

footing tenaciously, invoking God's assistance for her side. In regard to two graduates of her intermediate class, she wrote,

> We should be much in prayer for them, that God will overrule the plans of their parents. I should be very glad to have one or both of them go on and prepare to teach, but their parents may have quite different plans for them. With about 20 girls nearly old enough to be married, and most of them from non-Christian homes, I sometimes feel as though we were on the edge of a volcano. {70}

Progress in the early work of St. Mary's school, and in other plans for the education of women and girls in the Diocese of Honan, was also confounded by instances of serious illness - typhoid fever, smallpox, TB - among both students and missionaries. Several deaths among the women missionaries reduced their already small numbers. This left one of the newest arrivals, Deaconess Bessie Benbow, who had only briefly assisted Robbins at St. Mary's, to be placed in temporary charge of the school in 1915 so that Robbins could take a partial furlough. Robbins reluctantly left her with the responsibility. {71}

During Robbins' absence in 1915, serious illness in the mission and shortages of staff continued, contributing to an already low morale among the missionaries. Finally, a long brewing revolt against Bishop White's administration erupted which threatened his position.

In taking up the work of famine relief in 1911, Bishop White had made the first of several departures from the educational focus of the mission, defending it for its value

in overcoming local prejudice against the foreign intruders. This work, and the recognition it brought to him, as well as his own interest in medicine, gave impetus to his plan to build a hospital in Kaifeng. Although he was careful to argue for the educational purpose of the work, his plan was seriously questioned by his superior at home, Canon S. Gould, General Secretary of the M.S.C.C., who argued that it was not strategically justified. There was already a hospital in Kaifeng run by the China Inland Mission (C.I.M.), and it adjoined the Anglican mission. In addition, both the Free Methodist Mission and the American Baptist mission had begun to develop plans for medical work. {72}

Although up to this point relations with members of the C.I.M. mission had been cooperative - particularly generous on the part of the C.I.M. - White now saw the C.I.M. as a threat to his interests. Despite months of correspondence with Gould and others, suggested alternate locations and compromises, White ultimately did what he wanted, overruling both the recommendations of his own authorities at home and the concerns of neighbouring missions. {73}

An authority unto himself, so far away and with the advantage of his privileged knowledge of China, White got away with his insubordination and went ahead with his hospital building. However, Gould continued to be critical of White's reversal of priorities, and "recommended the

educational focus be definitely designated the main activity or department and that all other activities be subordinated to this." (74) Based on a comparison between need and expenditure - medical work requiring the hiring of expensive additional staff - Gould concluded that the main focus of the work at Kaifeng should be the boys' and girls' schools, and that a secondary educational focus should be nurses' training. Gould had imbibed the importance of reaching the upper classes, stating "no method can be more potential for the lasting good of the country than the temporary concentration of our main strength upon the work of Christian education for the children of the gentry and the official class." (75)

Besides antagonizing White's superiors, the controversy strained relations between the Bishop and his own staff. They were appalled by his cavalier treatment of the C.I.M., and then of themselves. Women were both the subject and the object of White's arbitrary and capricious behavior. By March of 1913 he had begun construction of a women's hospital in Kaifeng, and Dr. Margaret Phillips was engaged to superintend the construction of the hospital. Women had always outnumbered men in the mission, but had usually suffered the Bishop in silence. He could be flattering if he was on your side. The difficulty appears to have been that one never knew when that was. (76)

Margaret Phillips was a strong and independent woman

who was unwilling to play the Bishop's game. Phillips had been a medical missionary with the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and had already served in Shantung Province from 1905-1910. When after her first furlough she applied to join the Canadian mission, she was already experienced in the Chinese language and the supervision of hospital construction. She had worked primarily alone. As it was for other western women with medical training in the early decades of the twentieth century, foreign missions had given Phillips much greater opportunity to exercise her abilities than could be found at home, where women physicians were still given few employment opportunities, let alone administrative power. Phillips understood from Gould that the design of the new hospital for women and children, St. Paul's, would be her sole responsibility, and that this included designing the program and the regulations for the hospital. Bishop White disagreed. {77}

The conflict between these powerful personalities was delayed because when Phillips first arrived in Kaifeng, much of her time was diverted to the famine relief refugee camp which had been established in the fields behind the Anglican and C.I.M. missions. Severe famine in the spring of 1913 had driven thousands from the countryside of Honan to the capital city, to the large camps started by the Chinese outside Kaifeng. Phillips described the famine camp as "a

magnificent example not only of Chinese philanthropy but of Chinese organization." (78) Free food and shelter were provided for about 40,000. Bishop White offered Phillips' services to the governor to attend the sick women in the biggest camp, and, surprisingly, the offer was accepted, the first time such cooperation had been permitted in Honan. Phillips' work was extensive, involving the medical management of a camp of 20,000 women and children, and her success contributed to increased prestige for the mission. (79)

After this work subsided, the nursing of sick missionaries, responding to infectious diseases in St. Mary's school, and eight months of building difficulties in the construction of St. Paul's hospital took up most of Margaret Phillips' prodigious energies, but she found time to translate into Chinese a text on obstetrics for her nurses training program. As she and her nurse probationers began to put outpatient and inpatient care into place for women, she supervised a mixture of religious and medical education. Like Robbins, Phillips oversaw everything from curriculum to laundry, cooking, and the mopping of floors. (80)

In spite of Phillips' efforts and accomplishments, Bishop White was unwilling to give her the authority she expected. White planned to designate himself president of St. Paul's Hospital, just as he had of St. Mary's Hall.

This designation and White's restrictive interference at all levels of decision-making led Phillips to make a formal request for clarifications of administrative duty and authority. This led only to further battle due to apparent discrepancies between White's words and actions, and his further rejection of the arbitration of the Home Board. After two serious threats by Phillips to resign, which were temporarily pacified through the efforts of Gould, the M.S.C.C. finally severed its official connection with Margaret Phillips, supporting their Bishop. She set up private practice in Tientsin. (81)

One dispute between Phillips and White had been over the health of the missionaries themselves. In the case of the serious illness of one, Phillips wanted to send her home immediately; the bishop disagreed. When he changed his mind in the spring of 1914, it was too late. The sick missionary died of complications resulting from pneumonia shortly after her return to Canada. This death led to a special inquiry by Gould into the physical conditions in Honan, to explain the poor record of this mission in preserving the health of its missionaries. His investigation led to a report which emphasized the poor morale under which the mission was suffering. (82)

In 1915, while Robbins was on furlough, other reports reached Gould. They heightened concern about the morale of the mission and so led to a second enquiry into the

conditions of the diocese. A "private and confidential" letter was sent out to each of the missionaries in the Diocese of Honan, signed by the Primate, Archbishop Matheson, as well as M.S.C.C. General Secretary Gould, inviting "a candid expression of views concerning the causes of, and remedy for, the condition of affairs in Honan." (83) Lengthy and careful replies came separately from each member of the missionary staff. An unsolicited letter was also received from Mr. N.A. Swenson, who had been at one time engaged by Bishop White as a Master in St. Andrew's Boys' School, adjacent to St. Mary's. (He had since left to take charge of the Educational work of the Lutherans in the Province of Honan.) Every correspondent assigned the major blame for the problems of the mission to the leadership of Bishop White. Most suggested that he be removed. (84)

Every writer accused Bishop White of misusing his authority: he had dominated his own and other missions in a willful and dishonest manner. He had thus created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust and had lost respect for his mission among the larger mission community. As one missionary wrote, "many of us have thought seriously of leaving a mission where we see methods used in work, which are not only dishonouring to God, but to the Canadian Church which sent us out to preach the Gospel of Love." (85) The situation of the hospital was considered only the latest scandal, on top of other incidents having to do with the

acquisition of property, the deceptive use of funds, and the misrepresentation of buildings. (86)

Of particular concern of the missionaries personally was the Bishop's perceived lack of confidence in them and his apparently uncritical confidence in the Chinese. He was described as constantly changing the missionaries' work and residence, giving them as little responsibility as possible. Both he and Mrs. White were accused of constantly criticizing their missionaries, one to the other, and making serious accusations to Gould, undermining the individual's integrity with the Home authorities and among the Chinese. The changeability, disharmony, and broken faith of the Bishop made it difficult, the missionaries felt, to carry through thorough, sustained work. (87)

One of the most passionate letters came from Bessie Benbow of St. Mary's. She argued that, even more than the character of the bishop, the first error had been to appoint a bishop where there was no need for one. Her criticisms of Bishop White's rush to perform Episcopal functions and his consequent ordination of improperly instructed Chinese clergy were particularly damning. She wrote, "our mission may have a big name at home but we who know its reality, do not put much value on big sounding words." (88)

Swenson, the outsider, took it upon himself to inform the Board at home of "the conditions existing in the Honan Mission of the Church of England in Canada." (89) He

described vividly "the discord which permeates the entire staff here", reporting that "some of the missionaries do not exchange greetings or pass the time of day when their duties bring them in contact with each other, on account of personal ill-feeling. Neither do they make friendly calls at each other's homes or exchange personal visits: a state of affairs which certainly does not indicate peace and concord, especially where peace and concord should exist." (90) The climate of dissatisfaction was blamed on the bishop.

After this inquiry the Bishop offered his resignation, but it was not accepted. His experience and his persuasive presence still favored his retention, but the educational priorities of the Canadian mission in Kaifeng were restored. Among the recommendations on policy which came out of the inquiry were the closure of St. Paul's hospital and the release of its staff, and the redesign of the building for the purposes of a larger girls' school. Funds were transferred to educational work. The official reason given for these decisions was the existence of the C.I.M. hospital. To appease the other complaints of the missionaries regarding the bishop's abuse of authority, some of their own suggestions for a more democratic form of administration were taken up, including the formation of a Committee of Advice to the Bishop made up of senior missionaries. However, the Bishop still got a hospital.

Plans went forward for the erection of a new hospital, another St. Paul's, in the prefectural city of Kweiteh which was connected to Kaifeng by rail, a location which would not conflict with other missions. (91)

When Robbins returned to Kaifeng in 1916 she found that much had happened in her absence and that her school was now to be in a new location. She had to start again, supervising the renovation of the women's hospital into a school. In February, 1917, St. Mary's Hall moved in, with sixty-nine Chinese girls and young women in residence, almost the limit of its capacity, but with plans to add a wing to contain a large Assembly Hall and more class rooms and dormitories. St. Mary's also grew in curriculum under Robbins' principalship. The Course of Study included four years' Lower Primary and three years' Higher Primary work. All subjects that were found in a regular school curriculum in Canada were taught, including sewing and western instrumental music. The acquisition of three organs and a piano by 1920 suggest the importance given to music. (92)

School celebrations as well as curriculum mimicked those in Canada. From its first December, for example, all the trappings of a Canadian School Christmas were in evidence: report cards; Christmas carols; paper chains. Party games - such as a fish pond of gifts from the Canadian women and girls at home - at times mystified the Chinese girls. (93)

By 1920 several capable new women had joined the Anglician mission from Canada and were assisting Robbins. The presence of Elizabeth McIntosh and Greta Clark allowed her to take another furlough in 1920. Of particular importance to the developing work of educating women in the city of Kaifeng were Jenkins' housemates, May Watts and Daisy Masters. Ruth Jenkins would soon take her part.

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Jenkins' first assignment in Kaifeng was to teach music at St. Mary's school twice a week. She had eight pupils a week, teaching them individually on Wednesdays from two until four-thirty, and on Fridays from four-thirty to six. Jenkins reported that most of her pupils had already studied music for a year, and that five of them were teachers in the school. She wrote, "apparently there is a general desire on the part of St. Mary's girls to learn music and they all seem to love it. There are twenty girls out of eighty who are now practising [piano or organ] every day." (94)

Jenkins' musical abilities were such that she was also asked to perform at the piano for social gatherings. But musical skills were not uncommon among the women missionaries, many of whom reflected in their musical training the culture of gentility still expected of western women of the period. Their skill, and its obvious class association, contributed to the increasing demand of the Chinese for music lessons for their daughters, in addition

to English. As well, musical skills and worship have always gone hand in hand, and the teaching of hymns was a major tool of evangelism and cultural transference aimed at children and adults alike.

The missionaries had long recognized the importance of reaching the influential upper classes, of making contacts which they hoped would lead to further enrollments of girls in their schools and further the goal of Chinese Christian leadership. By the 1920s women missionaries in Kaifeng had indeed begun to win the attention of the upper class Chinese in Kaifeng as representatives of western progress and modernization. Formerly scorned, now they were invited to important social functions. One such all-female function, attended by representatives of all the Protestant denominations then present in Kaifeng, was a feast given by a Chinese girl for the wife of the Governor. It occurred shortly after Jenkins' arrival:

> This girl who was the hostess is a very nice Chinese girl who is a trained nurse, and has had a lot to do with foreigners - so that the majority of the guests were foreigners. But the feast was entirely Chinese. We were invited for 1:15, and when Miss Watts, Miss Masters and I arrived, the guest of honour had already appeared. Nobody else had come. She looked very sweet in a dress of purple, and was adorned with very fine jewels. She is very young and quite small in every way - very pretty with beautiful soft complexion, and of course like all Chinese, jet black hair. The three of us went into the room and sat down and waited for the other guests. While we were waiting, some soup and little pastry things were served, and we all tasted them but no more - because the guest of honour did not continue eating. She sat at one end of the room in the seat of honour and we had to do just what she did. If she ate, we ate. If she did not - we could not. The other guests gradually assembled. They were - Miss Wei, a trained nurse

(Chinese), Dr. Chuang, a Chinese lady doctor, Mrs. White (Bishop White's wife), Dr. MacDonald (a Canadian lady doctor of the China Inland Mission), Mrs. Cline of the Y.M.C.A. and Mrs. Salee of the American Baptist Mission. When finally all had come, we moved into the dining-room and after much bowing etc. got to our seats.

Mrs. Chou, the wife of the Governor, of course took the seat of honour at the head of the large round table. Mrs. White and Dr. MacDonald sat on each side of her, and gradually the rest of us were arranged in order of honour - the hostess being in the lowest seat. Of course, everybody refuses to take the high seat offered to her and there is a lot of artificial fighting over it and bowing, but eventually it is taken. As we were shown to our seats, the hostess presented us with our chopsticks, and we had to bow and thank her. Finally the eating began. You never saw such a spread. It was a meal made up of delicacies - the most expensive of food.

We began with candied walnuts, then came fish, tripe, mushrooms, soups of various kinds, sea slugs, pigeon's eggs, bird's nest soup, shark's fins ($30.00 a pound!), duck, sheep's brains, and a lot of other things that I can't name. Towards the end, the one sweet thing we had was lotus buds. And then we had rice and vegetables and fruit. Chopsticks, of course, were our implements, and long handled spoons for helping the soup and eating it. Everything was very strange to me and I was in terror lest I did something terrible. It was a good sort of feast to be at for the first time because there were so many foreigners, and the Chinese girls are such friends of ours, that it made everything very easy. After the feast, the Governor's wife had to leave at once, as she had to go to another feast - so we got home soon after four. The main topic of conversation all the way through, was the food. After the feast when we were leaving, we all left a dollar, wrapped in red paper on a table as a present to the hostess! Of course, she protested, declaring the food wasn't good etc. etc. At the end of the meal, too, she apologized most profusely for the miserable food, and reminded us all that we hadn't had half enough to eat - which seemed so funny when we were all so satisfied we could hardly move!

The whole thing was quite new and exciting for me. {95}

Another all-female, formal social experience occurred a few weeks later at a Chinese private girls' school. The event was held on Republic Day - October 10th, a day in which we are told,

"all China was celebrating hard. Flags decorated the streets and fire-crackers decorated the air. A big affair was held at one of the Middle Schools in the city and Miss Masters and I were guests...This school is quite an unusual one - being a private Girl's School - for girls of High School age. It is a boarding school - entirely Chinese, with a Chinese lady at the head of it, and managed along more modern lines than most of the Chinese schools. There were some very distinguished guests there - both the Civil Governor's wife and the Military Governor's wife, and other high class people. We were the only foreigners. Some Chinese friends of ours called for us and took us there. When we arrived, we were ushered into a rather long and narrow room with benches arranged along the side, and here we were invited to sit down with other guests. At the end of the room, farthest from the door, was a square table with a chair on each side. These seats were the highest seats, and the nearer that end you sat the higher was your seat (higher in honour, I mean). Of course, every one was invited to sit in one of the high seats, and everyone refused, and there was much bowing, and imploring, and refusing. the same thing happened whenever we entered a room. The hostess would beg us to enter. We would stand by and beg her, or some other guest to enter. They would refuse and beg us to enter and so it would go on. Politeness is everything, and time is nothing. We arrived at the school at about 1:30 and the performance began at two. At five minutes to two, we were taken into a large room and shown to very honourable seats near the front. A platform was standing at the end of the room, and on it a table, with two large vases of artificial flowers. Two enormous flags decorated the wall behind the platform, and gave the room a festive appearance. The guests filled the room and the pupils, eighteen in all, stood at the side of the room. The programme consisted mostly of long Chinese speeches, with occasionally short performances by the pupils. About 3:30, the thing was over, and we were shown around the school - and then given tea and cakes to eat. We arrived home about 4:30 quite tired and exhausted! The Chinese things are always so long drawn out and so extensive in their ceremonial detail that I always feel quite glad to get home after them.

We sat down quietly at home and had our own afternoon tea - having just made a <u>pretence</u> of eating the Chinese cakes which were covered with flies." (96)

Although these descriptions were written from the perspective of a newcomer, and quite clearly express a feeling of strain and cultural difference, they reflect

something of the social place the women missionaries in Kaifeng had acquired. Both the invitations by the Chinese women to attend their functions, and the implicit acceptance of "some Chinese friends of ours" indicate that a level of social acceptability and status within the Chinese community had been reached. The existence of a private Chinese school of this nature was still unusual, but another reflection of increasing upper class consumption. Its Chinese female leadership was also suggestive of the level of education and professionalism now secured by some Chinese women, and their determined interest in carrying on the work of the education of girls.

Despite these contacts, Jenkins was not entirely prepared for the advances already reached in education by Chinese women or for the managerial skills of Chinese women. She expressed some surprise at the teachers she found in St. Mary's School. She wrote,

> yesterday ... I visited the little kindergarten connected with the school, and also the day school which is held in the basement of St. Mary's. Both these are managed by Chinese and are just as nice as possible. Mrs. Wei who has charge of it, is a Chinese girl trained by missionaries in the south, and she is perfectly lovely with the children. It was quite a revelation to me to see such an up-to-date kindergarten managed by such a capable Chinese woman. (97)

By this time, St. Mary's was well established in "a beautiful large building with large grounds, situated on a quiet road not far from the city wall." (98) Jenkins' teaching days there were soon followed by weekend recreational visits. Jenkins also gradually met the other

women missionaries of Kaifeng and of Kweiteh, now the medical center of the Anglican mission. An echo of the social round of Peking continued in the form of teas and dinner parties among the missionaries of all denominations and what foreigners there were.

Yet the city of Kaifeng where Jenkins lived and studied was still new and strange to Jenkins. Dominating her 1921 descriptions of the city are reports of flooded homes, poverty, and famine, but they are written as if from afar. From time to time, Jenkins' awareness of the contrast her lifestyle presented surfaced. "What millionaires we must seem to them!", she wrote of the local people." (99)

The work of the women missionaries, much like that of all teachers, followed a rhythm marked by festivals: Christmas celebrations were soon followed in this case by the Chinese New Year holidays, which, together, broke up the teaching time extensively. Jenkins continued to observe from the background. Her relations with the bishop were so far good; she worked at pleasing the bishop's wife. For the most part it was a calm initiation to the life of a missionary, and by winter she had begun to adjust to her new environment. But the rising decade of Chinese dissatisfaction would soon reach her.

Notes

1. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 11, 1921, NAC.
2. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 26, 1921, NAC.
3. Ibid.
4. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 18, 1921, NAC.
5. W.C. White, "Kaifeng", The New Era, a monthly magazine published by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.), January 1913, p. 16-17, Anglican Church Archives (ACH).
6. Ibid., and White, "The God of Kai Feng City", The New Era, June, 1910, p. 201-202, ACH.
The presence of the Jewish tablets was a subject of great interest to William C. White, Bishop in Honan 1910-34. For a discussion of White's attention to this subject, see Lewis C. Walmsley, Bishop in Honan: Mission and Museum in the Life of William C. White (Toronto: U. of Toronto, 1974).
7. White, "Kaifeng", p. 19.; Stauffer, The Christian Occupation of China, p. 80-81, 84. Missionary statistics frequently fluctuated due to those missionaries who were on furlough - usually every five years - and inconsistent categories of record-keeping.
8. Stauffer, The Christian Occupation of China, p. 81, 82.
9. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 18, 1921, NAC.
10. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Oct. 9, 1921, NAC.
11. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Oct. 2, 1921, NAC.
12. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Sept. 11, 21, &
13. RJ to AJ, Peitaiho, Chihli, July 17,1921, NAC.
14. "Editorial Notes", The New Era, April 1909, p. 1; White, "Canada's Entrance into Honan", The New Era, August, 1909, p. 285, ACH.
15. Ibid.; Editorial, "Our mission in China", The New Era, June 1909, p. 209-11, ACH.
16. Editorial, "Our Mission in China", The New Era, June 1909, p. 209, ACH.
17. Ibid.
18. "Editorial Notes", The New Era, April 1909, p. 1, ACH.
19. White, "Canada's Entrance into Honan", The New Era, August 1909, p. 285, ACH.
20. Editorial, "Our Mission in China", The New Era June 1909, p. 209, ACH.
21. White, "The Canadian Mission in China", The New Era, "Foreign Department", April 1909, p. 134, ACH.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 135.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 136.
26. For example, Trinity Cathedral in Kaifeng, with its high roof, bell tower, and stained glass windows was one of the highest constructions in the city when it was completed in 1921. An evocative description appears in Jiaheng Song,

draft chapter on the Anglican mission in Kaifeng, suggesting how imposing it was to the Chinese who recalled it.
27. White, "The Canadian Mission in China", The New Era, April, 1909, p. 136, ACH.
28. Report of meeting of "Student Volunteers and friends", Kuling, August, 1910 by W.E. Taylor, S.H. Little, "China", The New Era, March 1911, p. 87, ACH.
29. Ibid., p. 86 and 87.
30. White, "Canada's Entrance into Honan", The New Era, August, 1909, p. 286, ACH.
31. Ibid.
32. Report of the Annual Meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary, Toronto, November 1910, "The Diocese of Honan", The New Era, January 1910, p. 25, ACH.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Obituary by White, "Katherine Hogg Robbins", The Living Message, the monthly publication of the Canadian Anglican Woman's Auxiliary, December, 1943, p. 404, ACH.
36. White, "Notes of the Present Situation of the Honan Mission", The New Era, September 1910, p. 334, ACH.
37. Ibid.
38. White, "First Annual Report of the Canadian Church Mission, Honan", New Era, May 1911, p. 179-183, ACH.
39. Katherine H. Robbins, "Kaifeng Fu, Honan, China, December 12th, 1912", in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, the then title of the monthly publication of the Canadian Anglican Woman's Auxiliary, September 1913, p. 339, ACH.
40. Robbins, "St. Mary's Hall, Kaifeng, Honan", The Mission World, in 1914 the new name for The New Era , Vol. XVIII No. 7, July 1920, p. 262-3, ACH.
41. Robbins, "Kaifeng Fu, Honan, China, December 12th, 1912", in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, September 1913, p. 339, ACH.
42. Ibid.; William Hutchison, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions (Chicago: Chicago U. Press, 1987) argues that an emphasis on civilizing activities, thought necessary in order to make evangelism more effective, was a key motif in American mission thinking.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p. 339-40.
46. Robbins to the Treasurer, Honan, China, March 18, 1915, printed in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, June 1915, Vol XXVI No. 8, p. 249, ACH.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Robbins, "Annual Reports of the Missionaries" (1914), Letter Leaflet, Dec. 1915, Vol. XXVII No. 2, p. 48, ACH.
50. Ibid.

51. "Annual Reports of the Officers", Letter Leaflet, December 1913, p. 38; Robbins, "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, September 1913, p. 340, ACH.
52. As reported by Margaret Phillips to Secretary of W.A., June 28, 1914, ACH.
53. Robbins, "Kaifeng Fu, Honan China, December 12th, 1912", in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, Sept. 1913, p.338, ACH. For a discussion of the link between struggles for education and modern feminism in China, see chapter four and conclusions of this dissertation.
54. Stauffer, The Christian Occupation of China, p. 86, 88.
55. Ibid., p. 87.
56. White, "Notes of the Present Situation of the Honan Mission", The New Era, September 1910, p. 334, ACH.
57. Ibid., p. 335; Robbins, "St. Mary's Hall, Kaifeng, Honan", The Mission World, July, 1920, Vol. XVIII No. 7, p. 264, ACH. For an important discussion of the anti-footbinding movement, see Alison R. Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-footbinding Movement 1840-1911", in Richard Guisso and Stanley Johannesen, eds., Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship (Youngstown, N.Y.: Philo Press, 1981), p. 179-199.
58. Annie White, letter to Montreal W.A. printed in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, November 1913, Vol. XXV No. 1, p. 2.
59. see chapter 4.
60. Oral interview, Margaret Marsh, widow of former bishop of Yukon, Dec. 27, 1995.
61. Robbins, "Reports of the Missionaries", Letter Leaflet, March 1914, p. 153, ACH.
62. Robbins, "Kaifeng Fu, Honan, China, December 12th, 1912" in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, Sept. 1913, p. 340, ACH.
63. Annie White, "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, April, 1915, p. 185.*
64. Robbins to the Treasurer, Honan, China, March 18, 1915, printed in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, June 1915, Vol. XXVI, No. 8, p. 248, ACH.
65, Ibid., p. 249; Robbins, "Annual Reports of the Missionaries", Letter Leaflet, Dec. 1915, Vol. XXVII, no. 2, p. 48, ACH.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Robbins, "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, May 1915, Vol. XXVI, May 1915, p. 214, ACH.
70. Ibid.
71. Robbins to the Treasurer, Honan, China, March 18, 1915, printed in "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, June 1915, Vol. XXVI, No. 8, p. 248; and Robbins to Canon Sydney Gould, June 2, 1915, MSCC, Box 60, Series 3:2, Sydney Gould papers, China files, ACH.

72. Terry Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, 1909-1934: action and reaction in the administration of Bishop William Charles White, M.A. Thesis, York University, 1981, p. 10-18., ACH.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., p. 20.
75. Ibid., p. 21.
76. Ibid.; Private and Confidential file of letters to the Members of the Special Committee, appointed to interview Bishop White with reference to "conditions" in the Diocese of Honan, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Sydney Gould papers, ACH.
77. Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, p. 26-39.
78. Margaret E. Phillips, "Chinese Philanthropy in Honan", The New Era, Dec. 1913, Vol. XI, No. 12, p. 490, ACH.
79. Ibid. p. 490-94.
80. Phillips, "A Day in St. Paul's Hospital, Kaifeng", Letter Leaflet, Oct. 1915, Vol. XXVI, No. 12, p. 383-86, ACH.
81. Thompson, THe Diocese of Honan; Phillips to Archbishop Matheson, June 19, 1915, Private and Confidential File, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
82. Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, p. 32-3.
83. George E. Simmons to Gould, June 15, 1915, Private and Confidential File, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
84. Letters from Honan missionaries to Primate Matheson and Gould, May and June 1915, Private and Confidential File, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
85. W.M. Trivett to Matheson, June 22, 1915, Confidential file, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould Papers, ACH.
86. For example, see N. Lascelles Ward to Primate, 16 June, 1915, and Bessie Benbow to Matheson, 1915, Confidential file, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
87. Confidential file, passim.
88. Benbow to Matheson, 1915, Confidential file, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
89. Swenson to Gould, May 24, 1915, Confidential file, MSCC Box 60, Series 3:2, Gould papers, ACH.
90. Ibid.
91. Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, p.22.
92. Robbins, "St Mary's Hall, Kaifeng, Honan", The Mission World, July 1920, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, p. 263.
93. Robbins, "News from the Field", Letter Leaflet, September 1913, p. 340, ACH.
94. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Sept. 26, 1921, NAC.
95. Ibid.
96. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Oct. 16, 1921, NAC.
97. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Oct. 23, 1921, NAC.
98. Ibid.
99. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Nov. 27, 1921, NAC.

CHAPTER FOUR

"On the Edge of a Volcano"

Jenkins' calm was soon shattered by the first of many disruptions to the work and equanimity of the missionaries in Kaifeng. She soon witnessed the events which would alter the missionary status in China from one of privilege to one endangered. Warlordism, banditry, and civil war gradually changed Jenkins' and her colleagues' attitudes towards China's politics from impassioned loyalty to their adopted country and genuine hope for China's future to disappointment and disdain for a government that could not control continued lawlessness and the kidnapping of missionaries. These crises sometimes created opportunities for heroism on the part of the Kaifeng missionaries as they provided a haven for Chinese Christians or gave assistance to refugees. The status of the missionaries was temporarily enhanced by the involvement of General Feng in Honan, "the Christian General", whose presence raised the missionaries' hopes for an extension of Christian influence. Both Feng's and the missionaries' opportunism during this uncertain period amounted to mutual exploitation.

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By late February, 1922, with her first language examination in Kaifeng on both Mandarin and the local dialect successfully completed, Jenkins' direct involvement

in the mission was allowed to increase. By this time, Jenkins had wakened from her initial culture shock and was taking a greater interest in the society around her. She had distanced herself from her Peking life. She wrote,

> Peking is not really China in a sense. It is so full of foreigners now, that you can live there and never see Chinese life at all. ... Peking is no place to work. It's all social life among the foreigners and they certainly go the pace there. But here in Kaifeng, we are right among the Chinese and are seeing them live, every day, and learning some of their problems. It's far more interesting and worth while. (1)

But all the while, behind this careful, graduated beginning of Jenkins' missionary career in Kaifeng and the unimpeded advances of the Anglican mission in Honan, forces of change in China were gathering. The most immediate of these to reach Jenkins was an intensification of the activities of warlords.

Jenkins began to send English-language newspaper articles home to her family in Canada as witness to the increasing political instability of the country. Stories of her own lifestyle and Anglican mission activities were rapidly overtaken by her analyses of political and cultural developments. On February 26, she sent home

> ...the weekly edition of the North China Daily News, which comes to us from Shanghai. I am also sending some of the articles from the last few copies of the Weekly Review which comes to me each week also. ... China must be rather in the public eye these days, and I think that most people at home have little idea of her real condition at present. She is in a regular mess just now - politically and financially, and there seems little chance of immediate improvement. Military tyrants rule the country and their soldiers are the scourge of the country, looting and terrifying the people everywhere. But public opinion is beginning to be roused

and some day a real republic will exist in China. In the meantime, conditions are worse than they have ever been since the formation of the Republic; there are some foreigners who think China is hopeless - but the majority have great faith in these people, and believe that given time, they will pull through the present struggle.

Warlordism was the most visible of an array of political changes and conflicts which had developed in China since the October 1911 Revolution. The warlord era - usually framed by the years 1916-27, but spawning one of the worst years for banditry in 1914, - had followed a period of weakness in state government, a political experiment which in turn had followed a dynasty in long decline. In particular, warlordism followed the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, president of the early republic. He had begun as a modernizer and ended as a virtual dictator, prone to assassinating those who disagreed with him. Finally he announced his intention of making himself emperor. (2)

Yuan's "new China" had been a disappointment to reformers. In addition to his personal failings, 2,000 years of monarchy had created assumptions about government which were difficult to change. Financial, institutional, and philosophical supports for republicanism were lacking. In spite of the creation of parliaments and cabinets, Western liberal ideas of representative democracy and divided legislative processes made only limited gains in a society used to elitism and meritocracy, and for the most part were seen by the Chinese as inefficient and fragmenting. Both for these domestic reasons and in

response to foreign imperialism (including Japanese), some Chinese leaders decided what was needed most was strong national unity under single party leadership. (3)

Meanwhile, the leading war lords took advantage of a situation of increasing political disorder. They were usually provincial military governors who began as reformers but became caught up in power struggles. Men such as Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin were among the most notorious of "two hundred or so bemedaled generals and their shambling legions" who entered the fray until the final victory of Chiang Kai-shek in 1928. (4) Mobilizing armies, changing alliances, and organizing military plots, these warlords competed for territory. When one of them fell, thousands of their defeated, unremunerated soldiers turned to banditry for survival. Token central power in Peking provided little control of the warlords, "symbols of the profound disintegration of the political order." (5) One might compare the political and moral vacuum this situation represented to parts of the Balkans or the former Soviet Union today, where "armament [has] outrun the growth of public ideology". (6) Just as the fall of Soviet empire has reintroduced warlordism to the "republics", so the fall of the Manchu dynasty reintroduced warlordism to China. (6) The rise of the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) would be new elements in the 1920s effort to defeat warlordism and unify the country. (7)

Looking on during this period, missionaries, like many other foreign visitors, often concluded that Chinese people were given to lawlessness. The latest warlord rampages were written off as "typical", coming as they usually did with the spring weather (and as likely to pass). (8) The more generous observers concluded, in colonial fashion, that the Chinese people needed "a period of tutelage in the effort to build up citizenship and a sense of public responsibility." (9) Sometimes their determined optimism about China's future led them to take sides prematurely, as during the early career of the "Christian General", Feng Yu-hsiang. (10)

The degree to which these internal military events impinged directly on missionaries' lives depended on the changing geographic location and timing of the conflicts. At the time of Jenkins' letters in the winter of 1922, for example, stories of the kidnapping of missionaries by bandits in some parts of China were frequently reported in the North China Herald, but there were not yet any incidents in Kaifeng. Military conflicts and their resulting fallout were viewed with detachment from afar. But, as the warlords' activities increased in the spring of 1922, rumors of civil war reached the Kaifeng community, rumors spread in spite of the proclamations posted by the Governor that "anyone heard repeating the rumors of impending battles shall be immediately decapitated." (11) Jenkins wrote on

April 30th that

the one topic of the day now is the impending clash between the two great war lords of China, Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin. The railways are most irregular, as the troops are moving about the country, and the storm is expected to break any moment, and China will go through the miseries of Civil War. We don't know just what is going to happen, or how it will affect the government which is on the verge of collapse, but the fighting will probably be in the north around Peking. If fighting really takes place, the railways may be interfered with and mails hindered. So if there is delay of letters, don't be anxious; I will write every week and if you don't get letters, it will simply mean they are blocked on the way. As far as personal safety is concerned, there is no need for anxiety, as I am under the protection of the British Government. It is not expected anyway that the fighting will be in this part of China. ... Of course there are all kinds of rumors and the Chinese are getting into a panic in some places and moving themselves and belongings to safer places. In the big cities many are taking refuge in the foreign settlements. On the whole, however, the people are cold and indifferent. They have become accustomed to the quarrels and fighting of their war lords, and so far have not shown enough interest even to take sides. Here in Kaifeng things are fairly quiet and business is going on the same as usual - and we are not expecting any trouble. At times like this, though, we foreigners are thankful for extraterritoriality. (12)

Gone was the complacency of Peking days. In part to reassure her family, Jenkins repeatedly stressed the tendency of the media to exaggerate dangers. And she pointed out that the means of protection were at hand: treaty provisions for extraterritoriality "which made foreigners and their property and servants immune to Chinese law except through their own foreign consular channels." (13) Thus religious institutions were generally free of warlord domination, and a haven for the growing community of Chinese Christians. At times of siege, the Red Cross flag was often flown over missionary compounds as a sign of

neutrality, as well as international, nondenominational humanitarianism.

Events moved rapidly, and came closer to Kaifeng. In just one week, Jenkins wrote:

> War has really begun, and just at present Kaifeng is completely cut off from the outside world. There are no railways running, so I don't know when this letter will ever reach you. ...
>
> As there are no papers just now, we have not any very definite news. Rumors are rampant, and many of them are false and exaggerated. The consequence is the city is in a state of confusion and the Chinese are getting rather panicy. It was reported yesterday in a public proclamation, that the military governor of Honan, Chao Ti [sic], has taken Chengchow (about 2 hours on the train from here), and this has caused much alarm. It means that fighting is nearby. The two war lords of China have begun fighting, I believe in the north around Peking, and are busy at present in that part of China. In the meantime, our military governor here, Chao Ti [sic] who is a regular scoundrel, and is hated and despised by nearly everyone, has started fighting in the vicinity <u>against</u> his own Superior, Wu Pei Fu, and thus has turned out a traitor. Honan province is under Wu Pei Fu (one of the two strong military leaders), and was expected to aid Wu Pei Fu. Having now deserted in this fashion, we don't know what is going to happen. Chao T'i is now holding Chengchow, but Wu Pei Fu will probably send troops to this quarter, and give him a good beating. Chao T'i's soldiers are a miserable lot, and could never stand up against a good army. Our one possible danger here in <u>Kaifeng</u>, is that Chao T'i's men when beaten may retreat to Kaifeng, and loot the city. That there will be a siege here, is a <u>very</u> remote possibility. But looting is quite possible. Looting means terror to the Chinese - and consequently great excitement prevails. They say that when the soldiers are let loose in the city, they are just brutes. Drunk with wine, and frenzied with lust, they clear the place of money and women - and no mercy is shown to any one.
>
> I don't wonder the Chinese get into a panic at a time like this. They have no law to protect them, and therefore have no way of escape from these horrors. We are making arrangements to have the Christians live at the church, if things get serious. The church is recognized as foreign property, and will not be touched.
>
> Yesterday the city was placed under martial law, and no one was allowed on the street after ten o'clock in the evening. The foreigners had a meeting to decide what steps

should be taken to be ready for serious developments. It was decided that all the women in the city (foreign of course, not Chinese) should move out to their mission compounds outside the city. Those who have children are moving to-day. If things really get dangerous, the whole foreign population is to go to the Baptist Compound outside the city and the Chinese girls of our schools, are to gather there. This probably won't be necessary. News of our situation was telegraphed to the British Legation and the American Legation, and probably through them will go home. I am telling you <u>everything</u>, because you will hear it anyway through the papers and probably it will be exaggerated.

There is <u>no</u> danger in the immediate present, and probably never will be. But we all feel that it is wise to be ready for such.

We don't know just yet what we are going to do - that is the three of us living here in the city. We may just camp at the church each night rather than move all the way out to the Nan Kuan (South Suburb). We could be home during the day and would sleep at the church and be perfectly safe there. It seems to mean a lot to the Christian women to feel that we are not running away, but will be with them during any danger - and we would much rather do that if we could. Of course, we will only do what is considered wise by everybody. The aggravating part of all this business is that nothing definite is known. Probably nothing will happen at all, but we have to move out of our home, and be all upset perhaps for several weeks, just to be ready in case it does happen. It is all very unexpected as we did not expect fighting in this province - and after all may not be anything at all. People who have been out here any number of years, say that they have had this sort of scare over and over again without anything happening. At a time like this it is the foreigner that gets the best of everything. With our governments behind us, the Chinese daren't do anything to us - and foreign buildings, foreign property and foreign lives are the only things in China that have protection. We have nothing to be afraid of, and you have no need to be anxious. The only reason we would move out of our house, is that we are living in a <u>Chinese</u> house, and looters would not know that foreigners were here. ... That is the only reason we feel we must not stay here at night. A committee of missionaries (men) is looking after all this business and will see that we know when anything serious happens. We get news every day through the foreign office.

In the meantime, everything is going on much as usual. ...{14}

At this point Jenkins betrays a mixture of apprehension, irritation at the posed inconvenience, and a

desire to support and protect the Chinese Christian women. Her position as a missionary and teacher required that she put herself on the line as a model of calm and bravery. And so she did, without hesitation. She, and the other two women living in the Lao fu men house, were the only foreign women who remained in the city. And they took a major role in the crisis. The traditional role of the male as ultimate decision-maker and protector of women was also evident among both Westerners and Chinese during the events which ensued.

As the following letter attests - and though the women missionaries managed to "study" in their spare moments - everything did not go on as usual. On May 14th, Jenkins wrote home to report that the city had been through a week of war.

In my last letter, I told you that we were expecting trouble, and were making every preparation for emergencies. That was last Sunday, May 7th. That evening, at about ten o'clock, Mr. Andrew of our mission came over, and said that we had better go over to the church and sleep there, as there was possibility of trouble that night. Chao T'i's troops had been defeated at Chengchow, and were retreating rapidly to Kaifeng. These soldiers are really a bunch of lawless bandits, and we knew if once in Kaifeng, would have a grand old looting party. We had already packed a suit-case of clothes, and we at once got our camp-cots and blankets to-gether and walked to the church. The streets were perfectly quiet. police challenged us at every corner, as it was after ten o'clock, and no one was supposed to be on the street at that hour. But as we were foreigners an exception was made. One or two Chinese had gone to the church for refuge, but generally speaking, there were no signs of trouble. We made ourselves most comfortable in the vestry and had a good sleep - nothing happened at all. The next morning we were up early, and home for 7:30 breakfast. Monday was quite a normal day. All day we watched for news, but it was very hard to get, as no papers of course, were coming into the city, and we were completely cut off from the outside world. All kinds of wild rumors went around the

town, and it was hard to know what to believe. The greatest fear was looting by the retreating soldiers. Many were afraid that if the soldiers got into the city, the Civil Governor would flee, also the Police Commissioner and the police force, and then there would be general havoc. In desperation, a committee was formed of a few Chinese and a few foreigners, and delegated to go to the firing line and interview the fighting sides, with a view to establishing an armistice. Mr. Napier Smith of our Mission was one of them, and at day-break, Monday morning, they started off on a special train. Of course, all day Monday, we were anxiously awaiting news, and wondering if the peace delegation had been successful or not. If successful, it would mean no more fear of course. All day long, trains pulled into the station, bearing wounded soldiers, and it was evident that there was some very heavy fighting going on near Kaifeng. The foreigners again had a long meeting, and it seemed almost certain that there would be some trouble that night. Outside the city, the girls of St. Mary's School were moved over to the Baptist Mission, where it was safer. In the afternoon, we packed away all our little nick nacks behind our books in the book-cases, and hid away what valuables we had. People all over the city felt that danger was near, and about one hundred and fifty people (women) went to the church for refuge. We had a busy evening getting them all fixed for the night. We did not want to use the church unless absolutely necessary, so we worked hard to fit everyone into the little buildings around the church - the school-rooms of the Girls' Day School, and the Boys' Day School, and the basement of the church. The Red Cross flag was hoisted up above the church, and every preparation made in case troops should enter the city. During the evening, a report came that the Peace Delegation had been successful, and that an armistice had been declared. This was reassuring, and helped to make every one sleep peacefully. The next morning, however, we found that it was not true. The delegation had not succeeded in getting to the firing line, and had returned that night, and were expecting to leave Kaifeng early in the morning to make a second attempt.

Tuesday was a quiet day. Most of the women stayed at the church all day. Many startling rumors flew around the city and by five o'clock there was a regular mob at the church door. We had a hard time handling the people, and managing the tickets. We had to give out a ticket to everyone, so that when each went out, she could return. Tickets were given to all our church people, to the parents of the school children, and to the girls of the government school in the city. It was a beautiful night and by ten o'clock all were in bed. We simply spread straw mats on the floors, and piled the people in. They brought their own blankets and spread these out on the mats. At ten o'clock, a short service was held in each room, and then lights went

on (sic). Scouts patrolled the grounds all night. It really was quite exciting. The silence of the night was only broken by the occasional marching of the scouts around the courtyards, and the sound of the machine guns to the east of the city where some soldiers were practising. Any minute we expected to hear firing at the city gates. Every body slept fairly well, and by day-break next morning, most of the 700 or 800 women and children on the grounds were out in the courtyards. Again nothing had happened.

Wednesday morning saw us at home as usual for breakfast. After breakfast, we settled down to study, but at nine o'clock, news came that we were in imminent danger, so off we hustled again to the church. We left the house all locked, had a British flag put in front of it, and left instructions to the servants not to resist if any looters came. Our one hope was that the soldiers would respect a foreigner's house. When we arrived at the church, a meeting was held to settle many matters of management in case we had an onrush of people. We spent the whole day there, preparing rooms, changing tickets, etc. Our cook brought our meals to us. News came that General Feng, the famous Christian General, was approaching Kaifeng and would arrive that afternoon. This was glad news, for we knew if he once got to Kaifeng, he would protect the city from any danger. We also heard that the peace delegation had again been unsuccessful, and were starting off again for the third time. But the rumour about General Feng turned out to be false, and there was still the fear of danger that night.

By Thursday morning, things seemed to be really happening. The gates of the city were closed and there was general excitement everywhere. There was nothing much to be done, so we studied all morning and during part of the afternoon. Many more people came to the church that day and it was reported that soldiers were only a few miles from the city. Mr. Andrew, who lives at the church, was busy all day getting news and making arrangements for a big night. Most of the other foreigners were outside the city by this time, and Mr. Andrew had the responsibility of these hundreds of women and children on his shoulders. We three, Miss Masters, Watts & myself were the only foreign women in the city, and it was a funny feeling to realize that we were shut in now. News again came that General Feng was coming to the city, but again this turned out to be false. But a sense of safety was felt when news came that General Pao was in the city, controlling things and prepared to defend the city.

By six o'clock, it was reported that the city gate was heavily guarded, that five hundred armed soldiers were in the town, ready to protect the town. Hundreds of women and children were pouring into the church grounds with their bedding and were moving about the open courtyards. Suddenly about half past six, firing was heard outside the south

gate. The retreating soldiers had arrived, and as we thought were attacking the city. A steady fire kept up from that moment until half past eight the next morning. Orders came to us to get every one under cover as soon as possible. We piled the people into every available space, and later had to use the church. You can imagine the excitement. Lights had to go out, and we worked hard to keep the people from going into the courtyards. Poor things, you never saw such a jam! They were packed in like sardines, with not even room to lie down - and there they had to sit in absolute darkness, all night.

It was a gorgeous moonlight night - a strange mysterious night, one that I will never forget. In front of the church was a heavy guard of police and soldiers, and inside the great front gate and behind the high walls of the church property, were about 1500 women and children hidden, as it were, in the darkness. The brave little scouts kept guard at every door, and the men of the Committee awaited events at the gate. No one knew what was going to happen, and at what moment, the dreaded soldiers would be in possession of the city. And all night long the moon shone and all night long the guns fired. About midnight, a big blaze was seen to the south of us, and we thought that the house over the city gate was burning. Needless to say, there was no sleep that night. Until about 12 o'clock, we were busy getting everybody settled, and then we lay down on our beds with our clothes on, and longed for the dawn. The hours passed very slowly, and still the firing kept up with unceasing fury. As if in accompaniment, the dogs of the city set up a prolonged and agonized howl, and their barking was steady and constant. And all the night, as one hour passed after another, the whole city lay in terror wondering what the next hour would bring. Outside the tramp of the guards was heard from time to time, and inside, the strange silence was only broken by the regular patrol of the scouts. Not a stir came from those hundreds of women. Occasionally there was the cry of a child, but that was soon stifled by the terrified mother. It was one of the most pathetic sights to see those hundreds of women sitting in the darkness in perfect silence, not uttering a word through those long weary hours - most of them clutching several sleeping children. There was no panic - just patient waiting.

Two o'clock passed, three o'clock, and then four o'clock, and still the incessant firing showed no signs of abating. At last a dim light showed in the East, and the gorgeous moon, which had seemed to shed its glory in mockery over the terrified city all night, faded away, and morning was upon us. Though the firing still continued, it was a great relief to be free of the darkness, and at about half past eight, the guns stopped their work. We waited for a short time, and then hearing there was no danger, opened all

the doors, and the people poured from their shelters out into the large courtyard. It was certainly a sleepy, seedy looking crowd that filed out of those rooms that morning - but oh, what a sigh of relief as they once more saw day, and breathed the fresh morning air.

News soon came that things were quieting down, and as no more guns were heard, people set their minds at rest, and prepared to spend a comfortable day at the church. No one ventured forth on the streets. Food was brought in to many of the families by husbands and brothers. We climbed the tower of the church and got a good view of the city. The streets were very quiet - shops closed and gates locked - a most unusual sight for China, where there is no Sunday. Police were stationed in groups all over the city, and controlled the streets. We stayed at the church, too, all day, and had our meals brought to us by our cook. It was a long tired day for everybody, after the sleepless night of the day before, and when Friday evening came, every one was glad to go to bed. The city still seemed quiet. There were rumors of looting in different parts of the city, and we were not certain that the soldiers would not return so we felt it wise to make every preparation for danger. All was peaceful though, and when Saturday morning appeared, the city seemed to be regaining some of its courage and was astir again. The streets began to fill up, and the shops to open their doors. It was a beautiful bright day, and after having a short service in each of the rooms, the women packed up their bedding and started off for their homes. Everyone was in great spirits - the danger was over, their lives had not been harmed, and now they were going home.

We were glad to come home too, and to have a bath and get some fresh clothes on - and to-day we are back to normal life again. This morning there were four or five hundred women in church and we had a big evangelistic service. Many of them had never been in church before; and as a happy ending to a happy party, we gave a rose to every women, as she left the church. Mrs. White sent them in from her garden - real roses, the kind that you pay three and four dollars a dozen for at home! I think it was a lovely idea and the women did seem so pleased.

[...]

The people at the Nan Kuan have had even a more exciting time than we had. It was there in this South Suburb that all the looting was done - and it is there that all our mission lives- nearly. All the Baptists live there too, and the C.I.M., and all night long on Thursday, bullets were firing all around them. Every single Chinese house was looted and some burned. The shots we heard, were the shots that the soldiers were firing into the air to terrify the people, and many refugees fled to our mission Compounds. Apparently the soldiers did not attack the city as we had thought, but finding the city guarded, contented themselves

with looting the district outside the wall. No foreign house or building was entered, but the Chinese have been plunged into misery. The first report announced that 5000 were killed, but I believe only one civilian lost his life.

These looting soldiers are now all over the country, bringing misery to every village and town that they visit. ...thousands of homes are being stripped of everything. It certainly has been a surprise to have war right at our door like this. ...

In the north around Peking, there has been heavy fighting, resulting in a crushing defeat for Chang Tso Lin, the ex-robber war lord and in victory for Wu Pei Fu. While there will be a few skirmishes here and there yet the war is believed to be really over. Wu Pei Fu is now dictator of affairs in China, and all are wondering what is going to happen. A great many people have great faith in him, and hope that he will now take steps to unite China. History is certainly being made these days and it is interesting to be here. ... It has been quite an experience and I have learned a lot from my contact with those hundreds of Chinese women all week.
(15)

The English language newspaper, The North-China Herald, reported on May 27th that the armistice had been arranged mainly through the efforts of the peace delegation about which Jenkins wrote. It stated that "the peace delegation [had been] invited to intervene by Civil Governor Chang and Chinese organizations, with the approval of General Chao T'i, who realized that his cause was lost when Wu Pei-fu gained his brilliant victories in the North." (16) The eight-member delegation included besides Rev. G. Napier Smith of the Canadian Church Mission, "Rev. H. N. Harris of the American Southern Baptists and Mr. Cline of the Y.M.C.A., as foreign members, and Messrs. Sun, the Civil Administrator, Tu, President of the Kaifeng Chamber of Commerce, Shang, head of the Native Bank and Kang, formerly Head of the Provincial Assembly, the entire party being

under the leadership of General Pei." (17) That foreigners were included at all in the delegation speaks to the status they had by this time achieved. The newspaper also praised the "foreign ladies" of the Canadian Church Mission for their leadership in arranging accommodation and "in keeping the refugees from becoming panic stricken when shooting was heard all night." (18)

It is interesting to note that the Lao fu men house in Kaifeng and all the foreign houses in the Nan Kuan suburb were in fact "respected" and free of looting, a situation which was not and would not be always the case in a country where anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling often ran high. The newspapers reported that in the suburb, the Canadian Church Mission residences and schools had been under the protection of the police, "who kept up a rifle fire all night as a barrage and held off any intending looters." (19) The report went on to imply that the mission had preferential treatment, stating that "the police, however, were not sufficient to protect the whole of the South Kuan and a great many families, both poor and rich, suffered the loss of everything." (20) Likewise, all the foreigners and their buildings in Kweiteh, (Canadian Anglican, Lutheran, and Southern Baptist) remained safe after looting and fire-setting by soldiers there a week later. A large section of that city had been wiped out and many Chinese had been killed and burned to death, but the

missionaries were allowed to continue in their belief that they were safe and that the exemption of foreigners from Chinese war could continue.

Cooperation among the Christian denominations at times of crisis was common. In this case they shared the safer accommodation of the Baptist facility, which was south of the railway track and farther away from hostilities. After the siege the Anglicans pooled their medical resources with those of the China Inland Mission hospital for the treatment of wounded soldiers. The generous-mindedness which tended to prevail at such times can also be seen in the "tickets" given not only to the mission school girls but to the girls of the Kaifeng government school. The reference to scouts refers to the organization, Boy Scouts, another import from western society which exemplified attitudes of the day towards developing citizenship in youth.

Few accounts of the warlord era fail to mention the colorful Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General" of the North China army. He had been converted in the first year of the Republic by the Reverend John R. Mott, evangelist for the Y.M.C.A., and C.T. Wang. Feng himself explained that this occurred "after treatment by a mission doctor who would take no money for his services, but directed him to God, who had cured him of a disease that Chinese doctors would only attempt for a great sum." (21) The most famous story about Feng is that he baptized hundreds of his soldiers at a time

with a fire hose, but this has never been verified. He became the darling of the missionaries, whom he cultivated; he was admired for his well-disciplined troops and practical reforms. (22) Jenkins wrote with lavish praise of Feng, who arrived in Kaifeng shortly after the siege.

> We here in Honan are rejoicing just now, because our ex-governor, Chao Ti [sic], who had joined forces with the defeated party, has been replaced by a new governor, who is none other than the great Christian General, Feng Yu Hsiang (Feng is pronounced Fung). He is known all over China as the Christian General, and a most earnest Christian he is. About half his army are also Christian, and a splendid lot of men they are - clean living, and filled with high ideals. You can imagine what it means to Honan to have General Feng here, after such a scoundrel as Chao T'i our last Governor was. Chao T'i's soldiers were a lawless bunch of bandits (as many soldiers in China are), and they have been the terror of the people - and now the city is filled with an army that can be trusted. Flags are waving and people are smiling. The foreigners were invited to the Y.M.C.A. this afternoon to meet General Feng, but he did not turn up, being too busy with his new duties. He sent a very nice message to us though and said he was very sorry that we had been put to such inconvenience during the past week. (23)

Later a large gathering of representatives of both the city and the foreign nations did meet with Feng in the assembly room of the Y.M.C.A. The following week's letter continued to describe the work of General Feng and the reception given him by the mission community in Kaifeng. The church service held for him at the Anglican church speaks to the hopes the mission community placed in this new General, as well as their need to search for protection among the new forces in China. Anglicans, used to being an established church, were particularly comfortable connecting to people of power. Relief at the return of order even

overwhelmed a distaste for the looters' heads Feng hung on the city gates.

All week his [Feng's] troops have been occupying the city, disarming the forces already in the city, and bringing order out of chaos. There has been a good deal of unrest throughout the city, and many people still are afraid to venture forth. The shops have not all opened their doors yet, and schools are only just getting started again. General Feng is busy at work, ridding the town of looters and beggars, and the measures used are certainly severe. Anyone caught looting says good-bye to his head, right there and then! Heads have been hung on the city gates and on posts as a warning to people. Some looters have been shot and their bodies have been seen lying on the street. ... One of the improvements already introduced by General Feng is a Beggar's Food Kitchen. ...General Feng's idea is to get [all the beggars] into one place and teach them different trades. Those who can't learn are to be fed at his Food Kitchen. It's a wonderful move, and already the streets are stripped of them. ... Today a big service is being held for him in our church, to which all the Christians of the city are invited. A choir of over one hundred soldiers is to lead the singing, and General Feng himself is to speak. (24)

Later she described the service more fully.

The service for General Feng last Sunday was a splendid one. The church was <u>filled</u> with Christians, and a most orderly service it was from beginning to end. There must have been about six or seven hundred people there. The little scouts stood on each side of the walk that leads into the church from the gate. The church was decorated with flowers and looked very nice.

When General Feng entered and when he left the church, the Police Band (brass band) standing at the back of the church played. The service was simple, and was made interesting by the singing of anthems by Feng's soldiers - a new departure for Chinese. Addresses of welcome were presented by various representatives of the Chinese Church, and by Bishop White representing the foreigners, and a splendid return address and sermon was given by General Feng. He is a most striking looking man, tall and big, well built, with the soldier's bearing - so different from most Chinese who are small and slight. He spoke most humbly about himself and his accomplishments, and his preaching was most earnest. When he left the church, he just got on his bicycle and rode off very simply. Soldiers on bicycles accompanied him, and others ran beside and behind him, encircling him as a body guard - and a few soldiers on horse-back brought up the rear. (25)

Jenkins relief in Feng's taking charge was enhanced by the values he represented: his Christianity, his calm and simplicity, and his apparent humility. Even his size and bearing seemed to suggest command in the midst of chaos. Jenkins' own disquiet brought about by her contact with violence must have been profound in that she was prepared to overlook Feng's severe methods.

Non-Christian Chinese had nothing to fear. The same year, while still in Shensi, Feng had issued a proclamation affirming that while he was a Christian himself he had no intention of excluding from the Province other religions. He stated, "I have followed our Lord Jesus Christ for more than ten years and it is with regret that I admit that I cannot put into effect many of the things which are in accordance with the truths of that religion, and how can I exclude other religions?" (26)

Warlordism and its ensuing chaos was one of the conditions under which women missionaries of this period worked. It regularly disrupted the work of school and church. Many students took "French leave" when there were rumors of trouble. (29) But, more important, it was one symptom of the coming apart of Chinese society, a long-term ripple effect of the disruption and humiliation caused by western intrusion since the mid-nineteenth century. Misconceived by some as simply Chinese lawlessness, warlordism and banditry were part of the toxic combination

of reactions which was brewing in response to rapid cultural change and the moral vacuum it created. Warlordism also contributed to the renewal of determined Chinese nationalism of which anti-foreign sentiment had always played a part. (30)

But for now, the Chinese women and girls protected in Christian courtyards were grateful to their Christian guardians, and every rose Jenkins gave was not only a token of proselytism, but a gesture of affection from woman to woman.

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A very different generator of nationalism coincided with the warlord era. Roused by increasing education and energized by failed reform efforts, both male and female students who had taken part in or observed the anti-foreign, anti-imperial demonstrations of May 4th, 1919 became increasingly radicalized.

In the mid-1920s growing nationalism and anti-foreign sentiment among students in major port cities began to target foreign missionaries in education. Anti-Christian organizations were formed to demand that education be returned to China's authority. Both Nationalist and Communist party leaders capitalized on newly politicized youth, encouraging their protests and, evidence suggests, directing secular student leaders' infiltration into mission school unions to heighten student patriotism. In China's

interior, where traditional life had been less disturbed by westerners, these changes were delayed. In Kaifeng there was some notice of distant student protests, but newspaper reports were few, crowded out by preoccupations with civil war. Indeed, throughout Honan province, an emotional roller coaster of military and political crises followed by brief periods of peace and order placed the activities of rebellious students on the margins. What Jenkins and her Kaifeng colleagues heard of the New Culture Movement was hailed by them as positive products of intellectual awakening, but not as threatening. Anti-foreign activities were dismissed as a temporary expression of student passion which, the missionaries thought, was sure to "die a natural death."

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On May 4, 1919 approximately 3000 students in Peking had marched in protest against the Versailles peace settlement which had allowed Japan to keep the former concessions of Germany in Shantung. Ensuing violent activities of some students led to arrests which in turn raised a storm of protest throughout educated China. May 4th and its aftermath symbolized a new source of national consciousness in China; it politicized youth. (31) Like Kent State or Tiananmen Square, the words May Fourth came to represent much more than an incident. On the purely political front, the May Fourth Movement - in its

highlighting of opposition to imperialism - has been a constant reference point for subsequent revolutionary leaders. The meanings attached to the May Fourth reference point are mixed, but that something sizable - a sea change - occurred in the culture on that date is widely acknowledged.

For some scholars the May Fourth Movement embraces the whole period from 1917 to 1922, a period which included wide-ranging cultural and intellectual protests against many sorts of tradition. The term is thus used interchangeably with "The New Culture Movement" (also called by some at the time "the New Thought Tide" and "the Renaissance Movement") which was a longer and more cerebral period of reassessment than the political events associated with May 4th itself. (32)

The spirit of the New Culture Movement was one of openness and diversity, challenging both Eastern and Western ideas. Young intellectuals of the period, both professors and students, some personally exposed through their educational opportunities to Japanese or continental European political ideas, others to American, were exploring everything from Marxism and Existentialism to Darwinian Science, and the ideas of John Dewey and Bertrand Russell. Their acceptance of scientific rationalism played a major role in young intellectuals' rejection of all forms of traditional authority and orthodoxy, including Confucianism. Intellectual cosmopolitanism was often the tone of their

published articles, which quoted from wide-ranging sources - including the Bible. In all this iconoclasm, what drove the debates and arguments was a search for ideological direction, and ultimately a concern for China's future. Nationalism and modernization were the themes which became the common denominators among a variety of views. {33}

Though varied and amorphous to begin with, student attitudes and activities became increasingly more focused and directed toward anti-foreignism. After May 4th, the "New Youth" of China's enlarged student body followed western models of student activism to form hundreds of student unions, social clubs, and cause-oriented associations, and these issued numerous publications. Though these students still represented a tiny elite, it "formed the core of the student subculture", which later became "ready instruments for publicity and for direct action." {34}

In the periodicals published early in this period, "the whole father generation" -- including family ethics, teachers, administrators and government officials -- was criticized. {35} Both eastern and western civilization came under scrutiny. "The problem of religion" in its wider sense, that is, its role in society and its relationship to the state, was a popular topic, growing partly in response to a conservative attempt to make Confucianism the state religion. {36} But what began as attacks on Confucian

orthodoxy and religious superstition in general, then moved to assault Christianity in particular, and to a series of protests which constituted the Anti-Christian Movement of 1920-22. (37)

To begin with, the anti-Christian movement was simply one part of the larger debate. Articles attacking Christian doctrines and church activities were met with responses from prominent Chinese Christian apologists. Christian organizations competed with political ones for the loyalty of youth. Indeed, some missionaries saw this period of religious questioning as a great opportunity to move in with answers of their own. The anti-Christian movement did not peak until the spring and summer of 1922, with the formation of the Anti-Christian Students Federation. Anti-Christian publications and demonstrations became part of the Federation's concerted propaganda promoting radical nationalism and its logical flip-side, intense anti-imperialism. Publicity surrounding two Christian events had sparked this increase in activity: the international conference of the World's Student Christian Federation which was held in Peking April 4-8, 1922, and the Shanghai Conference May 2-11, 1922 of Protestant Chinese and Western delegates. Both drew attention to the size and aims of the Christian enterprise in China. (38) In her letter of April 30, 1922, Jenkins wrote,

"The Anti-Christian movement is something quite new and is exciting a good deal of attention. It was occasioned by the

meeting in Peking a few weeks ago of the World's Student Christian Federation. The non-Christian students seeing so many Christian students meet to-gether realized what an influence Christianity was having in China, and led by one or two non-Christian professors launched a campaign against Christianity. The young students are very radical, and rather unbalanced at times. Opposition from all classes to their attacks, have made them more moderate in their later statements, and most people think the movement will die a natural death." (39)

It was not until the civil war receded in the attentions of the Kaifeng missionaries that the activities of radical students -- still largely in the hybrid cultures of the treaty port cities such as Peking and Shanghai -- were noticed once again. But the discontents and intellectual explorations of students were interpreted as positive and progressive, and were not yet seen as directly threatening to the Christian enterprise. As they viewed the New Culture Movement, most missionaries' own confidence was not yet shaken. Jenkins exhibited the acceptance of a broad-minded liberal for educational progress and she rejoiced in its liberation of women:

China has certainly made rapid progress during the last ten years. The number of students have more than trebled since the establishment of the Republic. Instead of private tutors, there are public schools, colleges, and universities. Instead of studying the classics alone, students are discussing the latest scientific theories and the latest philosophy. There is a New Culture Movement, generally called the Renaissance Movement abroad, showing an intellectual awakening. This encourages the students to be skeptical towards everything traditional and so they are inquiring into everything. As for women, public opinion has been so enlightened that not only are women to a large extent freed from bound feet, but are given the same opportunity as the men for education. Schools for girls are to be found everywhere, and in some universities they are allowed to study together with men. From seclusion to coeducation is certainly a long stride! (40)

Locally, she took great pride in the progress of education for girls and in the contribution of Christian missions. Physical education and competitive games, a particularly novel and strange western import for girls so recently foot-bound, had been added to most mission school curriculums, a reflection of western views of what constituted healthy youth and adolescence. Girl students had participated for the first time in provincial athletic competition that October. Attending a term closing ceremony of the large girls' school of the Baptist Mission in Kaifeng, Jenkins also reported on the girls' execution of drill exercises followed by an exhibition basket-ball game. The fine performances of the female pianists and choristers also drew comment. Jenkins' report of all this concluded with the complacency and optimism which remained characteristic of Christians, despite the challenges in the background.

> It really is splendid to see Chinese girls having all these advantages now, which ten years ago were scarcely dreamed of. Practically all the girls that go through these Mission Schools become Christians and become engaged in Christian work of some kind, and they are making wonderful women. (41)

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The education of girls in Kaifeng was several generations behind that of the women in the port cities. When Jenkins joined her colleagues in the education of females in Kaifeng, it was mid-way in a process which had been at work in some parts of China for many decades longer:

raising the consciousness of females. But the same elements of mission education were in place in Kaifeng. Literacy, physical freedom, peer solidarity, leadership training, vocational outcomes, and the possibility of higher education all constituted a context which challenged traditional thought in every sphere. Coalescing with other, more political influences, these elements had already combined to affect the rise of modern feminism elsewhere in China. The Kaifeng missionary teachers would soon witness determination in their own female students.

For women, the issue of nationalism re-ignited by warlordism, the New Culture/May 4th, and anti-Christian movements of the 1920s was particularly significant. Questions about family ethics and the educational rights of females were part of the debates about China's national future, although the May Fourth period was not the first time issues of female participation in education and society were highlighted. Previous injuries to China's pride had also brought these issues to the forefront of debate. We pause to examine modern feminism in China, its link to the issue of education for females, and the paradoxical part the missionaries played in this further source of rapid change in China.

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Modern feminism had begun to take root in China in association with the reform movement of the mid-1890s.

Examples of even earlier female heroism and maverick feminist writing are present in the literature, and the relentless missionary-led opposition to footbinding in the second half of the nineteenth century had already led to a proliferation of anti-footbinding societies which included both missionary and Chinese women. (42) The missionary introduction of schools for girls had gained slow, though steady, support. (43) A few Chinese women were sent abroad to receive education. But it is generally conceded that it was not until the 1890s, particularly in the wake of China's defeat by Japan in 1895, that a shift in public opinion about women's issues began to take greater hold, especially in port cities such as Shanghai, and Chinese reformers took up "the plight of Chinese women" especially, "the ways in which they were holding back national progress." (44)

For the first time, in these waning years of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911), western knowledge and western life-styles began to become fashionable in China, with an especially powerful effect on newly educated Chinese women. Among the literate there grew a new awareness -- indeed humiliation -- regarding the more blatant social and cultural norms of male dominance in China: foot-binding, concubinage, infanticide, the sale of females, the enforced chastity of widows, and the "three followings" to which females were subject in the Confucian order: subservient in turn to father, husband, and son. Chinese authors of the

1890s, sensitive to the opinion of other countries, frequently wrote that such customs in China were the source of ridicule by modern nations. (45)

And so, the focus of this first stage of the woman's movement in China was largely nationalist (46). In the final analysis, the Chinese feminist argument "rested not on justice or self-evident rights but on China's need to include its women in order to 'save the nation' (chiu-kuo)." (47) The issue of women's education became prominent "in the context of China's pressing need to make them productive members of society". (48) Liang Ch'i-ch'ao pointed out that women were idle and dependent, that they needed to be self-sufficient in order to strengthen the country. He and others argued that women's education would be the cure for these problems, and ultimately strengthen China. (49)

By the turn of the century, the settlements of the Boxer Rebellion (1898-1901) had added new insults to previous injuries by Japan. Serious self-doubts were renewed about China's ability to adequately hold its own among other nations in the modern world, so much so that "a sense of national crisis...pervaded Chinese intellectual circles after 1900." (50) Some women, "brought to intellectual life by the beginnings of modern education" joined male radicals in an early revolutionary anti-Manchu struggle, which soon after included a struggle against male domination. (51) A few women became famous for their

involvement in revolutionary activities leading up to and including the dramatic events of 1911. The feminist press expanded rapidly, although individual journals were often short-lived for lack of funds. The number of female associations and the variety of overtly feminist strategies grew. Although 1906 brought a proclamation mandating the government establishment of schools for girls, one year after the old examination system for males was officially discarded, at this point there was very little application of the new system. They were underfinanced and slow to reach many parts of the country. However, a number of Chinese private schools for girls were founded by Chinese women in Shanghai and Peking. The Patriotic Girls' School was founded by young radical intellectuals and became a center of feminist activity. And women's educational associations, study associations, and study programs abroad grew in number. Another promising development was the complete Sinification by 1908 of the leadership of the formerly international Natural Foot Society (T'ien tsu hui). {52}

In 1902, Chinese women seized on popular journalism to promote sisterhood as well as nationhood. Newspapers and pamphlets were used to introduce feminist ideas, translations of Japanese and Western writings, including biographies of famous western women such as Florence Nightingale, and to provide news of contemporary events and

trends among women around the world. Reports of feminist activity in Britain and America, and of international women's conferences, all contributed to a climate of female activism. Feminist journals also frequently published the essays of school-girls. They specifically "urged women to become aware of their desperate and isolated condition and take steps to remedy it." As in the case of geographically separated Canadian women, Chinese women were called upon to form networks: "women, join hands and ascend the stage of the twentieth century..." (53)

In this first decade of the twentieth century the elevated status of women in "enlightened countries" was frequently referred to by Chinese authors to inspire female activism. The literature appears to have been not yet anti-imperialist so much as self-critical. The status of western women was seen as the source of the superior strength of foreign nations, idealized in fanciful images: "The strong countries of Europe and America know this well...their women receive the same level of education as men...so daily their female citizens diligently consider national affairs their responsibility...and no one dares insult them!" (54)

The justification offered for arguments for the education of Chinese females was identical to that offered in many western countries: that women were the mothers of their citizens: "the main link between women's education and the national welfare posited in these papers was the

traditional maternal role of women. Women were to be educated because they would be the mothers of the Chinese race and the Chinese citizens of the future." (55) That education begins in the home, that when you educate a woman you educate a whole family, and ultimately a nation, were familiar arguments in the arsenal of women missionaries, the leading advocates and educators of Chinese women, but were directed to the goal of a Christianized nation. Arguments which called upon the "inherent philanthropy" of women, that is to the "natural" nurturing qualities of women, to be used for the national good were also found in the literature.(56)

The theme of nationalism continued to dominate feminist journalism in the first decade of the twentieth century. But the radical notion that "the fate of the nation was no longer strictly a male concern", was extended to include a new notion of citizenship, equal rights. (57) Some authors even spoke of "natural rights". (58) Authors, like Ch'iu Chin wrote less about national goals and focused on female self-sufficiency and economic independence. Some, like Chin Yi (Chin Tien-ho), author of nu-chieh chung (Women's bell) were uncompromising in their understanding of women's rights, demanding "...recognition of women's rights to education, business, property, free marriage, friendship, and to become politically involved." (59) The most radical journals called for a "family revolution", and then a complete social revolution. (60)

The more politically active authors of this early period linked anti-imperialism and anti-Manchuism, and supported the revolutionary movement. The Manchus were criticized for their failure to protect China's sovereignty. "Toadying to foreigners" was a phrase which came into use, and female readers were urged to join in the anti-American boycott which protested the United States' exclusion of Chinese laborers. Radical females also joined the Restoration Society and the Revolutionary Alliance of Sun Yat-sen which worked for the overthrow of the Ch'ing dynasty. A student army nursing corps was organized, and the Association of Women Comrades. Hundreds of patriotic women began to attend the National Humiliation meetings to protest Japanese actions in the Tatsu Maru incident. In a drive to use native products, women in several cities organized the Chinese Association to Support National Goods. During the 1911 revolution, the most radical feminists organized women's corps and battalions, taking part in the revolutionary army that overthrew imperial rule. They helped in moving ammunition, provided medical services, raised funds for supplies, and some saw combat. {61}

The formation of the Republic in 1911 seemed to hold great promise for female activists in China. Women provided support for the infant republic in organizations like the shen-chou Women's Assistance Society and Society of Chinese Women for the Advancement of the Republic. Others

petitioned for female suffrage. But this period of "immense and attractive vitality" met with disappointment, and the failure of "the second revolution" in 1913 was followed by a climate of conservatism. (62) After Yuan Shih-k'ai laid down strict laws restraining the popular press and prohibiting women from attending political meetings, many radical women's journals disappeared. (63)

The issues of women's rights lay dormant until the New Culture and May Fourth Movements (1917-22), when they were revived with new power. The new challenge to traditional culture included all the issues surrounding the status of women. Once again, feminism and patriotism were awakened together. The "woman problem" (fu-nu wen-t'i), as all controversies pertaining to women came to be called, was a major category of public debate, and "gave rise to a variety of experimental programs, including the plain people's girls' schools which were designed to extend modern consciousness to the masses of women." (64) Female students, graduates and teachers in the large cities participated in the marches and strikes of this period, and women of all classes attended women's demonstrations. (65)

In the early 1920s Girls' schools organized themselves into alliances such as the Alliance of Girl Students in Changsha, and the Progressive Association of Girl Students. Girls schools formed alumnae associations and were affiliated to the national Union of Students. Graduates who

had entered some of the professions and business began to organize fund-raising and training programs for females, and did house-to-house visiting to educate women in financial self-sufficiency. Some Chinese Christian women in this period became public figures, lecturing on "the equality of the sexes before God, equal rights, and the mistaken strictures of St. Paul against women speaking in church." (66)

After the events surrounding May Fourth, women's rights associations were formed in a number of major cities to improve women's public and domestic status and put forth specific demands and petitions. The right to education remained at the top of most lists. In 1920 girls were first permitted to enter most branches of higher education. And by 1921 under the influence of the "new thought" of the time the two sexes began to meet freely in the new student unions. A wide range of women's groups were represented in the signatures attached to petitions and in the rights groups which were formed. Branches of the Women's Rights League, for example, included representatives from the Shanghai Business Women's Club, the Shanghai Women's Club, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association and a large number of girl students - a very western looking list. But female activism was no longer limited to the major port cities. Hunan became the first province to recognize equal rights for women in its

constitution. Women's suffrage was then granted in Che-chiang province as a result of organizations like the Feminine League for Equal Rights. Individual membership in a wide range of groups was often fluid. {67}

However, these apparent gains were once again suppressed by reactive political constraints, and by the overwhelming strength of the traditional social environment. A period of disillusionment followed which led many women to reject political activity in favor of social reform activities of a philanthropic nature, such as aiding poorer women. Some took up social welfare projects for working girls and women. These organizations were modelled directly on clubs in America which addressed the working conditions of women in factories and sweatshops. Many had wealthy patrons, and "most saw their work solely in terms of altruism." {68}

But a smaller number of women took a very different turn. Women, like Hsiang Ching-yu, who "became the most important female figure of the Chinese Communist Party from its beginnings in 1921 to the time of the break with the Kuomintang in 1927," {69} took on what some considered "the two greatest problems in contemporary China: the liberation of women and of the urban workers." {70} She argued for the "broadest possible social base," to fight the double oppression of imperialism and patriarchy, and against the concept of "class enemies" among women. {71} Her focus,

combining economics with feminism, became a major strand of political developments during the rising decade. It was a departure from Christian feminists. The failure of Christianity to offer economic solutions for the vast material needs of China was its signal weakness in the eyes of determined Chinese nationalists. And, as the new Communist movement promised swift remedies, "feminists began to base their hopes for true equality on political revolution rather than on discussion groups, slow-moving government reforms, or Christian ideals." (72)

Yet women missionaries, by promoting and advancing gender equality may fairly be called feminists in their actions, though many would have refused the feminist label as too strident, and most were "gradualists" rather than militants. Canadian Anglicans, such as Ruth Jenkins, still cooperated with a considerable degree of conventional male authority and were not temperamentally inclined to rock the institutional boat. It is not surprising then, that missionaries did not always like the determination they saw developing in their girl students, particularly among those who adopted revolutionary postures, although feminist positions were a by-product of the missionaries' own encouragement and empowerment of their students. (73)

Nonetheless, the missionaries in China were much more liberal about gender roles than were the denominations which sponsored their activity. As early as 1922, the board of

directors of the London Missionary Society resolved "to approve the ordination of women on the same conditions as in the case of men." {74} The directors approved "the principle that sex should not be a disqualification for the ordination of women for service in the mission field." {75} Indeed, the first woman to be ordained priest in the Anglican Church was Chinese, Florence Tim-oi Li, ordained in 1944, fifty years before the Church of England ordained its first women priests in March, 1994. {76}

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In spite of warlordism, civil war, anti-Christian activities, and militant feminism, Christian missionaries in China remained undeterred in 1922. They were, so far, able to accommodate the more extreme forms of Chinese nationalism and feminism as a "stage" on the way to better things. Before Jenkins left Kaifeng in June of that year for her summer holiday at the mountain resort of Kuling, she expressed the climate of soaring optimism which had replaced that of anxiety in the international community. The apparent return of peace to China produced a wildly unrealistic assessment of both the political possibilities and, in particular, the virtues of Li Yuan Hung, the new President and Wu Pei Fu, Minister of War. For Jenkins, as for so many others, faith in western-style democracy for China had never been higher.

And now China is organizing itself afresh - and in this lies the greatest possible hope, because it means that anything

may be done which the good of China demands. Li Yuan Hung the President of 1912 is again in office, and the old Parliament has been restored. The patriotism and integrity of Li Yuan Hung does not seem to be doubted and he has the unqualified support of Wu Pei Fu, the "Man of the Hour". General Wu Pei Fu is to be made Minister of War and to have charge of the disbandment of troops throughout the country. With Li as President, and with a Cabinet consisting of the most honest officials available and General Wu Pei Fu in the background, acting as a patriotic inspiration, and representing the military power of the government, the future should be bright. The one aim of the government is the unification of China, and this done, China can elect a popular Assembly which will be thoroughly legal and representative. It will be a great day in history when this happens, and it doesn't look far off now. (77)

Notes

1. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 26, 1922, NAC.
2. Banditry statistics drawn from comparing frequency of reports in The North-China Herald, English-language newspaper, Shanghai. John King Fairbank, "The Early Chinese Republic and its Problems", The Great Chinese Revolution 1800-1985 (New York: Harper and Row), p. 170-174.
3. Ibid., p. 171-2, 174.
4. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 176, quotation on p. 181.
5. Ibid., p. 176.
6. Ibid., quotation on p. 181, ref. to China only.
7. Ibid., p. 205
8. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 6, 1923, NAC.
9. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 175.
10. see p. 14-17.
11. "An Inquiry into the Source of Rumours...", North China Herald, April 29, 1922, p. 299; Examples of news stories of bandits capturing missionaries: January 13, 14, Feb. 9, Feb. 20, 1922, The North-China Herald (Shanghai).
12. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 30, 1922, NAC.
13. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 180.
14. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 7, 1922, NAC.
15. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 14, 1922, NAC.
16. "The Hostilities in Honan", The North-China Herald, May 27, 1922, p. 594.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. "The Christian General in Honan", The North-China Herald, June 3, 1922, p. 661.
22. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 181; Sherwood Eddy, "China's Christian General", The Christian Herald, reprinted in The Living Message, Jan. 1925.
23. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 14, 1922, NAC.
24. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 24, 1922, NAC.
25. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 28, 1922, NAC.
26. "General Feng", The Chronicle, Journal of the London Missionary Society, March, 1922, p. 73.
27. "The Christian General in Honan", The North-China Herald, June 3, 1922, p. 661.
28. "Woman Bandit Chief", North-China Herald, May 19, 1922, p. 738.
29. "An Inquiry into the Source of Rumours...", North-China Herald, April 29, 1922, p. 299.
30. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution, p. 181. For a specialized treatment of nineteenth century anti-foreignism in China and the critical role of the foreign missionary, see Paul A. Cohen, China and Christianity: the Missionary

Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1963); For a full treatment of anti-foreignism in the Jesuit period, see Jacques Gernet, China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures tr. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1985).
31. Jessie Gregory Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: the Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, Indiana: Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1988), p. 3.
32. Ibid., and p. 7; For use of "New Thought Tide" and "Renaissance Movement" see, for example, "China's New Scholars", Chinese Recorder,p. 190; Timothy Yu-wen Jen, "Present Status of the Renaissance", China Mission Year Book (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1923) Chapter IV, p. 30-33.
33. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, p. 27-39.
34. Ibid., p. 7.
35. Ibid., p. 3.
36. Ibid., p. 27, 32-3.
37. Ibid., p. 3, 5.
38. Ibid., p. 27-39, 47-48; "China's New Scholars", Chinese Recorder, ,p. 190.
39. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 30, 1922, NAC.
40. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 18, 1922, NAC.
41. Ibid.
42. Alison R. Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement 1840-1911", in Richard W. Guisso and Stanley Johannesen, eds., Women in China: Current Directions in Historical Scholarship (Youngstown, N.Y.: Philo Press, 1981), p. 183, 187-8.
The social order established by the Taipings in the mid-19th century also included a prohibition against footbinding, but it is arguable that since many of the early members were Hakkas, a migrant ethnic group which had never bound their feet and had worked alongside men, the radical redefinition of women's role by the Taipings may not have been solely the result of missionary teachings.
43. See Chapter Two.
44. Peter Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China", The Journal of Asian Studies 47, no. 4 (November 1988), p. 797.
45. Charlotte L. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", 1902-1922", Modern China 1 (1975), p. 384; Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement", p. 183, 193.
46. Several western scholars have pointed out that the focus of this first stage of the woman's movement in China remained largely nationalist: Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", and "In the Public Eye: Women in Early Twentieth-Century China", in Guisso and Johanneson eds., Women in China (Youngstown, N.Y.: Philo Press, 1981) p. 222-27; Elizabeth Croll,

Feminism and Socialism in China (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Jacqueline Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press: The Case of the Ladies' Journal", Republican China 10:1B, Nov. 1984, and others.
47. Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China", p. 797.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 797-8; Ono, Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, p. 26.
50. Beahan, "In the Public Eye", p. 222.
51. Roxane Witke, Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China (Ph. D. Diss., Columbia University, 1976), p. 330.
52. Drucker, "The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement", p. 191.
53. International conferences, such as the International Women's Congress in Chicago in 1892, the World Conference of the Y.W.C.A. in Berlin in 1910, and the International Conference of Socialist Women in Copenhagen in the same year, are examples; first quotation is from Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", p. 382; final quotation is part of an anti-foreign editorial in Nu-tzu Shih-chieh (Women's World), quoted by Beahan, p. 397.
54. Chung-kuo hsin nu-chieh tsa-chih [Journal of the New Women of China], February, 1907, quoted in Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", p. 384.
55. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", p. 385.
56. Ibid., p. 396 and "In the Public Eye", p. 220; Ruth Jenkins and others used the motto "when you educate a woman you educate a whole family".
57. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", p. 383.
58. Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China", p. 799.
59. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press", p. 399-403; Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China", p. 798.
60. Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China", p. 799-800.
61. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism", p. 393 and "In the Public Eye", p. 223-4, 228-9; Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China, p. 64-5 ; Li Yu-ning, "Hsu Tsung-Han--Tradition and Revolution", Republican China, vol 10: no. 1a, Nov. 1984, p.14-16.
62. Beahan, "In the Public Eye", p. 230, 236-37.
63. Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press", p. p. 38.
64. Witke, Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era, p. 330.
65. Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China, p. 91, 95-6.
66. Ibid., p. 92-5; Quotation from Beahan, "In the Public

67. Croll, Feminism and Socialism in China, p. 96-98.
68. Ibid., p. 110-112; quotation on p. 112.
69. Catherine Gipoulon, "Integrating the Feminist and Worker's Movement: The Case of Xiang Jinghu", Republican China, Vol. 10, #1a, Nov. 1984, p. 29.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., p. 35.
72. Shirley S. Garrett, "Images of Chinese Women", in John C.B. and Ellen Low Webster eds., The Church and Women in the Third World (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1985), p. 30.
73. Croll, Feminism and Nationalism in China, p. 114; Garrett, "Images of Chinese Women", p. 29.
74. The London Missionary Society, The Chronicle, Vol. XXX-New Series, 1922, p. 138.
75. Ibid.
76. Obituary, Florence Tim-oi Li, The Times, Tues. March 3, 1992; and Margaret E. Webb, Appreciations, The Times, Wed. March 11, 1992; "Church of England ordains women priests", Toronto Star-Bulletin, March 12, 1994.
77. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 18, 1922, NAC.

CHAPTER FIVE

Letters From the Front

In the summer of 1921, the Canadian women editors of the Anglican missionary journal, Letter Leaflet, retitled its communications from overseas missionaries: "News from the Field" became "News from the Front". The use of the language of wartime, with the heroic overtones of the Great War, replaced the gentler language of cultivation, in which the "planting of seeds" was the usual reference. That "News From the Field" was replaced by "News from the Front" suggests the militant nature of the Christian culture which prevailed in Canada and which continued to bolster overseas missionaries. The language of war, so often repeated in the hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers", was peculiarly apt when applied to the missionaries in Canada's Diocese of Honan as the events of the 1920s unfolded, both with reference to the dangerous conditions of the country in which they worked, and to the aggressive strategies they developed to meet the new challenges that threatened their chosen vocation.

Even as the Civil War and banditry that had accompanied Ruth Jenkins' first year in Kaifeng faded, new military crises arose to strain the poise of the missionaries. In spite of the missionaries' entrenched institutional presence in China, their physical safety and privileged status as foreigners were repeatedly threatened, and those threats

increased with each new disturbance. To the military disorder that seemed ever-present was added another threat to Christian missionaries: the cultural reaction to western intrusion expressed by the rapidly growing student body. Reaching the enlarged numbers of female students and responding to their new religious skepticism was a daunting prospect not faced by earlier missionaries who had monopolized the education of girls. The effects of the New Culture/ May Fourth movements and Chinese feminist activity - which had begun in the hybrid cultures of port cities like Shanghai, and which, ironically, (like the success of western-style education) were in part a product of the missionaries' own initiatives - now began to reach places such as Kaifeng in the interior of China. But, in the year 1921, despite their shift from "field" to "front", and for a long time afterwards, the Canadian missionaries did not fully face the implications of these developments. They continued unflinching in their Christian idealism, and clung to the illusions which had grown from their claiming the "lovable" Chinese as their own, and from the increased prestige granted them by the local Chinese elite.

For the next three years, the optimism of the Kaifeng women missionaries, especially about the education of females, informed the letters which they wrote regularly to their "prayer partners" and sponsors, the women of the Woman's Auxiliary (W.A.). At the same time their letters

were carefully crafted to inspire and motivate further support by Canadian women. Among the images of Chinese women and girls the missionaries projected, the "plight" of Chinese females was still evoked to justify the missionaries' presence, but as often new images of Chinese females emerged: physically active and avid students, and young Christian women as future leaders.

In this curious cultural environment of both profound conflict and genuine student advance, the work and the careers of Canadians Ruth Jenkins, Katherine Robbins, May Watts, and Daisy Masters blossomed. They took on new activities to expand the range of Chinese female involvement in the Christian enterprise and they experimented with new strategies for reaching non-Christian female students, always believing that the values and habits they carried to China were essential to its advance toward a modern nation. We see, in context, some of the ways women missionaries worked, the institutional models they introduced, and how their methods interacted with rising feminism.

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In the fall of 1922, as the summer heat retreated and the rhythm of mission life resumed after the summer break, the status of the missionaries in Kaifeng still seemed secure. Although Jenkins' attitudes toward Chinese politics were less sanguine, the extent of the foreign and Christian occupation in China still provided her with the reassurance

which she extended to her concerned mother. On September 24th she wrote,

> You say in your letter that you were hearing disquieting things about threats to British subjects. They certainly must be exaggerated for we British subjects here have heard nothing of them. China is still in a disturbed state and probably will be for a number of years. It is not easy for four [hundred] million people to change from an autocracy to a democracy in a year or two....Just now various political parties are scrapping with one another in their attempts to get power...but there is a general desire for unity of North and South. Give China time, and she will come out of all this mess alright. In the meantime, foreigners here have tremendous prestige, and a great hold on so many departments of life, that there is little danger for any of us. (1)

Indeed, the presence of General Feng in Kaifeng had expanded and enlivened the social life of the foreign community as well as protecting the peace of the city. Distinguished Christian visitors, both foreign and Chinese, including the famous evangelist Sherwood Eddy, arrived to consult with the "Christian General". The special assignment of one woman missionary to work with the wives of General Feng's soldiers, and of a leading Y.M.C.A. missionary from Peking to work with General Feng himself, suggest something of the rush of Christian leaders to take advantage of the potential power they perceived to be available to them for the further Christianization of China. Developments such as these fed Jenkins' lofty image of her own purposes and reduced the impact of China's growing internal troubles and anti-foreign hostility. (2)

It was therefore a shock when General Feng was withdrawn from Honan by Wu Pei Fu, without explanation,

within a few months. In October, 1922, Jenkins wrote, with genuine dismay, fearing regression. "You can imagine what a blow it is to everyone.... He has been a splendid governor, and has done much for Christianity in the province. We are wondering what scoundrel we will get in his place." (3) This apparently capricious change was followed by Feng's appointment as Inspector-General of National Troops in Peking, a post considered by the missionaries to be much less useful than his position in Honan. Jenkins feared that undisciplined soldiers and police staff would accompany the new "scoundrel" governor to Kaifeng, and that disorder would return to the streets. Feng's program of reforms had introduced to Kaifeng the kind of safety and order which especially appealed to Canadians, known for their law-abiding temperaments.

By his own later admission, Feng's motives for becoming Christian had been mixed, driven more by his admiration for its social practices than for its creed. First and foremost a militarist, he used Christian practices primarily to infuse his troops with discipline and loyalty. This was evident during his Honan tenure, where his efficiency in recruiting, training, and converting his thousands of men on the open fields outside Kaifeng, as well his encouragement of his troops' contribution to community welfare, did not fail to impress the missionaries. Feng courted the missionaries' approval. He gave a feast for them at which

Bishop and Mrs. White were the honored guests. After dinner and speeches, the missionaries were invited to watch the soldiers drilling and exercising. (Even after Feng's later political shift to anti-imperialism, Feng remained an object of Jenkins' admiration.) Not incidentally, Feng's wife was the niece of a martyred Christian and had been educated in mission schools and colleges. Before she married Feng she worked as a pastor's assistant as well as in the Peking Y.W.C.A., where she became a speaker and organizer. As Feng's wife, she worked on educational programs. After his death she held significant posts in the People's Republic of China and as a member of diplomatic missions. {4}

Not only was the local situation made worse by Feng's departure, but warlordism had returned in the South with new aggression by Chang Tso Lin. Fighting resumed in Fukien Province, and Jenkins reported that "it was generally felt that there will be another war next Spring." However, Jenkins expressed hope in what she believed was a new development in China, a growth in that essential vehicle of democracy, public opinion. She hoped that this "growing force in China" would check a fresh disturbance of the peace. "There is no part of the population of China, which would not a thousand times rather give the present regime time to prove itself useful or fade away through inability to achieve anything, than have another nation-wide disturbance like that of the past Spring." China had, after

all, just celebrated the eleventh birthday of the Republic, a reminder of its "hard struggle for the attainment of Civil and Parliamentary liberties for the people." This letter, written in October 1922, was Jenkins' last expression of optimism about democratic influences in China. {5}

The banditry associated with warlordism had also returned. Now, with much greater frequency, foreigners were targeted by bandits. In November Jenkins acknowledged the approach of danger.

> There has been a good deal of excitement in the province with bandits. Their favorite trick now is to carry off foreigners and hold them for ransom. This they think will bring more attention from the government, and persuade Wu Pei Fu to take them into his army, which is their aim. It also promises much money. A number of missionaries have been captured - among them women. Other missionaries are moving from ... lonely places to cities where they will be safe. The schools for foreign children have moved to Hankow and Chinese refugees are pouring into the cities. A most alarming report appeared in one of the daily papers during the week, headed "Honan in flames" describing the burning and looting of a number of villages and the capture of missionaries. A telegram came the same day from the British Consul in Hankow, ordering all British subjects to get to places of safety at once. We who are in the city, and in a city that is on the railway are perfectly safe, but there are lots and lots of Britishers and other foreigners scattered throughout the province in lonely places, and these are all in real danger.[...] A big protest meeting was held in Hankow by the foreigners there, a day or two ago.{6}

In these new developments, Jenkins repeatedly expressed the disappointment she felt for a country without law and order. As to the banditry she said, "it certainly is an admission of weakness when the government looks on helplessly and is unable to put a stop to it". Her apprehension appears to have been widely shared among

westerners. As Jenkins wrote, "it is generally considered that China is passing through the darkest hour she has ever gone through." {7}

Although there were rumors among the Chinese that foreign soldiers would intervene to protect their nationals, even demanding an indemnity payment from the Chinese as the western powers had done in the Boxer days, Jenkins declared "...this doesn't seem likely. I think something will surely be done by the Chinese themselves, for it is a big disgrace to them to have such a condition of affairs in their country." {8} Jenkins perceived these as different times in China's national self-consciousness from the Boxer days, such that the Chinese would understand the importance of public order in achieving recognition from other governments.

During the troubled days of November of 1922, Jenkins defended her own position as a foreigner in China. In spite of her disappointment in China's political condition, her faith in the contribution and power of Christianity at work in China had not abated, and within this view she found her own place in history:

> But there is much hope too. Christianity which alone can build up the strong character which this country needs so desperately just now is getting a real hold, and the Chinese Church is becoming a real power in the national life of China. I am enclosing some clippings which I hope you will read. The one entitled "Twelve Greatest Chinese" shows that the greatest leaders in China to-day are most of them Christians or have come under the influence of Christianity. "China, as a teacher of Christianity" shows how the Chinese church is growing and developing, and what a power it can

be.

> It is a thrilling moment to be in China. Never has the opportunity for Christianity been so great, or the need so urgent. Sherwood Eddy says that there is no country in the world that is so awake to the influence of Christianity, and so eager for it. By being here I am helping a nation that is in desperate need to grow. {9}

Jenkins' deeply held belief in the connection between Christianity, "strong character", and democracy was highly characteristic of her times. The tone was that of the Wilsonian Progressive era in the United States in which Christian social reform had a public, political voice. In Canada, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King who had led a Liberal victory in 1921, was the next-door neighbor of Jenkins' family in Kingsmere, regularly joined her family in hymn-singing, and is buried in an adjacent plot to Jenkins. This personal connection to political power strengthened Jenkins' muscular, political Christianity. Such views ran parallel to social feminist arguments which identified Christian women with national strength of character.

Despite Jenkins' undaunted sense of purpose, the newly threatened status of the foreigner became prominent in her letters from "the Front". Her own sense of the nobility of her mission was diminished by the general loss of prestige symbolized by foreigners being captured. In December, she wrote that the Ministers of the British, French, Italian, American and Swedish Ministries had handed a note to the Foreign office in Peking, drawing its attention to the persistent kidnapping and captivity of foreigners in Honan,

and "demanding that measures should be taken immediately for the release of those foreigners captured, and reminding the Chinese government of its responsibility for the safety of foreigners in Honan." {10}

Soon the names of all foreigners in Honan were collected by the police, on Wu Pei Fu's order, but little else was done. Jenkins became increasingly impatient with the government's lack of further response. Echoing the outraged tone of the Boxer years, she wrote that "the foreigners are not going to stop bothering the government until there is safety guaranteed to all foreigners in Honan." A few months later, when bandits attacked the railway line near Tientsin and took foreigners as prisoners, Jenkins wrote with even greater stridency,

> ...the government is so hopelessly corrupt and weak, that it cannot control the bandits. It does seem ridiculous that China with the largest army in the world, should be so powerless before these bandits, that decent law-abiding foreigners cannot travel safely on a Government Railway. It certainly is a terrible blow to the prestige of foreigners in China and I hope the Powers will do something definite this time...{11}

In the months to come, Jenkins' letters continued to update her mother on the "condition of China", with further complaints about warlordism, banditry, and the holding of missionaries in Honan. Jenkins' stated intention was to reassure her mother regarding her own safety by giving her all the facts, but as chaos impinged more directly on the Kaifeng region, her standard comment that "we foreigners have every protection guaranteed to us" was now hardly

reassuring. (12) Jenkins appeared to have no fear for herself. In modern terms she was perhaps exercising "denial". Her military and bandit reports usually appeared towards the end of her letters, after she had filled it with the events of "a normal week", and sometimes tales of rapine were juxtaposed with detailed discussions of her wardrobe.

Jenkins' sympathy for and defense of the Chinese "people" - her chosen people - particularly noting their hunger and terror - never faltered, but her perception of China's government became increasingly disdainful. She repeated comments about the "mess" China was in, its corrupt and indifferent officials. When the cabinet resigned and China was without a government, she wrote "this is quite a frequent event these days, and the country manages to wiggle along just the same." (13) She vacillated between growing disillusion and attempts to place events in larger perspective.

> It seems to be a terribly long and trying process - this change from an old to a modern nation - but it is a process which all nations have gone through in their struggle for freedom. It seems to be difficult for the right kind of government to evolve suddenly out of the old monarchical ideas and in the meantime, the country is practically ungoverned. (14)

She began to identify with what she called "the thinking Chinese", the educated classes. Their apparent embarrassment about their country took some of the sting out of Jenkins' own disappointment in China. To these elite she attributed great sensitivity.

> The thinking Chinese have been plunged into the depths of despair by the affair, and are filled with shame for their country. I never saw such utter despondency. They have a real love for their country, and the thought that China will be placed in her shame before the whole world, takes the very heart out of them. {15}

During the years 1922-24, much of the political and military chaos was on the periphery of Jenkins' world and that of the other women of the Canadian mission in Kaifeng. But there was a general sense of something ominous around the corner, a constant threat of something "on the brink". The missionaries' frequent use of storm imagery suggests that they had little peace of mind. "Threatening storms" and "dark clouds" were the phrases Jenkins and other missionaries regularly employed to describe China's state. From time to time, Kaifeng was directly involved, as during periodic strikes on the railway line, which made railways unsafe for travel and caused many delays in the comings and goings of the missionaries and in communications of all kinds. Delays in mails, and lost letters, were particularly grievous for those westerners who already waited months for mail from home. Because of these strikes, some of Jenkins' own letters did not reach home, and some of her thoughts on the growing crisis in Chinese politics and society are lost.

Still, enough survive to show Jenkins struggling to make sense of current developments. She described the railway strike in February of 1923 as a movement against militarism, and for that she was prepared to sacrifice convenience.

-[it is] a mass movement - declaring the impatience of the people with militaristic despotism. It is very significant, and may mean the salvation of China in one sense. The demand is the disbandment of the troops - and it is hopeful to see the general public asserting itself against this greatest handicap to China's development at present. Nobody knows how long it will be, but while it lasts, we will be cut off from the outside world, of course. ... However inconvenient it is, we don't mind it, if it means in any way an advance for China. {16}

On one occasion, when Jenkins was visiting the medical branch of the mission, Kweiteh, for meetings, there was shooting all night, and looting and burning in the villages nearby, all disturbingly reminiscent of the previous spring in Kaifeng. On May 6, 1923, Jenkins wrote a powerful dispatch in which she not only recalled the events of the previous year, but even added the prophecies of soothsayers to suggest the general sense of doom, the loss of faith among the Chinese in the possibilities of negotiation, and the growing expectation of cataclysm.

It was just this time last year, that the war broke out in China, and we went through that new experience here in Kaifeng. It is this time every year that fighting begins if there is to be any. ... There are all kinds of rumours that war clouds are about to burst. Perhaps by the time you get this letter, the storm may be upon us....

Some think that China is going to go through its worst year in modern history now. The soothsayers in China have been particularly busy all this spring foretelling turmoil and rapine. They say this is the last year of a cycle and something momentous is bound to happen, that there will be peace nowhere, but blood and fire everywhere. And then in the wane of the year, when China is bled to exhaustion and almost totally consumed in her own fires, things will take a turn for the better, and from thence forward will continue to improve with amazing rapidity, until there is peace, order, and prosperity everywhere.

The general feeling is that things have come to about as bad a pass as they should be allowed to reach, and that it is now time for a clean up. Among the officials and soldiers there is a new determination to end all the present

nonsense by fighting it out to a finish. They are convinced that conversation, telegraphic exchanges of opinion, the coming and going of delegates, conferences and conventions are all vanity. Peace will have to be fought for, and the fight will have to be one of unprecedented determination.

There is a general craving for reunion and centralization of power - but the feeling is that China must be reunited through a drastic hammering, and not though an endless period of mild coaxing. So we may be on the brink of a new era. ...Events happen so quickly here in China... {17}

The women missionaries were usually upbeat in their letters from the Front, especially when written to their closest allies, the women of the W.A., but undercurrents of the strain the women were feeling appeared as they shared humorous books among themselves. Jenkins' comment that "it does us all so much good to have a good laugh" says it all. {18}

Military and political events in China drove an emotional roller coaster. Relief that there was no civil war in the spring of 1923 was soon eclipsed by the mutiny, looting and murder by 200 soldiers in Kaifeng, an outburst only ended by the imposition of military supervision of the city. Jenkins described the episode as if it was commonplace. Her descriptions of such events were by now often reduced to brief paragraphs, or replaced by the sending of newspaper clippings. She gave up trying to master Chinese chaos by writing about it. By the end of that summer, writing from Chi Kung Shan, Honan where she was spending the summer months, Jenkins simply commented on her enclosure of clippings, "we feel very fortunate to have got through the summer without any disturbances, for we are

right in a bandit region here..." When China was still without a government and bandits were still active in September, Jenkins just said that "Everybody is getting so used to misrule and outlawry that it is hardly even discussed now." When two women missionaries were captured by bandits in Honan, and the British Consul visited Kaifeng to negotiate for their release, Jenkins simply wrote a funny description of the Consul who was apparently "the joke of the mission". By November, however, China had a new President and constitution and, for a few months, there was comparative rest. (19)

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Throughout these years of political and military turmoil, Jenkins and her Canadian women colleagues persevered in their language study and their teaching duties among the women and girls of Kaifeng. By 1922 they had evidence of considerable progress and achievement.

In spite of the shakier political status of foreigners in China, children were still brought to the mission schools. Indeed, the Anglican mission schools for both sexes in Kaifeng were overflowing with Chinese students. Plans were being executed for larger buildings. St.Mary's Hall, still under the leadership of Katherine Robbins, received girls in residence from all parts of the Diocese. In the city of Kaifeng another day school for girls had grown out of the Sunday school, with St. Mary's senior girls

acting as teachers. Some graduates of St. Mary's by this time went on to school in Peking, others went into training as nurses in the mission's women's hospital in Kweiteh. The first summer Normal School for Primary teachers in the Diocese was formed in the summer of 1922. Twenty of the fifty-nine Chinese teachers in attendance were women; nineteen were graduates of St. Mary's. And for the first time classes were co-educational. {20}

At St. Mary's, a new Assembly Hall was underway to cope with the growth in student numbers. Under the new Hall, the basement was to provide a new dining-room; above the Hall there was to be more dormitory space and a room for teachers. Two new class rooms, a Reading room and Science Room were also to be parts of the new complex. Land was purchased for a new, three-acre Play Ground behind the school. It was being marked into courts for basketball, baseball, and tennis. Robbins was particularly proud of St. Mary's athletic program and the hundreds of visitors who came to watch the games of girls "for whom running and playing was new". {21}

Jenkins, too, and her other colleagues were always excited by the physical progress of female students. Later that year Jenkins wrote, "It is wonderful to see these Chinese girls learning to play and enjoy these games. Most Chinese girls, of course, still have bound feet, and never play or have fun. ... Of course no girls in the school are

allowed to have bound feet. If they come with bound feet they have to be unbound at the school." She took special interest in a major North China athletic meet held in 1923. Students from six provinces of China arrived to compete in Kaifeng. Jenkins' students, then of the Girls' day school, followed by the students of Daisy Masters' women's school, joined the parades of students marching through the streets, flying large Chinese flags and school flags. Bands, bandstands, and tents added to the noise and color of the competitors. Jenkins wrote delightedly that the female athletes were "running, and jumping and throwing in every direction." By now there were also two government Middle schools (corresponding to Canadian collegiate or high schools) for girls. All four hundred of their students did a dance, all dressed alike. The girls, in competition basket-ball and volley-ball played "just as well as any girls would at home." Jenkins wrote that, "when you think that only a few years ago, China knew nothing of athletics - in fact it was considered undignified to walk any faster than a snail - and then to see a big athletic meet like this, it is certainly thrilling...[the young people of China] are a much happier, healthier lot of people than their grandfathers ever were." {22}

The new athleticism of Chinese girls, with all that it implied for their liberation from old cultural restraints and gender repression was, for Jenkins, the physical



St. Mary's Hall, Kaifeng, 1923



Girls' Junior Baseball Team

with Greta Clark

manifestation of educational growth and progress. The athleticism of girls also raised the interest and curiosity of many local Chinese. The mission schools at times drew thousands of visitors to their annual exhibition of physical drills.

Indeed, in spite of political crises, there were few local signs that the educational work of the missionaries in Kaifeng was anything but appreciated, and indeed its local reputation grew. In the school year of 1923-24, St. Mary's had its largest attendance: ninety-nine boarders and several day pupils in St. Mary's proper; twenty in its day school primary class; and twenty-one in its kindergarten. And St. Mary's classes graduated their largest numbers. With a new course of study, and new books, Katherine Robbins had worked to improve levels of scholarship and had extended the work of St. Mary's School beyond that of Lower and Higher Primary classes to provide a new High School/Middle School course. {23}

Robbins described a typical day as principal of St Mary's to a W.A. Prayer Partner in Canada:

My day begins about six o'clock when the rising bell rings. I have time for quiet study and prayer then which I cannot get later in the day. Miss Clark and I have breakfast at 7.30 followed by prayers together for the work. Then the bell rings for school prayers at 8.30. One of us takes the school and the other the servants in the Chinese language of course. At 9 I have a Bible class followed by a class in mathematics. Then I also have two singing classes every day and a class in physical drill with one or two lessons on either the piano or organ. I do not do a great deal of teaching now as the school is so big it keeps me busy superintending. We have dinner at 12, a cup of tea at four

and supper at 7 or 7.30. The children have study hour in the evening after school prayers and lights go out at 9, except for the senior pupils who are allowed to study till 9.30. Letters and accounts and advice to the junior teachers all take a good deal of my time. Miss Clark and I try to get in a little exercise between five and six when possible, either tennis or walking. Sometimes when the days are short or extras [sic], we do not get very much but we try to be as regular as possible in this as in other things for the sake of the work, for it is very important to keep well, and we seldom get away from the Compound for recreation in any way during the school terms. Our Sundays are very busy days with classes for girls who are preparing for baptism or confirmation as well as the regular service. We have our own services here in our Assembly Hall, a clergyman coming to take the morning service for us, and we go over to St. Andrew's Chapel for our communion service every second and fourth Sunday. {24}

"Miss Clark" was Robbins' assistant Greta Clark, a Canadian from Peterborough who had arrived in Kaifeng a year before Ruth Jenkins. At this date her daily routine at St. Mary's included the supervision of the dispensary and the unbinding of feet. (One can only speculate about the feelings Clark experienced as she removed the binding cloths from girls' feet, the most direct act of liberating girls, for this was done with surprisingly little commentary. One might also suspect that for the girl in question it was a moment of great emotional confusion as a woman other than her mother chose to release her.) Clark also taught arithmetic in Chinese and English classes, as well as being in charge of art and sports. Of the latter, she wrote, despairingly "the Chinese girls are so studious they want to study from the rise of the sun until lights are out at 9 p.m., which, as you can imagine, is not conducive to good health." With western ideas of what constituted rosy-

cheeked adolescence, Clark seems to have been a particularly strong proponent of girls' sports. Like the other missionaries, she was active on many fronts. She had charge of a students' club, the beginnings of a junior W.A. She described some of these club meetings in which the girls had apparently focused on their sisters in other lands: "... a Hindu evening, a Jewish evening etc., when we were told something of the customs of these lands and what the church had meant to girls and women there." Clark tried to convince her readers of the particular importance of the work of Canadian missionaries in helping Chinese females. "The little girls at home in Canada would be surprised, I'm sure, could they just realize how truly grateful to God these girls are that the 'Light of the World' shines through our Canadian church to show them the way of eternal life and give them the joy and peace that Christ alone can give to girls and women so little esteemed as in this land of China." (25)

The "uplifting" of girls and women in China followed institutional models of liberalism in North America. For example, the Y.W.C.A., the social arm of the Protestant churches, played a major part in this effort. In Kaifeng, in cooperation with the China Inland Mission, the Baptists, and others, Robbins formed a local branch of the Y.W.C.A. This was reportedly popular with the girls. It was in these club experiences, in addition to those in the classroom,

that many girls developed leadership and public speaking skills for the first time. The Y.W.C.A., though today thought to be only quasi-religious or even secular, had begun in China in the mission schools in 1890. Years later, it provided the essential link between the education of girls and female activism in China, "fueling the more politicized women's organizations of the late 1920s." (26)

Cultural conflict within the girls themselves, and amongst their families, however, continued to be amplified by Christian schools and social institutions. Some girls were not allowed by their parents to return to school because they had refused to worship popular deities or ancestors at the Chinese New Year. One student, who bridged family conflict more successfully, nevertheless wrote,

> When I was sent to the Mission school, the fact that the teachers were of another religion was not considered at all. They were thought of only as teachers of the language and manners of America; so I know that, when I wrote to Mother, asking her consent to my becoming a Christian, she was greatly surprised. .... When I first reached home, her heart was heavy with dread, but when she learned that my new faith did not require disrespect to ancestors, her relief and gratitude were pathetic, and she readily gave her consent.
>
> But Grandmother! My proud, loyal Grandmother! It was impossible for her to understand, and I think my becoming a heretic was to her a lifelong sorrow. Her grief was my heaviest cross.
>
> It was hard, too, to visit relatives and friends. They looked upon me as a curiosity, and my mother was constantly making explanation and apology. One old aunt pasted paper over the doors of the shrine, that the gods might be spared the knowledge of my "peculiarity". Another aunt, who invited me to dinner, served no fish, feeling that, since I was so puzzlingly removed from ordinary life, I could not be feasted in the usual way but must be treated like a priest.
>
> All these things among the friends I had known from babyhood hurt me. I could bravely have borne persecution, but to be set apart as something strange almost broke my

heart. .... (27)

For some mission students other kinds of cultural conflict were born of their western religious training. In January of 1922, Jenkins told of a Christian girl, newly married to an official, who was hiding in their house in Kaifeng. As Jenkins told it, the girl had run away from her husband when she found that he already had two wives and

> ...she has been most cruelly treated by the old mother-in-law, and the other wives. She has not been allowed to go to church, and they beat her when she won't worship their idols. Being the third wife, she was the drudge of the household, and has had to do all the dirty work and eat her meals after the others had finished, etc. Finally she discovered that they were trying to poison her, so she decided to escape. With the help of one of the servants, she managed to get out, and she came that night straight to the church for help. She belongs to the American Episcopal Mission in Hankow and was educated in one of the finest Mission Schools in Hankow. She said she felt that the Church was her home and she came there at once in her distress. She asked at the gate for Mr. Wei, the pastor of the church, and as he is away in South China, she was told that neither Mr. or Mrs. Wei were in Kaifeng. The poor girl didn't know what to do. It was a bitterly cold night and she had to go to a Chinese inn. These inns are terrible places - dirty and cold - but she managed to get through the night although she did not dare go to sleep. The next night she came to the church and found Mr. Andrew there. He heard her story, and sent her over to us for the night. All day yesterday she was with us, and there was intense excitement in the air.
>
> The Bishop hearing about it, came into the city in the morning and had a long talk with the girl. He found out that her husband was in Hankow, so he decided to give her her ticket to Hankow, and let her go straight to the American Mission, and lay the case before them; and then with one of the missionaries go to the husband, and settle things up. Apparently the girl has nothing against the husband; but it is these wives of his and his mother.
>
> At noon, yesterday, they came searching for her - and we wondered what was going to happen. They discovered in some way that she was in our house. They were kept off though, and last night as soon as it was dark, we took her down to the church where she spent the night. She spent most of yesterday making herself a new coat and skirt, that

she might disguise herself, and the bishop gave her a woollen scarf to wrap around her face. This morning before eight o'clock, she start [sic] for the train with Mr. Andrew ... We hope she is safely in Chengchow now, and won't have any trouble there. Her husbands' soldiers are all over and recognize her, so there is a little danger there...She is an awfully nice girl, and we all liked her and felt so sorry for her.

... it gives you an idea of what so many Chinese girls go through. Some of them have terrible lives. When they marry, they don't only marry their husbands but their husbands' family - and they are shut up in a little courtyard with a crowd of uneducated jealous women. (28)

The following week, Jenkins told of the ingenious resolution to the case. The girl in question clearly did not lack in enterprise:

You will be interested to hear that the girl I told you about in my last letter who had taken refuge in our house, is again with us....[She and her husband] had quite a long time together, and he was very much upset about it. He produced a new knife that he had bought, and said he would kill himself if she did not go back [to] him. She was not a bit afraid of him, and talked right up to him, and had him kneeling at her feet, and beseeching her most fervently. Yesterday, at noon he appeared again, and they were both together in the study for about two hours. Miss Masters sent for the Bishop at once, and he came to the rescue and got things settled up. The husband is to send her to Peking for a five year's course in a hospital, and to support her there. If he fails for two weeks to send her the money, it will be equal to a divorce. At the end of five years, they are to talk over the matter again. Of course, the girl's hope is that by that time he will be tired of supporting a girl he never sees and will grow cold and be willing to free her. At present the husband will not give her up because it means the "loss of face", the one thing that every Chinese dreads. It is very hard for him because his father's family had three wives, and he is only carrying on the custom of his family which in Chinese eyes is alright. But she, as a Christian, cannot go on living with a man who already has two wives, and as he deceived her at the time of her marriage, declaring that he had no other wives, she has a right to leave him. Altogether it is a very sad case, and the poor girl has had a terribly hard week of it ....in the meantime she is living with us. (29)

Unlike this girl, more cosmopolitan students married

western-style, giving up their own traditions almost entirely. Jenkins told of one such wedding held at the Anglican church. Although not totally without compassion in her perceptions, and driven in part by a desire to entertain her mother, nevertheless Jenkins' description of the comic wedding scene reflects that attitude of cultural superiority for which missionaries have so frequently been criticized.

Yesterday morning I played the wedding march at a Chinese wedding and I wish you could have been there. It was entirely managed by Chinese, there being no foreigner there but myself, but the ceremony was quite like ours. A doctor who has been trained in the Rockfeller hospital in Peking was marrying a nurse who also was trained there - and both of them, being educated and modern in their ideas and ways, seemed just like foreigners. The Church was beautifully decorated with plants, and at the appointed hour the bridegroom dressed in a foreign navy blue suit took his place at the Chancel steps. There were several things that were very funny. One was that he kept his hat on as he stood there - so did his attendants, who wore black Chinese clothes and Christie stiffs! Each one had a large artificial red flower pinned on, and the three of them looked so funny as they stood in a row waiting for the bride. I sat at the organ and watched the door eagerly until I saw the bride appear escorted by two bridesmaids, when I struck up the wedding march. The bride looked lovely dressed in pink with a pale pink veil and a wreath of artificial pink flowers on her head. She carried a bouquet of artificial red flowers. The bridesmaids were dressed alike and carried pink flowers.

When the bride arrived at the chancel steps, she stood there with the bridegroom, while some of the day school pupils sang a song, and fire crackers boomed away outside. Every gay occasion in China is accompanied by the setting off of fire crackers. When this noise had subsided, the service proceeded much as our services at home. The ring was put on the bride's finger, and the pair marched out arm in arm to the accompaniment of the Wedding March and the ringing of the Church bell.

This kind of wedding is entirely different from the old style of Chinese wedding and was quite a revelation to me. Of course it is new to many Chinese in Kaifeng and when the bride first appeared outside the Church door, the guests got so excited that they rushed into the aisle and stood on their seats to get a look at her - a rather undignified

proceeding! As white is the colour of mourning for the Chinese, a Chinese bride never wears it. She is always dressed in pink. The old fashioned bride always wears red - red being the colour used at all festivities. The pink is very becoming to Chinese girls too, with their black hair. The wedding, altogether, was interesting as an example of a Christian foreign ceremony adapted to Chinese taste and custom. China is changing very quickly. {30}

Some students managed their conflict with humor. In one case, for the commemoration of the founding of one of the government Normal schools in Kaifeng, the students put on a "foreign play", borrowing from the missionaries the clothes of "a foreign lady and her daughter and a maid's outfit." For the favor of the loan, the missionaries were invited to the play, but could not hear much in the crowd. One can only speculate at the pleasure the Chinese students took in spoofing westerners. As for the missionaries, their ulterior motives were never far from the surface. They were "glad to get into the school and have a look around". {31}

An important sign of the presence of intellectual conflict among Chinese women and girls, and of the kind of challenge the missionaries would increasingly need to face, can be seen in Robbins' report to the W.A. written in 1923. She had conducted a special Bible class for St. Mary's 10 Chinese teachers (9 were former pupils), "as some of them have been in touch with the New Thought Movement in China, either personally or through relatives or friends and are most anxious to win their friends and relatives for Christ." {32} Though softened by Robbins' language of conciliation, it is nevertheless clear that the anti-Christian arguments

of the New Thought (or New Culture) Movement had by now reached Kaifeng youth in China's interior. (The "new woman" of more radically feminist Shanghai was also becoming popular knowledge.) That Robbins felt it necessary to hold a special Bible class suggests that her own students and teachers were raising to the surface some of the challenges which they were encountering in their communities and wanted explanations. Robbins said of her special Bible class, "we had many interesting discussions, and I realized as never before how necessary it is for them to have a real personal touch with Jesus and to know their Bibles if they are to be able to stand the arguments which they hear against Christianity." {33} The new climate of skepticism served to increase the cultural conflict felt by those Chinese attending or connected with the mission schools. Some Christian female students now attempted to defend their own positions on the subjects of religion and nation. In doing so, they had to straddle three cultures: that of traditional home, western school, and their more radical peers.

A further challenge to St. Mary's, one which had been quietly evident since 1917, was that of increasing competition from government schools. Steady expansion in the number of places for girls, and the provision of free board and school supplies by the government, threatened to co-opt potential residents of St. Mary's. And the government provided education without Christianity. In

spite of full enrollment in their own schools, and the fact that some students who left for the Government school were dissatisfied by its standard of education and returned to St. Mary's, it was government competition in the education of Chinese girls that received particular attention from Bishop White and the women missionary teachers between 1922 and 24. As early as 1920, May Watts had written:

> Just a few doors from us is a large Government Girls' School with over 400 girls in daily attendance. We are very anxious to get in touch with the girls and teachers in this school; there is no Christian teaching whatever there, and to think of these young lives practically at our very door. (34)

Although a small number of the teachers from the Government school became friends of the Canadian women missionaries and joined them for prayers "in English", one suspects it was the Chinese desire for practice in English that motivated them more than the wish to pursue the Christian religion. Nevertheless, this teacher contact led to a surprising breakthrough late in 1923. By then Watts was able to report that,

> A great encouragement this year has been ours, and an opportunity which we have been longing for has come to us. The principal of the Girls' Government High School has given us permission to hold Bible classes on Sunday afternoon in the school. We just began this work in the Spring, and the girls were most cordial to us. We are hoping this may be but the beginning of a real work amongst this class of young people in China. (35)

The primary goal of evangelism was now undisguised and obvious: An increase in the number of girls gaining education was not enough. Christian women teachers and

leaders were what was needed for China. Watts went on to say,

> Our greatest need at present is young Christian Chinese women whom we can train. The responsibility is theirs to carry the Gospel message to their own people, and is ours to train them as carefully and thoroughly as possible...May we pray that God will raise up from amongst the women of China His chosen ones to do the work and seize the opportunities which lie ready to hand. (36)

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The task of reaching the women of China involved educating females of all ages. Daisy Masters and May Watts, arriving in Kaifeng in 1918 and 1919, just a few years ahead of Ruth Jenkins, had been working with the adult Kaifeng women. Both Masters and Watts were graduates of the Toronto Anglican Women's Training College and had been "set apart" as deaconesses (a ceremony performed by their Bishop which involved a vow of celibacy). The training at A.W.T.C. included a rigorous program of lectures in Theology at the University of Toronto's Wycliffe College as well as lectures in Medicine and Social Service. Both women proved to be highly capable and, along with Katherine Robbins, were among the most faithful and enduring members of the Canadian Anglican mission staff in Honan. In time, Masters would be relieved of her vow of celibacy to become Bishop White's second wife. (37)

The work began by teaching the older women who came to the Sunday school to read, using large characters. Women's meetings were also held regularly after church, and on

Thursday afternoons, offering an opportunity for the Canadian and Chinese women to become acquainted. Children in the schools were asked to invite their mothers and sisters to the women's meetings, adding to their numbers. From these beginnings, in November, 1919, shortly after Watts joined Masters in the Lau fu men house where later Jenkins also lived, a school for women was opened with eight Chinese women coming every day. The women were divided into graded classes and were taught by Chinese helpers, usually senior girls from St. Mary's school. Three years later, nineteen women were "writing their papers" and eighteen took their examinations. Four received diplomas after three years of study and planned to continue on for more advanced work. {38}

This women's day school program in the city appears to have focused primarily on basic education, but it included "physical culture" and singing. It was separate from the women's Bible school, a boarding school for married women which was erected on the grounds of St. Mary's Hall in the Nan Kuan suburb. The women students of the Bible School were recommended from the various churches of the diocese, and were in residence for four months each year. The Bible School's religious training was intended to "develop these women to be useful voluntary workers in their home Churches." {39} Women's work in both categories had begun unofficially with the work of Florence Simmons, wife of one

of the mission clergy. Like all married women "missionaries", some of whom did distinguished educational work, she was not given professional status. Neither was she regularly accountable to home authorities. Beyond occasional mentions of appreciation in the reports of others, the details of her work with the Kaifeng women - which like that of Watts and Masters continued for many years - went largely unrecorded.

Simmons typifies a class of women missionaries, like that of many clergy wives, who considered their husband's vocation as their own and who entered the field as full work partners. Usually less educated than their husbands, especially in the language of the host country, they nevertheless took on many missionary tasks. At the same time, however, other missionary wives focused primarily on their own family and their domestic roles. This difference among individuals - those who took on unofficially all kinds of work and those who did relatively little - and the lack of accountability involved, has meant that an accurate understanding of the total female missionary force and its achievements will always be out of reach.

The school for women in the city of Kaifeng opened just a few months in advance of the first Conference on Women's Work which was held in Shanghai, January 2-8, 1920. Attending this conference were representatives of the Federation of Women's Boards in the United States, together

with missionaries, mainly women, representing twenty-one Christian societies and coming from ten Chinese provinces and Hongkong. The American delegates to the conference comprised "the first interdenominational group of women to come abroad for the investigation of mission work." (40)

The conference focused on the problems of training and service, calling for an improvement in the conditions of women's work and the status of women workers, as well as "a much greater extension of Christian service towards the meeting of all the life needs of the Chinese people." (41) The conference - coinciding with the Conference of the China for Christ movement - also drew attention to the complex variety of Christian activities already started by the Christian forces in China. Both conferences attempted to measure the "new Christian task, seen in the light of the Inter-Church World Movement." (42)

Seventy-three years in advance of the Fourth World Conference on Women recently held in Beijing, this conference was heralded as "the first conference of women in China which met to consider general problems of work by and for women." (43) The conference was designed to inaugurate a "a new era for women's work". All of the participating commissions emphasized the special needs of Chinese women.

As a vehicle of liberalism and feminism, the conference then had much in common with the recent one in Beijing. The scale of the Beijing Conference, the tremendous energy and

solidarity that it generated, and the large percentage of participants from developing countries gave it undeniable importance. Even so, in both conferences western women, then as now, set up themselves and their values as models for the world. For example, the litany of abuses of women in China which American participants cited echoed the language of the missionary era. The American press applauded such unapologetic affirmation of American values. In this way the Christian perspective of the 1920 conference was a precursor to that of Human Rights today. The Christian assumptions of morality, their incorporation of female emancipation into their religious crusade, and their overall presumption of superiority are now presented under the umbrella of human rights. {44}

There were strong feminist elements in the 1920 Christian conference. It emphasized both the need for the special study of women's problems and the need for women specialists to participate in all lines of mission work. It called for more women delegates to work on national committees and secretariats. Trained women "educationalists" were called for to direct religious education in China and an appeal was made to female journalists to gather and prepare mission information for women at home. Two women specialists, one on child welfare, and the other on women in industry, were designated to work in a national social service council for China. It was

recommended that a woman secretary be added to the Joint Council on Public Health and that a woman be appointed to work in connection with the China Christian Literature Council to study the needs of Chinese women and girls in literature. Each National Christian Council was later asked by a committee appointed by the Committee of Reference and Council to "prepare a report of the changing status of women in churches in 'mission' lands." (45)

One fruit of this "consciousness raising" among women was a women's conference on "Industrial Work for Women" held at Kuling, Kiangsi, in July of 1922, during Jenkins' summer vacation there. A large attendance of women "from all over China" met at Kuling to discuss work projects for Chinese women within missions. The American Episcopal Mission had already begun a "model" program of industrial work for women in its mission. The program had become self-supporting. Jenkins was very impressed by this project, led by a Mrs. Lee. "The business is earning so much that she has been able to build beautiful work-rooms for them, tenement houses, and lunch rooms - also she has established a day-nursery for take [sic] care of the children while their mothers work!" (46) The leaders in this industrial work anticipated the "bold new idea" discussed at the September 1995 Women's Conference in Beijing: that of promoting self-help vocational projects. In July 1922 Jenkins wrote enthusiastically that "in every place where mission work is

done, industrial work is opening up, it seems, because of the large number of women who have no means of living, and I think it is a splendid thing. I hope we will start it in our mission some day." (47)

In Kaifeng, the first Conference for Chinese Women Workers had met in September, 1920, but it had been strictly evangelical, not industrial, in its focus. The Kaifeng women missionaries had met with their "Chinese sisters" for a weekend of prayer and study: the Bible Women, teachers and helpers in St. Mary's and women's boarding schools, and the city day schools for women and girls. (48) That women should be given a more prominent part in the work of the church was soon afterwards recognized in the Anglican church in China. Daisy Masters and Miss Sia, a nurse from the Kweiteh station, had represented Honan as delegates to the Woman's Conference of the General Synod in Hankow, in April of 1921. Each diocese sent one Chinese and one Foreign woman delegate. At this Conference, the women of the Chung Hun Sheng Kung Hwei, the Chinese Anglican Communion, organized a "Women's General Missionary Society" of the Chinese Church. That is, the Chinese women organized a national W.A. of their own. (49)

Significantly, the Chinese women chose the "Society" name rather than that of "Auxiliary" (used in Canada until as late as 1966). "Society" suggested a more independent and primary status for women than "Auxiliary". The

determination of Chinese women to change the name marked "an awakening consciousness among women of their ability..."{50} Daisy Masters wrote of this occasion, and of the change of name, that

> [this was] the very first time in the history of the Chinese Church when women Delegates from the different Dioceses in China had met together for discussion. .... [Bishop Graves] said that anything furthering the advancement of Women's work would receive the hearty support of the Synod. ....
>
> Many objections were made to the old name "Woman's Auxiliary" because of the idea that it implied a Society which was subordinate to, and not on an equality with the Board of Missions. Others, however, worked hard to keep the old name; but if they had not been willing to give way and have it replaced by "The Women's Missionary Band" I fear we should not have been able to organize at all.
>
> There were a number too who had not been used to working in a National Missionary Society and therefore failed to see the value of it, and for quite a while it seemed as if our Society would not come into existence - but under a new name we won the day.
>
> ....we trust that by means of this Society to interest our Chinese Sisters in the great work of Missions....
>
> It was indeed a great privilege to be present at these meetings and to realize what a big step forward the women of China are taking, and in the years to come when we hope to see this small beginning grown into a large and powerful organization, it will be very interesting to look back and remember how we started with our little band of eighteen. {51}

Soon after, St. Mary's Hall began its own branch of "the Women's Missionary Service League", organized amongst the pupils (but no doubt encouraged by Robbins), with Officers and an Executive Committee elected by the Senior Girls. The girls conducted the meetings themselves, and raised money to contribute to the Chinese Board of Missions. They learned about their counterparts in Canada and, like the women and girls in Canada, the Chinese girls were made to feel that they had a particularly important role to

perform for the sake of church and country. As the President of the Board of Missions put it to the Chinese Women's Missionary Society at their Triennial Meeting in 1924, "I have come to the belief that in our Church work the women will have a large part to play - a great responsibility to shoulder - and a big duty to perform - like the Women's Auxiliary in America." (52)

Though obviously modulated by Christian purposes, this type of feminism nevertheless offered new and expanding experiences to Chinese females, as it had to Canadian women. Chinese delegates to conferences were entertained western style and, in that context, perhaps borrowed something of the status and sense of self importance still worn by missionaries. Even the most evangelical of meetings and conferences helped to create a sense of female solidarity. The meetings and conferences added leadership and public speaking skills to the Chinese women's recently gained literacy and formal education, and offered a form of networking which provided encouragement and approval to Chinese Christian women. For some of these women, particularly those from country areas, the exposure to these conferences was a startling new experience. Jenkins observed a few of these women, with a mixture of curiosity and sympathy, at her first mission conference in Kaifeng in April, 1922, just prior to the outbreak of civil war. The foreign conference was followed by a Chinese conference and

Jenkins reported that,

> The Chinese conference has brought together delegates from all our stations, and they have been organizing into a diocese... I just attended one of their meetings, and it was great fun to see all those delegates to-gether, some of them right from the country, keenly discussing church affairs. A few old women were representing the women's work in these places, and they did look so countrified, and, I am sure, were completely mystified in the midst of so much novelty. (53)

Other, more experienced women conferees took positions of national importance within the Chinese Church. Jenkins wrote about one such woman:

> Miss Fan, a Chinese girl who has had training in New York, and who is now one of the Secretaries of the new National Christian Council, is in Kaifeng, and is speaking at various meetings this afternoon and this evening. She is a wonderful person, and it is a great privilege to have her in Kaifeng. She is travelling all over China surveying the work of the Chinese Church among women. (54)

These two contrasting examples of women participants in the Chinese Christian enterprise are suggestive of the social spectrum represented in the Chinese Church and of the differing levels of gender elevation occurring simultaneously in China.

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Jenkins, herself, was as devoted to her education in Chinese as the Chinese women were to their western-style education. Both were working hard at cross-cultural learning. Jenkins - though no longer an onlooker within the mission - still spent five hours a day on language study (with the assistance of a Chinese tutor for an hour each day). She was preparing now for "the hardest examination of

all", which, when she took it in February, 1923 had involved nine months preparation. It wasn't until October of the same year, three years after her arrival in China, a little in advance of the usual amount of time the process took, that she finished her third and final language examination, making her finally a "full-fledged missionary". In all her examinations she received 100%. Later, as other new arrivals repeated this process of language study, Jenkins became an examiner. (55)

Her expanding duties and role within the mission had begun the previous year with a Sunday school kindergarten class of 30 or so Chinese girls. In her report to the W.A., she described the sand trays, plasticine, models and pictures she used, and the Bible stories she encouraged the children to re-tell in their own way. She said, "I have tried to apply the most modern methods of Sunday School teaching to this little group and have met with much success." (56) She remarked that the children were learning to call God "Father", a concept perhaps not difficult to grasp in a society so dominated by fathers. Yet, as the difficulty in Chinese translation of Christian terms has shown since the time of the Jesuits, this introduction of a Father higher than that of the children's own fathers (and in the past higher than even the Emperor) created much confusion for the Chinese. And for Jenkins' part, teaching this male conception of God was the opposite of the feminism

she otherwise promoted. She was teaching a form of patriarchy contrary to the liberation of women and to independence from fathers.

Jenkins practiced her Chinese each day with her servants, beginning with the morning devotions "which involved a good deal of talking and explaining of Bible passages." Her "little congregation" included five servants, the [language] teacher, and several former servants, gathered around the dining room table. (57)

Music continued to figure large in Jenkins' mission work. In addition to her teaching of music at St. Mary's School, she now taught singing classes in Chinese to the boys of the large boys' day school in Kaifeng who formed the choir at the Sunday church services. About this rather strange form of cross-cultural imposition she wrote,

> Our scale is foreign to them, of course, and the rhythm of our hymns is often difficult for them to learn. But on the whole they do remarkably well, considering that many of them have never sung in their lives before. (58)

But, she said, "they love to sing...[and] it is most encouraging to see the improvement in the older boys who have had a few years' training. They acquire a tune quickly and accurately and sing with a good sense of time." (59) Her singing classes grew to 200 boys, divided into Juniors and Seniors; her chorus grew to between 90 and 100 boys performing for special celebrations and Christian festivals in addition to the regular services, all held in the Chinese Anglican church, Trinity Cathedral, in the city of Kaifeng.

Jenkins was soon asked to take over the music training of about fifty selected boys, fourteen to eighteen years of age, from St. Andrew's School, the Anglican boys' boarding school across from St. Mary's. To these boys of elevated social class, "sons of officials", the special focus of Anglican education for boys, she introduced 4-part-singing. (60)

Describing her experience of music teaching and her pride in her choir's performances was a particularly natural form of sharing with Annie Jenkins, Ruth's mother, who was herself a musician. At Ruth's request, Annie mailed her pieces for the organ and as well as for the piano. Indeed, leading the music of the Chinese congregation, practicing the organ in preparation for its special services, performing for weddings and ceremonies, were activities more akin to those of both her musically more accomplished parents. In the overseas world of the Kaifeng mission, Ruth had her innings. (61)

These musical activities of the western institutional church, imposed in tandem with other forms of education and literacy, are contextual examples of the less consciously intended consequences of missionary activity. Hymn-singing introduced a whole new style of music to the Chinese, one which was very different from their operas and folksongs. The mission music classes also exposed the Chinese to western musical instruments. (62) The aristocratic status

given to the piano in particular, and its association with western female culture, was evident when Jenkins was asked to perform for General Feng's wife and daughters. Jenkins herself explicitly held this class and gender-related image, writing "...and I think as China advances, pianos will be finding their way into the better homes", and she accepted the prestige her piano skills attached to her. Her musical skill also had the advantage of bringing her considerable social approval from Bishop and Mrs. White, in whose home she was often asked to perform. (63)

Music was one of many means the status-conscious Canadians used to make contact with the "better classes" among the Chinese. Bishop White regarded St. Andrew's Boys School, in particular, as of "strategical importance" in the work of our mission.

> It aims to reach, and is reaching the sons of officials and gentry who, presumably, will become leaders in the New China that is opening up. ... This institution has given us a position in the minds of the Chinese, and particularly of the upper classes, which has to a great extent differentiated us from missions in general. (64)

The growing number of students at St. Mary's requesting organ and piano lessons was a reflection of a similar response on the part of the Chinese upper classes in regard to their daughters.

Other dimensions to Jenkins' role grew in response to her evident abilities. At the Annual Diocesan Mission Conference held in April, 1923, she was elected Secretary of the Conference. At the same conference, the decision was

made to have a diocesan paper with Ruth Jenkins as editor. Later the same month, she was approached by the national leader of the Daily Vacation Bible School movement, a national Christian education organization which was growing in popularity, to write stories about Chinese children to be printed and circulated among the children at home in Canada. (One such story was entitled "How Joo Ying went to School", and told of one of the girls in the Kaifeng mission who had been rescued during the famine and put into school.) Such propaganda assignments were frequently expected of the women missionaries; the children's and girls' departments of missionary journals were full of such stories as Jenkins', serving to fortify western images of the "plight" of their Chinese sisters. {65}

The missionaries also had to respond to frequent staff changes and periodic home leaves. The following year, for example, Jenkins took full responsibility of the Kaifeng mission station accounts, which involved book-keeping and rendering quarterly financial statements to the Home Board, and paying out all the money used in the city church and school work and two of the outstations, approximately $2000.00 a quarter. About this work she said, "We do many things out here that we would never dream of doing at home, simply because there is no one else to do them." Such was the liberation of circumstance. Many tasks for few people continued to give the women in the mission field

opportunities for development they would not have been given at home in Canada. (66)

Among Jenkins' growing number of assignments was the new task of luring Government school girls, particularly of the elusive "better classes", to Christianity. Although St. Andrews Boys School claimed some "sons of officials" among their students, and Bishop White had always worked to attract upper class Chinese - and reputedly had succeeded from the beginning in bringing a more mixed social group to his church services than did other missions - Jenkins was explicitly designated to attract the upper class women. Jenkins began by making friends with one of the Chinese Christian women workers, Miss Sia, now with the Anglican women's school in Kaifeng. On September 30, 1923, Jenkins explained this particular strategy of mission.

[Miss Sia] belongs to one of the best families in Honan, her father being Foreign Commissioner of Honan. Having had a great deal to do with foreigners, she understands English and she finds little difficulty in adapting herself to our ways. .... Miss Sia mixes constantly with the best people, and knows the thousand and one rules of etiquette that the high class people observe. It is nice to know a Chinese girl of this type, for most of our work so far has been among the lower classes. We are planning to begin work very soon among the official families, and Miss Sia will be a great help in getting us into touch with the good families. This afternoon I visited her father's office, and saw what an official's residence and business rooms are like. There are a great many large courtyards, with beautiful large rooms built around them; and the whole place is walled in and guarded by soldiers. ..." (67)

In November she wrote more explicitly of her assignment.

I am to commence work amongst the students in the Government

Schools and other schools of the city. Nothing has been done in this line before - and I am to have a free hand in this, making my own plans and following my own methods. The W.A. has given money for a Girls' Club in the city, and our idea is to make this a sort of Y.W.C.A., - a club embracing many different kinds of activities, and appealing to the educated classes. I am hoping to get Miss Sia to help me and to-morrow I am going to talk over plans with her. {68}

That year, while reporting his staff needs to the W.A., Bishop White described his plan to expand further in this new direction.

Apart from [the] work of Deaconess type, there is evangelistic work of the Y.W.C.A. type very urgently needed in Kaifeng City, and which, before long, will be required in Kweiteh and Chengchow. ... It will touch especially the official classes and students of the Government Schools. ... At least three Missionaries specially qualified for this work should be on the staff...and one of these could well give her whole time to work amongst the students of the Government Girls' Schools of the city. {69}

To communicate with the new class of educated girls, Jenkins acquired a new teacher from Peking. She wanted to learn the latest Chinese terms. A vernacular literature was being produced in Peking at the time, using both new terms and new grammar, an experiment intended to make the language more widely accessible. Jenkins, who always liked to think of herself as modern, wrote,

At present I am reading a good deal of modern literature, and this kind of literature teams [sic] with new terms, which people of the old school do not know. It has therefore been necessary to get a modern man of education for a teacher. The Chinese language is adapting itself constantly to the modern life in China, and accumulating new terms and expressions. Old-fashioned people, of course, look with contempt upon this new language, but the students are using it entirely. For this reason, I want to be able to use it, since my work is to be among students. I am reading the paper in Chinese every day, and a magazine published monthly by a few Christian leaders of the Renaissance Movement, in Peking. It is all thoroughly

interesting and enjoyable. (70)

At first Jenkins tried unsuccessfully to gain entrance into some of the schools as a teacher of English, in order to make contact with the students. She then put up a notice in all the schools offering classes of English and music at her home after school hours, hoping to take advantage of the "craze for English and music", and bring in a few students, at least to get started. She explained the strategy quite unabashedly. "We have to go very slowly at first with these students and gain their confidence and friendship before suggesting Christianity to them." (71) Later she emphasized the importance of social contacts.

> It seems to me that the main method of approach to the student is through social contacts. The Chinese girl is very frank and open and most responsive to friendship. My idea is to get a group to come to the house for either English or music and thus win their confidence and friendship. (72)

This method of insinuating oneself into circles where one was not invited, truer to the reality of missionary work than that of responding to the needy "call" of Chinese sisters, was, in fact, quite incompatible with Jenkins' own sense of dignity and good manners. She was used to being a harmonizer, being anything but "a nuisance". This scheme was not easy for her and she only made it palatable by inviting students to her own home. (73)

In the new year, while the schools were on holiday, Jenkins began to get a response to her notices. With just three girls to begin with, coming three times a week,

progress felt very slow. But, she said, "They are most friendly and are beginning to show an interest in Christianity." Only two weeks later, she was encouraged enough to write,

> I am getting to-gether quite a nice little group of students. There are nineteen coming to the house regularly - sixteen for English, and two for music - also one who is taking both English and music, and still others are to come later on. So I am fairly busy - teaching twenty-three hours a week. It is very interesting, and I am gradually getting to know these girls quite well. They come in groups of two or three. (74)

The numbers kept growing, and with them Jenkins' fondness for the girls. Despite their larger goals of proselytism, missionary teachers found tremendous satisfaction simply as teachers of the hard-working Chinese girls. Jenkins' students were between fifteen and twenty years of age, "most friendly and very keen about their lessons." She wrote,

> Education is such a new thing to girls out here, that they really appreciate it and they really <u>work</u> at their lessons. Imagine girls at home wanting to study all though the holidays! They even want to come on New Years' Day, which is to them what our Christmas is to us. I simply can't keep them away! (75)

But like all of Bishop White's staff, Jenkins had to be flexible. After the holidays, another assignment was added to her growing list of responsibilities. She was to take charge of the Anglican day school for girls in the city of Kaifeng, the "Yu-teh" school for girls next to the church, which had by now grown to a hundred and ten students, "and more are coming all the time". Jenkins

remarked that some of the girls were quite big, "having started school late in life". Most of the senior girls were fifteen, sixteen and seventeen years of age. The majority were between eight and fourteen. {76}

Jenkins was given a new office. The carpenter built her some new furniture, and she set about the administrative duties of putting together time-tables and completing other organizational tasks. The staff was all Chinese; many were graduates of St. Mary's. Jenkins supervised their work and was available when wanted by teachers or pupils. Each morning she led the school in roll-call and prayers, and told a Bible story. She taught scripture to the senior class, and then went on to her other commitments teaching singing at both the boys and girls schools. Teaching "drill" was later added to her classes. At three she began her classes with the government school students, teaching until six. It became increasingly hard to fit all her students in. {77}

A few of her Government school students were not allowed to continue their lessons after the holidays, as they were boarders. But, Jenkins had another option. She wrote,

> the provincial normal school is almost next door, and I am getting new pupils to fill up the vacant ranks. Probably after another week, I will go to the school and teach rather than have them come here. This will be rather a triumph - to be able to get right into the school - and I am rather pleased at the prospect. The Principal herself has suggested it. {78}

She had not forgotten the goal of forming a club. She invited all her pupils in for tea, and entertained them with lantern slides of Canada and the United States. She felt "it meant a lot to the girls ... I am hoping they will be able to come again, and gradually we may be able perhaps to form a student's club." In March, she wrote that she was hoping to start a Bible class for them very soon. (79)

Like the other "full-fledged" missionary women whom she had joined, Jenkins put in long days, Sundays of course among them, all the while continuing language study, organ and choral work, quarterly accounts, and servants' prayer meetings. But she was thriving, fully involved. With Bishop White on furlough in the spring of 1923, she took to herself new authority; she planned to have a tennis court made on the school grounds, partly so she herself could get in some regular exercise after six. While the Bishop was away, she also played tennis on his private tennis court and held parties in his garden. With several other missionaries' furloughs falling due that spring, Jenkins was soon to be left with a reduced number of cohorts. She wrote, "In one way, it will be an advantage. There will be fewer social engagements to have to bother with, and more time for work. I am enjoying my duties so much and feel so well all the time." Jenkins had just turned 30. (80)
In March, at the peak of satisfaction, she wrote,

> My school is going along nicely. I am enjoying my scripture class each day and my time with the children every morning

at prayers. I tell a Bible story every morning using pictures and models and the children's eyes fairly pop out of their heads with wonder and surprise. The Senior girls are very much excited at the idea of a tennis court, and the smaller girls are to be made happy with swings. (81)

At the time of writing, she was preparing to give her first Chinese examination to her scripture class. She felt they had "got along splendidly", and she expected them to do very well in their examinations. Her government school students continued to come regularly, and a group of them started studying Christianity on Sundays. (82)

Experimental strategies to reach government students were being tried in other missions as well. Through one of Jenkins' government school students who had become interested in Christianity in her Bible class, but had moved to Wuchang to attend Normal School, Jenkins learned of a Y.W.C.A. secretary there who was doing similar work among government students. The two women interlopers remained in frequent touch with one another about their progress. (83)

When Easter came along, the Yu-teh school entertained the mothers with the usual drills and songs. Ever-mindful of their ultimate task, Jenkins wrote, "afterwards, we are going to show them around the school, and take them into the church. We are hoping in this way to get into touch with the homes, and to get the mothers to come to church, and learn about Christianity." (84)

Despite all this forward-looking energy and expectation, the competition for students in China's rapidly

changing society was as daunting as the traditions of old had been, when the education of girls was the missionaries to lead. Jenkins noted,

> In my work with the government school students, I am getting into touch with a large number of schools in the city - and it is absolutely astonishing, to see the way education is leaping ahead even here in Kaifeng. Primary Schools are springing up everywhere, and the most modern educational methods are being used and insisted upon in these schools. The Provincial Normal School has five hundred students and these young graduates are pouring into the schools, full of progressive ideas, and enthusiastic in the cause of education. Our Mission Schools are going to have to keep right up to the times, if we are to compete successfully with the government schools. (85)

Mission modernization was being outstripped by secular education.

Jenkins, like Bishop White and many others before her, was increasingly impressed by the Chinese intellectual classes. She attended assemblies for visiting men of letters, reporting that she and her friends were regarded strangely in the crowd of male students as "three foreign females sitting up in the gallery". She had long discussions with her language teacher, a graduate of the university in Nanking and an "ardent educationalist". They were reading The Life - a periodical written by a number of the leaders of the Renaissance Movement, and Jenkins found much material for thought in it. Jenkins went on to say,

> I wish you could know some of these clever people of the educated classes. I am getting to know more and more of them, and they are certainly not lacking in brains. I sometimes wonder where the west will be, when China once comes to her own. Things are moving so fast in China, that it is hard to keep up to them. (86)

But at the peak of her own form, Jenkins remained faithful to her own lights. She continued to work hard on Christian education as she would throughout her life. The work patterns and attitudes she developed during this period in China would continue throughout her life as a serious Christian educator. Her Bible classes for girls and her Junior Congregation leadership - her particular adaptation of the role of priest - would lead to renown for her later in Canadian Christian circles.

Meanwhile, forty of Jenkins' Chinese Sunday school girls entered the Catechumenate to prepare for Baptism. Like Robbins, Jenkins was careful not to take undue advantage of the impulses of young children. She said, "...most of them, I feel are too young to realize the full meaning of this step, so I am going to have them enter a Preparatory class at this Children's Service. Later on when they get older, they can enter the Catechumenate." Jenkins also took additional girls' Bible classes on Sunday. (87)

Jenkins' affection for the Chinese whom she came to know and with whom she worked never wavered. Her trust in the relationships she had made was badly shaken, however, when her much admired language teacher - with whom she had worked and shared thoughts all year - stole $350.00 from the Y.M.C.A. where he also worked. Jenkins was completely thrown off her usual calm. This "splendid young man, clever and well educated... [and] a Christian ... was now being

detained at the Police Station - a filthy hovel - until he returns the money." Shaken, she wrote at length about this development:

> Why he did such a thing, no one knows. I know he had a hard time making ends meet. He was to be married in a month or two, and of course this means a large outlay of money in China. I suppose he wanted the money badly, and saw this money in the drawer of one of the secretaries, and just took it. And now his whole career is ruined. He can never appear in Kaifeng again, and he is in utter disgrace. I had planned to take him with me to Peitaiho, to help me during the summer, and he and his new wife were to help me in my school next term. Now all these plans are knocked in the head. I feel so sorry for him too, that he should have been so foolish as to do a thing like this. I know he must be suffering terrible remorse in his hot stuffy cell at present. The whole thing just seems perfectly dreadful.

But then Jenkins added,

> So many Chinese are like this - splendid strong characters in many ways, but dreadfully weak in one or two spots, usually where money is concerned. It is for this reason that we still hesitate about handing over the funds of the church to the Chinese. {88}

The mistrust this last remark suggests seems to have been widely felt, because the subject of the handling of funds was later to be the major reason for delays in devolution. The following week, Jenkins wrote again of her teacher,

> I have had two letters from Mr. T'ai, my Language Teacher, who is now in prison. He says he had borrowed money some months ago, and was told that he must return it before the Fifth Month Festival. It is the Chinese custom, to pay up all debts before this Festival. When the day arrived (just a week ago) he saw that he could not do it, and he took the Y.M.C.A. money, intending, as he says, to pay it back gradually. It was found out, and now he is in prison and is to be kept there until he pays it back. He has been appealing to me to lend him money to help him pay it back. I sent him this month's salary and a little money of my own, but I could not send him much, and he is still short a good deal. I don't know how long it will be, before he collects

enough to free himself. I feel very sorry for him. He must be suffering a great deal during this hot weather. (89)

In the fall she received another letter from Mr. T'ai, who had by then been sentenced to four months imprisonment. Her genuine sympathy for him, and his loss of reputation - such that he could never again stay in Kaifeng or even in Honan - was expressed in her comment, "Poor man, he is suffering a great deal, physically and mentally, as would naturally be the case, with a man of his class." (90)

This incident was perhaps unremarkable considering that many missionaries were manipulated and disappointed from time to time, most often by servants, (91) but Jenkins was "knocked in the head" on this occasion because T'ai was a learned man, and one whom she had believed to be an ally amidst the malaise of a China caught between old and new. For Jenkins it was incomprehensible that a man of his class could betray her trust in the redeeming qualities of both education and Christianity. She had also developed a personal friendship with Mr. T'ai and so perhaps felt personally assailed in her ability to judge a person. Her disappointment was practically reinforced subsequently when she had great trouble finding a teacher of the quality of Mr. T'ai.

A further extracurricular task, Jenkins was now the secretary of the Educational Board which managed all the affairs of the schools of the Diocese, including the station classes held for women in the twelve counties around

Kaifeng. (The station class method was used by most denominations to reach women in outlying districts and were typically held by itinerant women missionaries in two to four week sessions.) Jenkins found great satisfaction and interest in the long meetings of the Educational Board which addressed issues of educational expansion. She was also asked to organize a local committee of the Daily Vacation Bible School movement, a department of the National Christian Council in China which by now offered over a thousand vacation Bible schools in China, another example of the size and ambition of the Christian occupation. In response to this request, she organized and presided over meetings of Chinese and foreign leaders, conducting all the proceedings in Chinese. Then, as both Secretary and Treasurer of the new committee, extensive correspondence was added to her heavy schedule. The committee planned to open about 60 schools during the ensuing summer of 1924, using the senior students of the mission schools as teachers. Soon Jenkins was elevated to the National Daily Vacation Bible School Committee of the National Christian Council. And she was asked several times to consider full time D.V.B.S. work in China. {92}

These developments, a tribute to Jenkins' administrative abilities, excited her ambition. As the school year closed her first year as a full-time missionary, she wrote of the D.V.B.S. post that,

It would mean of course, a much wider scope but I am very happy in my work at present, and don't feel I want to give it up yet. But sometimes I feel as if I will gradually work into something bigger. It is quite an honour to be on one of the committees of the National Christian Council. There are thirty members altogether on this D.V.B.S. Committee, appointed from all parts of China, some of them Chinese and some foreign. I suppose I represent Honan. It is really most interesting to see the way this movement is advancing in China. We are hoping to organize a Provincial Committee in the Fall, in order to extend the work throughout the whole of Honan. (93)

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Ruth Jenkins was not alone in accomplishment. She and her colleagues in Kaifeng belonged to a class of educated and capable Canadian women who invested enormous personal effort and energy for the sake of an ennobling idea: the liberation of Chinese females from physical and spiritual "bondage". As such, they believed that they contributed significantly to the promise of the future of China, their adopted country.

The work of reaching the women and girls of Kaifeng had gone forward significantly during 1922-24; locally, the Anglican mission schools for girls and women were still admired, if only as a good source of western education. Hoping for - and often finding - opportunities for indirect influence, the women missionaries pressed on. The apprehensions associated with the ever-ominous military and political events which surrounded the missionaries did not deter them. The new challenges of competition with government schools and of religious skepticism among their students were tackled with innovation. They recognized

something of the cultural conflict they produced in their students, but believed that the religion they taught was not merely another creed in a world of creeds, but represented a higher Truth, worthy of all struggles. Through their extensive activities they provided Chinese women and girls opportunities for new skills and gender advancement, parallel to their own. In the groups, clubs, and conferences of females promoted by the missionaries, one can see feminist beginnings. And, for the Canadian women in this foreign and experimental environment a special bond was formed with their students.

Indeed, it was with a great sense of satisfaction and readiness that these women prepared for the upcoming 1924-25 school year in Kaifeng, and for their expanding female constituency. The composition of the mission staff and Jenkins' household was a little different each year because of furloughs and changes in assignments, but Katherine Robbins, May Watts, Daisy Masters, and Mrs. Simmons were with Jenkins at this time and for the dramatic developments ahead.

Notes

1. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 24, 1922, NAC.
2. Ibid.
3. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 22, 1922, NAC.
4. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 5, 1922, June 3,1922, NAC; James E. Sheridan, Chinese Warlord: the Career of Feng Yu-hsiang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 52-4, 82, 112, 130, 175. See "Administration of Honan", p. 113-17.
5. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 22, 1922, NAC.
6. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 19, 1922, NAC.
7. Ibid.
8. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 26, 1922, NAC.
9. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 19, 1922, NAC.
10. Quoted from unnamed newspaper by RJ in letter to AJ, Kaifeng, Dec. 3, 1922, NAC.
11. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 10, 1922, May 13, and 27, 1923, NAC.
12. For example, RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 6, 1923, NAC.
13. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 17, 1923, NAC.
14. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 14, 1923, NAC.
15. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 13, 1923, NAC.
16. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, Feb. 11, 1923, NAC.
17. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 6 and 13, 1923, NAC.
18. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 14, 1923, NAC.
19. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 24, August 26, September 23, October 7, 1923, NAC.
20. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 7, 1922 and Robbins "Summer Normal School in Honan", The Living Message, November 1923, p. 353-4, ACH. Note: In 1923 the Letter Leaflet was renamed the Living Message.
21. Robbins to the W.A., Kaifeng, October 24, 1923, printed in The Living Message, April, 1924, p. 92-93; ACH. All of these plans went forward and were completed by Christmas, 1923.
22. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 10, 1923, NAC.
23. Robbins, in "The Story of the Year as told by some of our missionaries", W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 7-9, GS76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH.
24. Robbins to "a Prayer Partner", The Living Message, April, 1924, p. 93-4, ACH.
25. Greta Clark, in "The Story of the Year as told by some of our missionaries", W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 9-10, GS76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH. The personal experiences associated with the unbinding of girls' feet, the recovery process required to regain use of all parts of the foot and the muscle tone in the legs etc., was not reported in any of the Anglican women missionaries' reports. Fairbank has suggested that westerners generally have "imbibed Chinese sensitivities" and avoided discussing the topic of footbinding. He stated that footbinding is "the least studied aspect of Chinese society" (China, p. 176).

26. Robbins, Letter Leaflet, Vol. 30, 1918-19, p. 282, ACH; Alison R. Drucker, "The Role of the YWCA in the Development of the Chinese Women's Movement, 1890-1927", Social Science Review 53 (1979): p. 421. For a discussion of the links between the education of girls and female activism in China see chapters four above and conclusions below.
27. Extract from "Asia" printed in "The Girls' Page" The Living Message, June 1924, p. 177, ACH.
28. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 22, 1922, NAC.
29. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 28, 1922, NAC.
30. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 2, 1923, NAC.
31. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 4, 1924, NAC.
32. Robbins, in "The Story of the Year", W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 8-9, GS76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH.
33. Ibid.; Ref. to "the new woman"in Shanghai, Edith M.K. Thomas, Funing, China, Letter Leaflet, July, 1921, p. 210, ACH. See Chapter Four for discussion of the New Culture/May Fourth movements.
34. May Watts, to Toronto Diocesan W.A. Corresponding Secretary, Kaifeng, November 13, 1919, printed in Letter Leaflet, April 1920, p. 181, ACH.
35. Ibid.; Watts, in "The Story of the Year", W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 11, GS76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH.
36. Ibid.
37. Candidates' Committee Minutes, April 19, 1917 and May 7, 1917, Anglican Women's Training College Papers, M75-27, Series 3-A, Box 14, ACH. See also insert re agenda/curriculum, 1919.
38. Watts, in "The Story of the Year", 1924; Watts to W.A., Kaifeng, November 13th, printed in Letter Leaflet, April, 1920, p. 181, ACH.
39. Ibid.; George A. Andrews, "So Built We the Wall", M.S.C.C. Study Book, 1932, p. 29 and 53, M.S.C.C. GS75-103, ACH.
40. "Conference on Women's Work: A New Era for Women's Work", The Chinese Recorder (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1920) Vol. 51, p. 118-20.
41. Ibid., p. 119.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 118-119
44. The tone of superiority is also regularly repeated in American political statements about democracy, in remarks such as "we are the greatest country on earth".
45. "Conference on Women's Work", p. 120.
46. RJ to AJ, Kuling, Kiangsi, China, July 16, 1922, NAC.
47. Ibid.; Barbara Crossette, "A New Order: The Second Sex in the Third World", New York Times, September 10, 1995, p. 3.
48. Watts, "Report of the Conference of the Women's School, Kaifeng", September, 1920, printed in Letter Leaflet, January, 1921, p. 14, ACH.
49. "Concerning our Missionaries", The Mission World, Vol.

XIX, No. 6, June 1921, p. 219; Daisy Masters to President of Toronto W.A. Diocesan Board, July 25, 1921, printed in "News from the Front", Letter Leaflet, November, 1921, p. 327-29. The formation of the Chung Hun Sheng Kung Hwei, the Chinese Anglican communion in China had occurred in 1912. See chapter six below.
50. "Concerning our Missionaries", The Mission World, June, 1921, p. 219.
51. Masters, "News from the Front", Letter Leaflet, November 1921, p. 328-29, ACH.
52. Quoted by Watts in "The Women's Missionary Service League", The Living Message, April 1925, p. 112.
53. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 23, 1922, NAC.
54. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 3, 1922, NAC.
55. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October, 22, 1922 and October 31, 1923, NAC.
56. Jenkins in "Story of the Year", W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 12, GS 76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH.
57. Ibid.; RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 17, 1922, NAC.
58. Jenkins in "Story of the Year, W.A. Printed Material, 1924, p. 12, GS 76-15 Series 17, Box 28, ACH.
59. Ibid.
60. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 19, 1922, NAC.
61. For example, RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 24, November 19, Dec. 10, 1922 and March 11, 1923, NAC.
62. Ch'en, China and the West, p. 119.
63. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 24, October 8, 1922, ACH.
64. White, "Educational Work in the Diocese of Honan", Mission World, Vol. XVIII No. 1, January 1920, p. 10.
65. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 8, 29, June 24, 1923, NAC; Stories such as "Redeemed from Slavery", or "From Bondage into Freedom", or tales of "pitiful" refugee girls sold into adoption were common in missionary journals.
66. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 16, 1923, NAC.
67. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 30, 1923, NAC.
68. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 18, 1923, NAC.
69. W.C. White, "Missionary Requirements for the Work Among Women and Children in the Honan Province, The Living Message, January, 1924, p. 14, ACH.
70. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 2, 1923, NAC.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.; RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 13, 1924, NAC.
74. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 13, 27, 1924, NAC.
75. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 3, 1924, NAC.
76. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 2, 1924, NAC. Name ref. "Yu-teh" from Andrews, "So Built We the Wall", M.S.C.C. study book, 1932, p. 53.
77. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 22, March 2, 8, 1924, NAC.
78. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 22, 1924, NAC.
79. Ibid., and RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 8, 1924, NAC.
80. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 2, 1924, NAC.

81. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 16, 1924, NAC.
82. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 30, 1924, NAC.
83. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 16, 1924, NAC.
84. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 13, 1924, NAC.
85. Ibid.
86. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, May 11, April 13, 1924, NAC.
87. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 15, 1924, NAC.
88. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 8, 1924, NAC.
89. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 15, 1924, NAC.
90. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 14, 1924, NAC.
91. For example, in RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 16, 1923, Jenkins wrote of trouble with their cook and table-boy who were found to be gambling on their premises. These servants had "got into bad company" and "although they are Christians, they have gone from bad to worse." She wrote, "...we all feel badly about it...they always seemed very earnest Christians..."
92. see 'Station Classes' in White, "Missionary Requirements for the Work Among Women and Children in the Honan Province", in The Living Message, January, 1924, ACH; RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 8, 22, 29, 1924, NAC.
93. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 29, 1924, NAC.

CHAPTER SIX

Education and Rebellion

Relatively sheltered and quite successful in Kaifeng, the missionaries misread the extent and speed of nationalist and anti-foreign feeling rising among students in major centers and within Chinese political parties. As the effects of these phenomena began to reach Kaifeng, newly empowered mission students were emboldened both to challenge the authority of their western teachers and to question those teachers' religious purposes. Patriotic activities following the death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 deeply affected the female students. Conflict and accommodation with student rebellion and nationalism left the missionaries with weakened authority and uncertain futures.

Nationalist feeling had also grown within the adult Chinese Christian community; Chinese Christians, put on the defensive by their anti-foreign compatriots, demanded greater authority and autonomy within the church. Missionary programmatic efforts to respond to these challenges to the western Christian presence were, for the most part, either inadequate or too late.

Strong anti-British feeling, particularly, put Canadians, whose dominion was explicitly British, in a vulnerable position. The ambivalent nature of Canadian nationalism was marked for Canadian missionaries because

they counted on the British government for physical protection. The cultural and diplomatic importance of Britain for them was great, and this was observed by both the Canadians and the Chinese. Suffering from this identification, Canadians of the Church of England, especially, were seen as British. This colonial association had cut both ways, providing both cultural strength and political weakness.

New wars and more aggressive student movements - peaking in the riots of May and June, 1925 - carried nationalist, anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiment to the level of revolution by 1927. Ironically, the work of the women missionaries in the education of girls had liberated one force for Chinese nationalism. That nationalism, in turn, ultimately destroyed the immense missionary enterprise and western social feminist careers associated with it.

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The 1924-25 mission year began with news of war around the Shanghai district, the great commercial metropolis of China. Troops were gathered all along the railway between Nanking and Shanghai, and fighting had begun. Foreigners in Shanghai were ordered to stay in a restricted area, while British, American, French, Japanese and Italian warships hovered in the harbor. In Kaifeng, though outside the fighting zone, the women of Lau fu men house watched through

their window with apprehension as bands of civilians walked together through the streets of their city, starting towards Chengchow where recruiting was taking place. There was "much talk everywhere" of civil war, and some Chinese thought, once again, that "a big fight" was necessary to cleanse and unify China. By the end of September, the fighting had shifted from the east to the north, threatening to include Peking. (1)

The women's dismay was augmented by the knowledge that devastating summer floods and soaring food prices had driven many thousands of refugees to flee to Shanghai and Peking for shelter. Jenkins wrote of

> these poor poor people. If it is not a flood it is a drought. If not a drought it is a war. And if not a war it is bandits. They live in constant terror and distress - it is simply one great struggle for life. (2)

In Kaifeng, the women watched too for the arrival of recruits of a different kind - new missionaries from Canada - assigned to join the work of their Diocese in Honan. Some missionary recruits were delayed by the seizing of the railways for the transportation of troops; others reached Honan just in time before the line was cut off completely between Peking and Kaifeng. There was anxious concern too for the safe return of missionaries who had been home on leave. (3)

Whatever the political climate, there was special excitement when missionaries returned to Kaifeng from furlough - a year's leave which came every five years.

(Furloughs were intended to shore up the reserves of overseas missionaries and, after they had some rest, to build up the missions' home support by extensive deputation work, travelling, and speech-making.) As Jenkins wrote of May Watts' return from Canada that fall,

> Anyone coming from Canada, is always an occasion of rejoicing and celebrations. We get the latest home news, gossip, and fashions, and admire the new comers fresh wardrobe! It is like a fresh breeze blowing in upon settled musty air. We get a new touch with the outside world, and our view broadens. (4)

Jenkins later added,

> We had great fun yesterday viewing her [May's] "trousseau". She has brought back a lot of lovely things - beautiful dresses, hats, coats, and shoes, as well as pictures, books, china, and other household furnishings. (5)

(This attribution of "trousseau" - generally referring to the clothes and outfit of a bride - to the outfit of a missionary was typical of the substitutions which quite often slipped into the language of this community of women. The women missionaries were conscious of their exclusion from the more typical passages of female life. With a mixture of sadness and humor, they entertained each other, danced together, and gave each other the support which might have been otherwise provided by marriage partners. And though spinsters, they paid considerable attention to their wardrobe and to fashion, sewing fresh ribbons on their hats, and altering the height of their belts and hems, as the current style or season dictated.)

Along with such reminders of home which the new and

returning missionaries brought with them, the fall season was especially likely to bring forth one of Jenkins' periodic seasonal comparisons of China and Canada. "Oh, how I long to see some real autumn leaves. Yesterday I took a walk into the country, and it looked so different from Canadian country in the Fall - everything as green as possible! - like a gay Spring afternoon." Into her fourth year in China, Jenkins looked ahead to her own furlough which fell due next year, and to returning home to the familiar seasons and climate of Canada, their beauty intensified in her memory by absence. {6}

Kaifeng's mission schools resumed their sessions; the flood damage to St. Mary's Hall was repaired; Robbins and Jenkins and their female colleagues took up their teaching by day and their preparations and teachers' meetings by evening. The new Girls' Branch of the W.A. run by the girls of St. Mary's planned their years program; the Y.W.C.A. held their interdenominational club meetings. Jenkins' city school enrollment was bigger than ever, and her Sunday school had expanded with eighty-nine new children from outside the mission, making a total of 175. By November the Sunday school roll book had reached the 300 mark. The children were divided into 20 classes under Chinese Christian teachers, and Jenkins began to use lantern pictures to illustrate her stories to the large congregation of children and teachers under her supervision. She later

wrote that she had to control the swelling enrollment because of the difficulty in getting enough teachers.

> I am not taking in such numbers now on account of lack of teachers. There is no difficulty in getting the children, but it is hard to get enough Christian women and girls for teaching. After a few weeks when the new teachers get more accustomed to their work, I hope to enlarge the classes and take in about 400. (7)

Jenkins continued to respond to requests by Government school students for music lessons, but had to turn many away for lack of time. She brought girls into her choirs for the first time. Like the boys, they learned to perform and to sing in harmony. She continued to carry a variety of extracurricular responsibilities, for example, preparing for an educational conference in which she would give her first public speech in Chinese. (8)

All of the women missionaries were heavily committed, but there were compensations. Home for meals only, the Lau fu men women were served in luxury by the table-boy on small tables beside the open fire before they rushed back to cold school rooms. At St. Mary's, Robbins began the year very tired, indicating that, though there was much progress, the previous year had been a very hard one at St. Mary's and that she and Miss Clark had barely had the strength to hang on. (9)

The missionaries' relations with the local Chinese in the fall of 1924 continued to be amicable and often warm. In November, Jenkins was the guest of honor at a Chinese feast, given by one of her language teachers and two

government school teachers. Placed opposite her hosts, with "one piping hot bowl of Chinese food after another" shared from the center of the table, Jenkins took part with relish. At another similar feast, Jenkins described the Chinese genius in cooking and the wonderful variety of over thirty courses served, including delicacies of sea slugs and sharks' fins "and other rare productions of the sea as well as the land." She had come to love the food of her new country and said, "our food seems very tame compared to theirs." (10) The missionaries entertained their Chinese friends too, at tea parties and seasonal celebrations, but these events tended to be separate from their own frequent dinner parties for each other. Contact between the two cultures at social gatherings was sometimes strained but usually successful, with members of each group trying politely to learn the others' ways. At the level of knives and forks and chopsticks, the women of both cultures shared considerable civility.

Though welcomed by such Chinese as they had come to know, Jenkins and the other missionary women were still a curiosity to many ordinary Chinese. Jenkins remarked on this as she described a shopping trip in Kaifeng:

> When you enter [the shops], there are always innumerable clerks to greet you with a bow, and then stand around and stare at you as you proceed to buy. A foreigner is still more or less of a curiosity, and the Chinese are adept at staring. We therefore always collect a crowd. ... the clerks follow you around, very much interested in the queer foreigner, but otherwise apparently quite indifferent to your desire to purchase something. He lets you do your

hunting and condescends to accept your money, and wrap up your parcel, if you happen to find what you want. .... (11)

As Jenkins and her colleagues picked up the threads of the previous years' efforts to win female souls, the women looked towards the arrival of winter to put an end to the fighting which clouded their geographical and spiritual horizons. In October martial law had been proclaimed in Peking, and its city gates were closed. Mails to Kaifeng were frequently delayed and at times completely cut off.(12)

Wu Pei-fu, whose policy had been the unification of China by force, had begun military operations against his strongest opponent, Chang Tso-lin in the summer, but had been defeated, and he had fled to safety in the southern part of Honan. The Peking government had been taken over provisionally by Tuan Chi-jui whose dictatorship was supported by Chang Tso-lin. This new administration cancelled most of the administrative appointments made by Wu, including provincial officials. The missionaries feared that the competing claimants to these positions would put up armed resistance to the newly appointed military and civil governors of Honan. (13)

Despite the cold approach of winter the fighting did not stop. With great suddenness, war reached the Canadians in Kaifeng. On December 7, 1924, Jenkins wrote,

Our house is in confusion at this moment and it is hard to settle my mind to writing. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis and their children have moved into the city, as trouble is expected at the Nan Kuan (South Suburb) to-night. The last few days have been fairly exciting. Wu Pei Fu has been defeated and

it was feared that the defeated soldiers would return to Kaifeng and loot. The city gates were closed, and many terrified women and children took refuge at the church. St. Mary's school moved into the city and camped on the church compound. Worked stopped and schools closed. However, nothing happened and yesterday everybody returned to their homes and settled down with the feeling that the scare was all over. Suddenly to-day comes the news that troops are marching on Kaifeng and are only a few miles away. A peace party has gone to meet them, and we hope they - the advancing troops - may enter Kaifeng peacefully. In the meantime, the people are getting alarmed, and the foreigners have all moved from the South Suburb into the city for safety. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis and their children are with us again, and Mrs. Simmons' little Peter. The Bishop has gone on this Peace Expedition, and Mrs. and Mrs. Simmons are staying in their house at the South Suburb to keep up the morale of the Chinese there. Miss Robbins and Miss Watts with their school girls are settled at the church in the city. ...

The whole trouble centres around two "military governors" who are contending for Honan. There has been some fierce fighting in the province, north of the river, resulting in the complete defeat of the War Lord, Wu Pei Fu. With his defeat, comes the change of military governors for Honan, who was a Wu Pei Fu man before. One governor has already sent his representative here with his guard, and planted himself down as the Honan governor. However, another military man wants Honan also and does not relish seeing his rival getting Honan so easily, and he and his troops are headed in this direction. It is this news that we have just heard and that is alarming the population. .... [I am writing] in the midst of noise and bustle, with three children running around me. ... {14}

The following week, Jenkins reported that the disturbance had been a false alarm, although it is clear from her own account that the city was not yet back to normal. By now used to alarms and their accompanying inconveniences, the missionaries were justifiably confused as to the seriousness of this latest threat to their peace. The current trouble produced a rather bizarre mixture of reactions, as reflected in Jenkins' concern over her Christmas mails.

When I wrote to you last week, we were in the midst of turmoil and excitement. It is all over now, and the town is gradually resuming its normal life. The soldiers did not come to Kaifeng after all. On Tuesday, the new military governor appointed by the Peking government, entered the city, and amid much waving of flags, the populace began to smile again. Soldiers are all over the streets everywhere, and this keeps things a little unsettled, as the Chinese never trust their soldiers. They are the soldiers of the new governor and rather a tough looking lot. Otherwise, things are peaceful - for the present anyway. The city has been under martial law all week, and no one has been allowed on the streets after eight o'clock at night.

No trains have been going or coming all week, as the engines have all been commandeered for troop trains. So we have been completely cut off from the world, with no newspapers or letters coming in. Yesterday, a special car was attached to a troop train and several people who have been waiting all week to get out of Kaifeng, got away on that. When we will be having a regular train service again, I don't know. I hope it will be within the next few days. It is very inconvenient just at Christmas time! ....

We are working up an entertainment [for Christmas] at school, and the children are getting quite excited. We are practicing Christmas hymns and carols, and several little plays and tableaux. Unfortunately our Christmas bales have not arrived owing to the unsettled condition of the country. It is doubtful whether they will get here in time now. We had hoped to have a Christmas tree and Santa Claus for the children. It will be very disappointing if the things do not arrive. (15)

Christmas was always a particularly poignant time for Jenkins. Isolated in both religious and cultural traditions, the Christian community in Kaifeng worked hard to produce a replica of Christmas at home. In the felt distance of China from home, the secular celebrations of Christmas took on an exaggerated character. Gift preparations began very early in the fall, so that parcels for family members would reach Canada in time. Jenkins saved up ribbons and paper all year for her elaborate preparations. She took pains to send hundreds of Christmas

cards "made in China" to her missionary colleagues within and outside of China. And her letters during each Christmas season contained lengthy and detailed descriptions of gifts and celebrations.

With no mail from Canada, this Christmas was expected to be particularly cheerless. The trains were still not running regularly; even the missionaries' grocery order from Shanghai and their Christmas orders of gifts did not come in time. Jenkins' position of privilege cannot be ignored in her comment, "...and we are obliged to celebrate Christmas without butter!" But, she rallied.

> However, it is wonderful how resourceful you become after a few years in China. We have bustled around, and gathered together enough presents, out of our own possessions and from the Kaifeng stores, to give to everybody, and we are going to have a merry Christmas in spite of conditions. .... (16)

Chinese Christians played an active part in the western rituals of Christmas.

> Here the outside world has little to offer as a reminder of Christmas, but in this room, dolls and toys, gifts, cards, red paper and a pile of cedar boughs decorate the room, and tell us that Christmas is not far off. Presents and cards have been coming in all morning from the Chinese who are always well ahead of time with their remembrances. (17)

The dolls, with anglo-saxon faces, were among the favorite gifts received by the children.

Continued fighting brought setbacks to higher educational institutions such as St. Mary's. It had an even greater impact on secular education. In January 1925, all the government schools in the city were closed owing to lack

of funds. The money originally dedicated to education by the government had been seized for fighting. No one knew when the schools would re-open. Religious institutions were also affected. Temples had been converted into barracks and were crowded with soldiers. In addition, the railway service was still "demoralized" and business paralyzed. Jenkins, with especial empathy for the Chinese at holiday time, noted that "this miserable war" also affected the Chinese New Year holiday, "the one great holiday of the year - when families re-unite and forget their troubles and their work. Many people will not be able to get to their homes this year at all." Jenkins later added that,

> This is the great time of leisure for everybody and the women have time to come out. I wish you could see some of the quaint old women toddling in from the streets on their tiny feet. Many of them are on a pilgrimage to the temples here and have walked many miles from the country - and they certainly look it too. There is the same rustic look about the country people here as there is at home, and the same friendliness and responsiveness. City people are twice as hard to reach. We are getting a good mixture of both at our meetings. (18)

***

Among the autumn returnees had been Bishop White. All the mission schools had prepared entertainments to celebrate his return. The delighted Bishop took pictures of the children's drills and dances with his new moving picture camera. In contrast to the previous decade in the diocese, White now enjoyed a more enthusiastic following among his staff, though from time to time there were echoes of those former dissatisfactions when a missionary departed because

he or she could not get along with the Bishop. Jenkins, who had never suffered from White's ire, and indeed had played along as one of his "favorites", seemed glad to have the Bishop back. Jenkins admired White's intellect, was flattered by his approval of her, and seems to have been prepared to ignore his most obvious failings. She now reported enthusiastically that White had returned "full of great ideas for the Chinese Church." Describing the missionaries' meetings with the Bishop on church policies, Jenkins wrote,

> The Bishop...has great hopes of the church developing here in Honan into a strong self supporting and self governing church within the next ten or fifteen years. Some of us think he is a little bit too optimistic, but still it is just as well [to] fire the church with a big ideal. (19)

Jenkins recognized some of the practical difficulties in the Chinese church achieving self-supporting status so quickly, and she was somewhat skeptical that it could be done.

This was not the first time that the Bishop had emphasized an independent Chinese church. From the inception of his work he conceived his mission to Honan to be the founding of an indigenous Chinese Church. What was soon - perforce - to become the policy of all missions had been his from his earliest reports, when he emphasized the use of as many Chinese and as few foreigners as possible. In his third annual report he had stated, "The function of the (foreign) Missionary will be to teach and train, to advise and help, and to keep in the background as far as

possible." (20) This policy had led to the early ordination of Chinese clergy and the organization of a representative Synod, with all the local churches managed by Chinese pastors. The foreign missionaries were to be thought of as auxiliaries to the Chinese church, "lent to by the mother Church in Canada to the daughter Church for as long as that daughter feels in need of that help." (21) (The mother-daughter language, however, was still highly colonial in tone.)

The policy was not Bishop White's alone. When the Canadian Church was asked by the Shanghai Conference in 1907 to undertake the responsibility of a Diocese in China, the foreword to their resolutions read:

> A mission from the Canadian Church would be welcomed by us all, both as greatly increasing our working force, and also by introducing into our midst another independent Church of our communion, whose Missionaries, **trained in Constitutional self-government**, cannot fail to bring great additional help and strength to the whole body in entering upon and perfecting the scheme **for the organization of the Chinese Church.** (22)

In 1912, the various churches of the episcopal communion in China (founded by the missionary societies of England, the United States, and Canada) were formed into one Chinese Church, and named the Chung Hwa Sheng Kung Hwei (The Chinese Holy Catholic Church). Bishop White took a leading part in the formation of that union and its General Synod was modelled after that of the Canadian church. In 1924, influenced by White, the church in Canada was the first church of the Anglican communion to formally recognize the

Chung Hwa Sheng Kung Hwei as a national and autonomous branch of the Anglican communion. {23}

Although the Canadian mission took credit for vision in its early emphasis on what came to be called the three-self movement, at the time of Jenkins' comments in 1924, White was, in fact, scrambling to keep up with the rapid changes that had been taking place in China during his leave and to respond to the new demands of Chinese nationalists within his diocese. Resurrecting his own policy, he now stepped up the rhetoric, calling for "an indigenous Chinese church **in this generation**". In his annual report for the year 1924, he emphasized that,

> We are founding not a Mission, but a Church - an indigenous Chinese Church. .... The main objective [is] concentrating upon the great aim of a local indigenous Church - self-supporting, self-government, self-propagating - entirely self-contained. {24}

White gave revived emphasis to the mission side of the work as "auxiliary" to the Chinese church. Jenkins made no comment about what this emphasis might do to her job. (Other missions would also reach for strategic changes in language. In 1926, an editorial in <u>The Chinese Recorder</u> suggested "commissioners" would be a better word than "missionaries" for responding to the new forces in China. {25})

White went on to say that,

> It is encouraging in these troubled times to see this young Church steadily growing in strength and numbers. The desire on the part of the Chinese Church to undertake its own work is more marked than ever. For instance, this year the congregation of Trinity Church, Kaifeng, has undertaken to extend its Church School by the addition of a High School

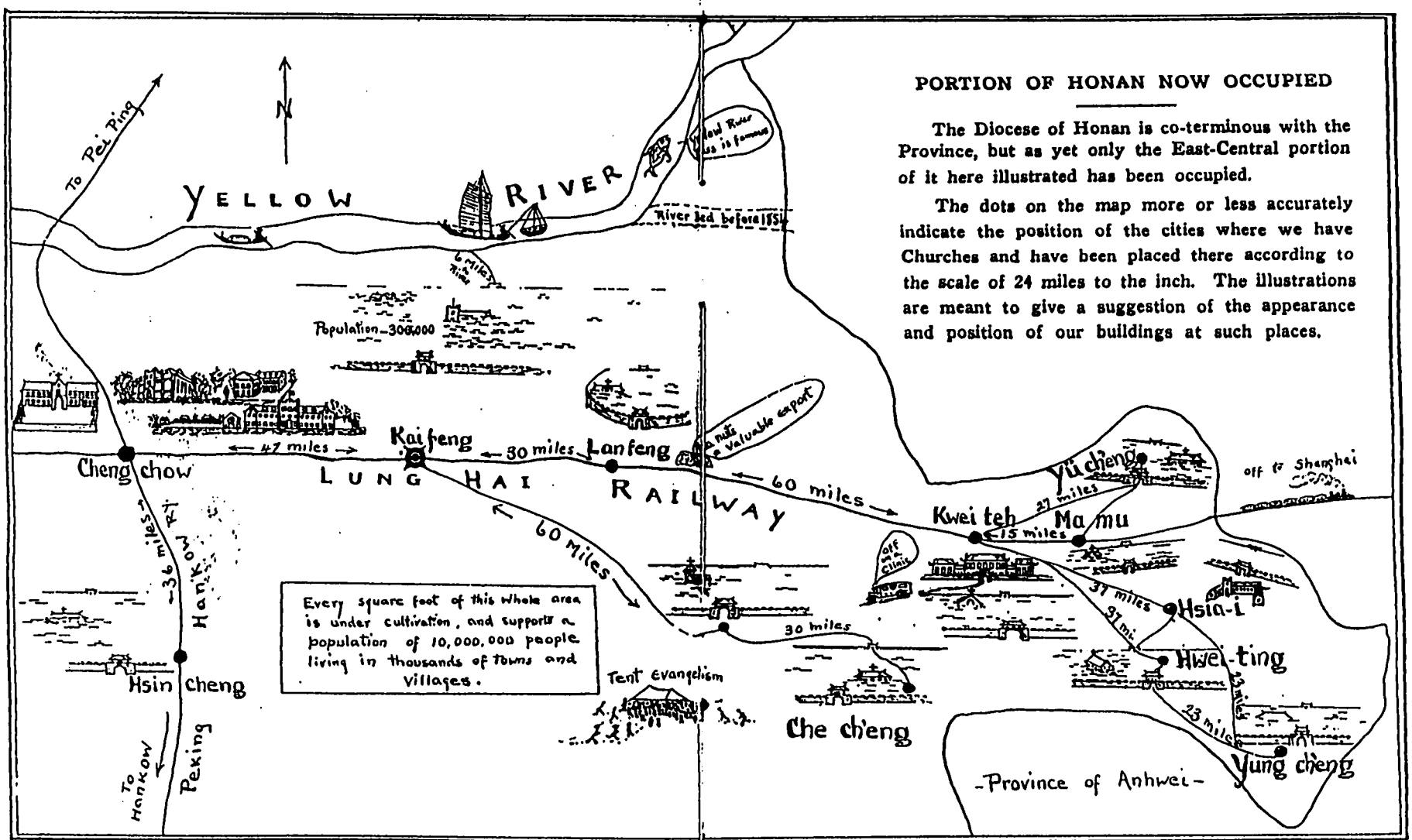
department, and are endeavouring to bear the whole expense, except for a small initial grant for equipment and rent. (26)

What White didn't say was that Chinese Christians, responding to the rise of nationalist and anti-foreign feeling abroad in China, were now embarrassed by their own compatriots into asking for greater independence from the "mother church" in Canada - particularly demanding financial control. Some Christians in China were openly opposed to the use of foreign missionaries and foreign money. (27)

Belying White's policy was the heavily western presence in the form of his mission plant. By 1924 the two chief centers of the diocese, Kaifeng, the headquarters and center of the educational work, and Kweiteh, the center of medical services, were well established. (The disturbed state of the country had limited expansion to the west of the province, but the area in and around these two centers contained a population equal to that of Canada.) In the center of Kaifeng towered Trinity Cathedral, with gothic arches of western architecture. In its compound stood the "Ming-hsin" day school for boys, the "Yu-teh" school for girls, the day school for women, and the newest building - "Toronto House" - a large building given by the Toronto W.A., as the center for women's work in Kaifeng. There was also a Synod house which contained a public reading room and library, offices for the Bishop and for other diocesan officers, rooms for the headquarters of the Diocesan

evangelistic and educational departments, and, on the top floor, a hostel for Christian students from outside Kaifeng attending government schools in the city. In the hostel they were to experience "Christian home life and influence." (28) In the south suburb were St. Andrews Boys' School, with a campus of several acres, St. Mary's Hall with its large playgrounds, and the women's Bible school. In this South Suburb, amid tall trees and shrubs, were also the Bishop's residence and houses for two other missionary families. On the edge of Kweiteh city was the commanding presence of St. Paul's Hospital, with its nurses training school. In the city proper were an additional church and school compound. The management and especially the funding of all these buildings and the services they housed were not so easily given over to their Chinese clergy, congregants and students, for the major portion of funding still came from Canada, and Canadian sponsors, not unnaturally, wanted control of its use.

The "unexpected and rapid changes" which had occurred in China since the summer, including pressures from his Chinese clergy, forced White into a review of mission objectives and the formation of a revised plan for "this period we are now entering upon." (29) As White reviewed the work of his fifteen years in Honan, and outlined his perception of the current needs of the diocese, he wrote with more candor and gravity than ever before regarding the

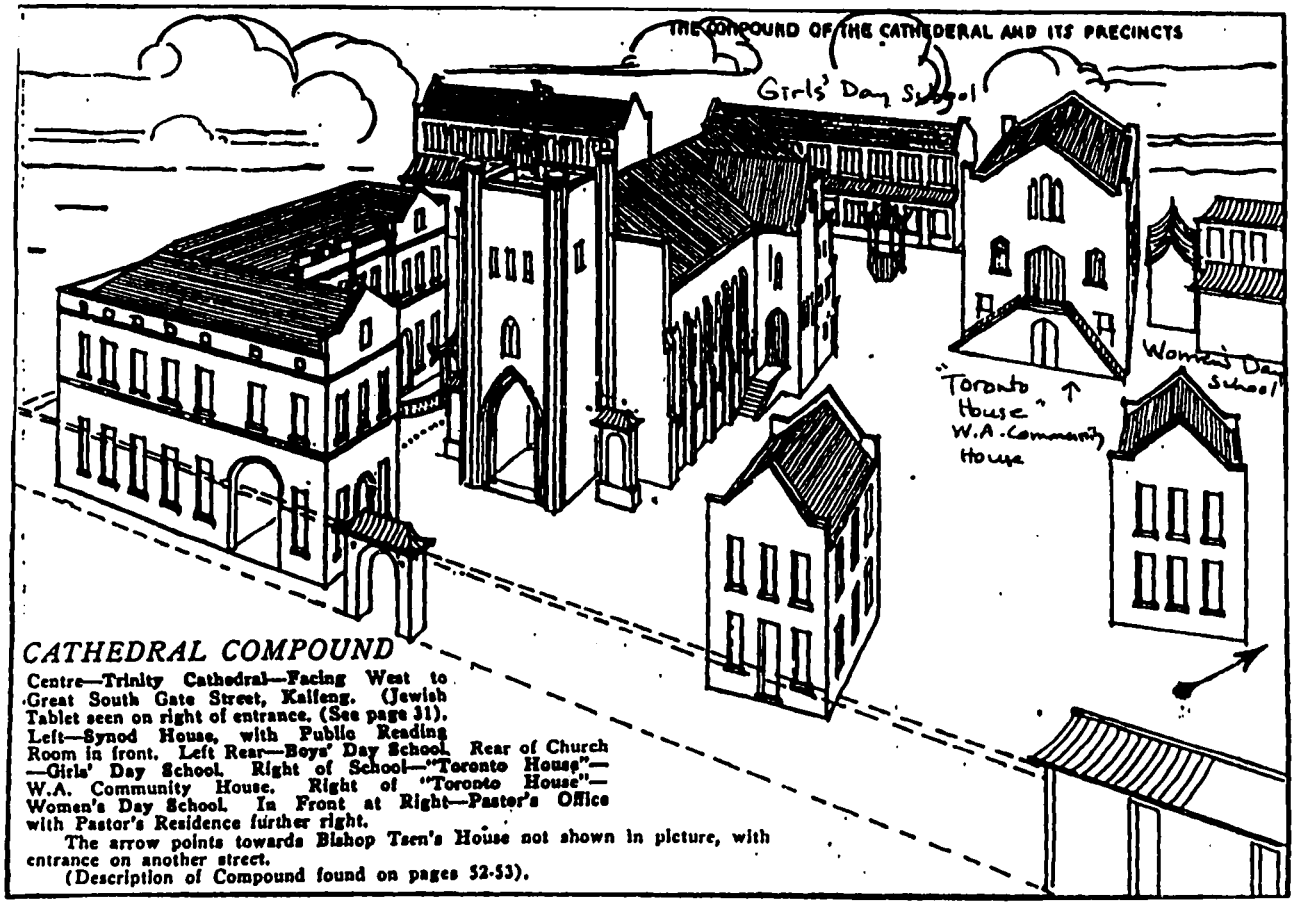


In the above sketch, on the extreme left is our new Church Compound at Cheng chow. The group of buildings to the right of the Railway are in Kai feng, South Suburb, and are: first, St. Mary's Hall; to the right,—the Women's Bible School; South of it, on the opposite side of the street, is St. Andrew's School, with its Chapel to the left and the roofs of the Bishop's house and two other Mission houses still further to the left. Within the city itself is seen the Cathedral, and further north, on the left, the roofs of the Woman Missionaries' residence.

Kweiteh city is five miles south of the Station. In its North Suburb is seen the Hospital, while the building within the city is the city Church.

Explanation of other places is self evident, with the exception of the city un-named in the centre foreground. It is Sui chow. The ancient city of Honan-fu where we hope to open work some day is on the Lung Hai Ry., west of Cheng Chow.

figure 3



CATHEDRAL COMPOUND

Centre—Trinity Cathedral—Facing West to Great South Gate Street, Kaifeng. (Jewish Tablet seen on right of entrance. (See page 31). Left—Synod House, with Public Reading Room in front. Left Rear—Boys' Day School. Rear of Church —Girls' Day School. Right of School—"Toronto House"— —W.A. Community House. Right of "Toronto House"— Women's Day School. In Front at Right—Pastor's Office with Pastor's Residence further right.

The arrow points towards Bishop Tsen's House not shown in picture, with entrance on another street.

(Description of Compound found on pages 52-53).

George A. Andrew, 1932.

figure 4

change in Chinese attitudes towards religion and the foreigner and the outlook for missionary work in China. His assessment reflected the new grimness which was felt among those missionaries who were in tune with Chinese public opinion. The western intruders were no longer oblivious to their own slipping place:

> Owing to recent great changes of the viewpoint of the thinking classes of China, their national religions have become discredited and have lost their hold as a moral force. The uneducated still cling somewhat to the old religious practices, but more and more they are frowned upon as being "superstition". Yet so strong is the natural religious instinct in the make-up of the Chinese, that a demand for something to take the place of the old religions is strongly in evidence. The result is that many new religious sects have been established and are spreading rapidly. Many of them are eclectic in their character, but also attempts are being made to reform and modify the old religions that they might be able to meet the needs of this new day. At first glance one is inclined to wonder why they do not turn to Christianity, especially when it is seen that these new sects are spreading throughout the country in a way that Christianity never did. One is forced to the conclusion, and conversations with Christians and non-Christian thinkers corroborate this, that Christianity is not acceptable, in spite of the fact that its good results are recognized everywhere, because it is considered a foreign religion.
>
> The foreign Missionary and foreign money are considered the dominating powers in the Christian Church in China to-day. This is the greatest obstacle to Christianity in the minds of the thinking classes, for the strong nationalistic spirit of present China is violently anti-foreign, and therefore anti-Christian. Until this stigma, as they view it, can be removed, the Church in China cannot be the Church of the Chinese nation. One feels that dark days are ahead for the Church in China, which will require courage, faith and tact, and above all constant prayer for Divine guidance and power. {30}

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Although there were still many moments in which cooperation between foreigners and Chinese proceeded much as

before, and Kaifeng pupils still enrolled in the missionaries' classes, the rise of nationalist and anti-foreign feeling that White was now acknowledging was also reported by Robbins. She wrote that in the fall of 1924 there had been increasing criticism by the Chinese of Christian schools. (31) An incident the previous spring at an Anglican College in Canton over the right of students to organize a student union and student government, a right disputed by the college principal, had touched off a new phase of anti-Christian activities in major cities and a series of "student storms" over oppression in mission schools. For example, one middle school student solicited support for "ending the 'servile and outdated' education of the Christian schools, where students had to endure the tyranny and effrontery of foreign administrators, where missionaries used their Bible and their prayers as weapons 'to kill our souls' and extinguish the life of youth." (32) "Slave education" was one of the slogans adjoined to those which decried foreign imperialism, and radical student leaders took up the cause of restoring "educational rights" to Chinese authority. A Restore Educational Rights Committee was formed by the Canton Student Union which drew up a manifesto calling students to join in a united movement and to demand the following:

(1) all schools opened by foreigners must submit to government registration and inspection or be closed,
(2) the academic program shall be directed by Chinese teachers,

(3) no religious instruction or exercises shall be part of the regular program,
(4) students shall not be deprived of the freedom to publish, assemble, organize, or hold discussions. (33)

Isolated incidents of dissension between students and educators, and even strikes, had occurred previously in mission schools, especially since the challenge of all authority by the New Culture Movement, but these had not shaken the reputation of mission schools for maintaining discipline. Now, with the continued growth of self-conscious nationalism after May Fourth, the frequency and political organization of student protests escalated, the target became Christian education as an instrument of imperialism, and schools under foreign authority began to lose credibility. Added to a litany of British and American economic and political offenses, the western presence in education became the symbol of a more subtle and dangerous cultural aggression. Numerous associations and branches of associations were formed by students from a wide range of institutions to address the issue of Chinese control over the educational system, its curriculum, and its students. By the fall of 1924 the following organizations had been founded "specifically to campaign for educational rights and to oppose Christian evangelism: the Corps to Resist Cultural Aggression, Restore Educational Rights Movement Committees, and the Anti-Christian Federation, all grouped under the umbrella organization, the Great Anti-Imperialist League." (34)

Regular publications by anti-Christian and educational rights associations replaced previously sporadic pamphlets and manifestoes. The major periodicals providing publicity for the movement included women's journals, such as Fu-nu chou pao. (35) The issue of the right of females to education had been displaced by the overriding nationalist cause of Chinese rights over educational authority.

During this period the unification of China was being pursued by two party dictatorships, the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). Variously cooperating and competing, both between and within their ranks, party struggles to "smash warlordism and roll back imperialism" (36) provided the ideological stimulation for increasing student rebellion. The developing strength of the KMT and the CCP and their collaboration in the United Front, inspired idealistic students in the hope of the effective defeat of both foreign capitalists and Chinese militarists, at last. (37)

In this phase of the Anti-Christian movement there was growing cooperation between radical student leaders and left-wing political factions which, indeed, competed among themselves for the loyalty of students. Considerable documentary evidence suggests that both the KMT and CCP parties played a significant role "in initiating and guiding the Educational Rights Movement." (38) The U.S.S.R. and the Comintern, who "stood to gain" from the growth of anti-

westernism, encouraged incidents of antagonism and their representatives recruited student leaders into the cadres of the CCP. Youth party members organized party branches in colleges and middle schools - including anti-Christian cells in mission institutions. The National Student Union received subsidies and personnel from the KMT and the Socialist Youth Corps. The Shanghai Girls' School for the Masses recruited and trained female cadres for the CCP. Using academic networking the political parties of the United Front "promoted the Educational Rights Movement as part of their construction of a national network through mass movements." (39)

Mission school students and their Chinese teachers participated in varying degrees along with those in government and private schools. Students of all kinds were urged by political leaders such as the Christian-influenced Sun Yat-sen to discharge their role in the nationalist revolution. Foreign-controlled education was a national threat; and the students' primary duty was to their nation. Student participation lent respectability to the campaign because of the esteem in which scholars were held in China. Protests suggesting a wide support base for the educational rights recovery movement ranged from the Chinese Christians who desired Sinification of Christianity and seniority as educators in mission schools to the Marxists who advocated materialism and atheism. (40)

Female students struggled to sort out their position. One Chinese woman, who had graduated from a missionary college in Nanking, expressed her views on the subject of Christianity and nationalism in a publication called "The Canadian Student". Her article was a direct a plea to Christian missionaries to live up to their professed convictions, not to disappoint now, or it would be too late. An example of the spirit of challenge which prevailed, she wrote,

> Formerly our girls did not question Christianity. They either accepted it or rejected it. To-day, when Christianity is given to them, they will question, "What can Christianity contribute that no other religion can?" "If I become a Christian, what good will it do to me and to my country?" "Is it necessary to become a member of the Church in order to be called a Christian?" .... The Chinese student is saying: "Unless you prove to us, either with your power or your deeds, that Christianity can do more for the individual and for the nation than other religions or modern education or science, we shall not accept it." Because of this attitude, in any conference where students from Chinese schools come, there is always needed an unusual person who has studied comparative religion, and who is at the same time a strong Christian, to lead the Bible Class. Otherwise the work is a failure.
>
> Friends, do you see in this situation a challenge to the college-trained Christian women who have a vital faith and who can present intelligently a living message of Christ? Christianity must be re-lived in Chinese lives; it must become a part of Chinese experience; and then be made into a Gospel so real and so deep that it will be firm enough to go through all tests.
>
> Such is the spirit of young China. Now, is the strategic time to prepare women leaders to guide in the present and to prepare for the future, if the Kingdom of God is to be established in China. If the Christian women of the Occident can provide Christian higher education of China's young women of to-day, we, in our turn will take care of the next generation. Will you not direct us so that we can guide our own women? Perhaps we can understand their needs more intimately than you do. Teach us, so that we may adopt the very best in your Christian civilization - Christian in its truest sense - and at the same time preserve the very

best in our ancient civilization. Inspire us with the reality of Christ, so that we can make Christ re-live in China, and perhaps in turn we may be able to give a distinct message in co-operation with you to prepare the way for His Kingdom of Righteousness. (41)

This closing cooperative sentiment, with its emphasis on the Sinification of Christianity was perhaps already too late. For the most part missionaries were cautious in their responses and guarded in their willingness to become politically involved. Even the efforts of the Y.W.C.A. to respond to the evolving needs of their female students were too late. The Y.W.C.A.'s strong evangelical emphasis was now replaced with conference topics such as, "The Source of Liberty", "Women and the New Movement" and "Nationalism and Christianity". (42) But Christians were losing ground.

Soon, complaints which had called for the removal of all religious instruction in schools, especially compulsory attendance at religious services, and the establishment of systematic school registration with the Chinese government, grew in some quarters to demands for the nullification of the unequal treaties, and the cancellation of all forms of foreign privilege, including the opportunity to establish schools. (43)

This newly aroused anti-western mood had begun to reach Kaifeng students and parents in the fall of 1924. Critical publicity there, as elsewhere, was especially directed towards the parents of middle school students, attempting to dissuade them from sending their children to Christian

institutions, and encouraging the students themselves to refuse enrollment. (44) Loyal Christian students were dubbed submissive and denationalized. Schools such as St. Mary's and principals such as Miss Robbins were now on the defensive.

***

When the mission schools reopened after the New Year in 1925, there was every prospect of their work being interrupted again by war, but the women proceeded with time-tables and course planning. Jenkins' teaching staff was joined by a new 18 year old, Chinese woman, a Normal School graduate who had arrived in Kaifeng with the latest governor. Jenkins reported that she "belongs to a very fine family...very well educated and progressive, belonging to the Kuo min tang (National) party." She was to teach without salary in return for English lessons and assistance in preparing for university. Once again, this contact was seen as an important opportunity to link up with educated people, in this case the new elite who had arrived in Kaifeng from Shensi province with the new administration. The new governor, Hu Ching yi had gathered about him "a large group of brainy and progressive men". The Bishop had already made friendly overtures to the governor. Though Jenkins was not so easily impressed by Hu, he seems to have attempted to follow some of Feng's example in that he too met with the missionaries, arriving with his retinue and

body guard, praised the work of the Y.M.C.A. and of the missions and even stated that he hoped to join the Y.M.C.A. Soon the fighting in the west of Honan drove hundreds of wounded soldiers into Kaifeng and the Bishop started a Red Cross Hospital, bringing in some of his Kweiteh staff to assist. (45)

At the educational conference held in Chengchow at the Y.M.C.A. early in February, both Chinese and foreign representatives attended from all parts of Honan to discuss a variety of aspects of educational work. Jenkins' speech was well received by the large audience, along with the excellence of her Chinese, and led to the organization of a Provincial Committee of the Daily Vacation Bible Schools in Honan, with herself as chair. Jenkins continued to work on both the local and provincial committees of the DVBSM. (46)

These revivals or simulations of previous cooperative efforts between the Canadians and the Chinese elite in Honan went on in spite of the rising tide of student antagonism. As the fall and winter of 1924-25 produced an increased number of anti-Christian and educational rights student campaigns - including rallies, student ultimatums, and strikes - in major radical centers like Shanghai and Canton, locally Bishop White planned a defense of affirmation. For Easter White planned a big student rally in the church. A large service of praise with all the schools taking part was planned, each school contributing anthems and quartettes.

Jenkins scheduled extra practices every day after school as she prepared two choruses to be sung by the boys and girls of the city day schools. Jenkins had translated all the anthems from English into Chinese. She reported to her mother that making progress with her choruses was slow and hard work, and sometimes she was "almost in despair", but she was so pleased with the final effect, that she wrote, with no sense of any limits on the future work,

> Some day, perhaps we can broad cast our singing to Ottawa! ... Some day I am going to have a glee club made up of students of the High Schools in the city, and really work up some nice things. It is really quite wonderful what my own boys and girls are doing, considering the little amount of singing they have had in their lives." (47)

On Easter sunday, the church was filled with plants from the bishop's hothouse. The children from the suburban schools marched into city to join the city children, filling the large church for the Easter service. The next day the long planned student Rally service was held, with all the choirs performing. The rally was followed by a week of missionary gatherings: the Annual Conference of Missionaries and the Synod meeting of the Chinese church. Delegates, both Chinese and Canadian, came to Kaifeng from all the outstations, and a special ordination service was held during this week to ordain two more Chinese deacons as priests. (48)

Reporting on this synod, the corresponding secretary of the W.A. in Canada offered the female readers of The Living Message the reassurance that their missionary support had,

in spite of so much unrest in China, been worthwhile.

In these anxious days, when the work in Honan seems to be so endangered, these two resolutions passed by the Synod of the Diocese of Honan at its Third Meeting, at Kaifeng, Honan, April 22nd, will cast a ray of hope that the Christians in Honan will stand by the Missionaries, in any time of trouble. The **women** [their bold] delegates at the Synod moved and seconded the first, but the whole Synod was enthusiastic about them both.

1st. "This Synod desires to place on record its very deep sense of obligation and gratitude to the Woman's Auxiliary of the Mother Church in Canada for the generous help in Missionaries and money and gifts which the Auxiliary have sent to Honan, and for the prayer which is constantly poured forth on our behalf.

"In particular we desire to thank the W.A. of the Diocese of Toronto for the magnificent grant of the Women's Guild Hall connected with Trinity Pro-Cathedral, Kaifeng, and we beseech the prayers of the Mother Church in Canada that this work centering in the Women's Hall may not only bring a knowledge of the Gospel to the women and children of Kaifeng City, but that its influence may radiate throughout the Province, to the extension of the Kingdom of God, and the building up of His Church."

...

2nd. "At this Third regular meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Honan, we desire to place on record our humble thanks to Almighty God for the growth of the Mission in the fifteen years since its inception, and to send cordial greetings of affection and gratitude to the Mother Church in Canada who, under God, has brought this young Chinese Church into being.

"While conspicuous progress has been made in the growth of the Church in this Diocese, yet much remains to be done before the goal is reached of a self-supporting, self-administering and self-propagating Chinese Church.

"With the aid of more earnest prayer for Honan on the part of the Mother Church, and with its continued assistance in other ways, we believe that this may be accomplished in this our day and generation. ... {49}

At about the same time, anti-foreign nationalism in China had produced a last minute effort on the part of some of the missionary societies to separate from the unequal treaties binding China to their countries. With a particular view to improving understanding between the

Chinese and the British, the Canadian missionary societies together resolved, in line with those of the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland:

> 1st - THAT they do not desire that the legal rights of their Missions and Missionaries in China should in future rest upon existing treaties between Great Britain and China, and in particular upon the so-called toleration clauses in those treaties dealing specifically with Missionary work; and they desire that their future legal rights and liberties should be those freely accorded to them by China as a Sovereign Power and agreed upon in equal conference with China, and -
>
> And 2nd - THAT they note with satisfaction the announcement of His Majesty's Government of their readiness to join in steps towards a comprehensive revision of existing treaties between Great Britain and China. So far as the interests of Missions and Missionaries are concerned they would welcome the substitution for the present articles relating to extraterritoriality of such provision for the administration of justice and protection of the life and property of British nationals as may be agreed upon in equal conference between China and Great Britain.
> The Secretary was instructed to forward a copy of these Resolutions to the Prime Minister of Canada, as Minister of External Affairs, and to the Chinese Consul-General in Canada.

These resolutions were accompanied by a message of "deep sympathy with the rulers and people of China in the difficulties with which they are confronted during this period of transition which affects so deeply every aspect of their national life and international relationships." (50)

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After the Chinese synod in Kaifeng in April, the teachers settled down to what they hoped would be "a good steady time for work in the school without any interruptions

until school was to close about the twentieth of June." (51) The death of Sun Yat-sen, however, was the first of many new interruptions. On Thursday, March 20, 1925 a general holiday throughout China had been appointed to commemorate the death of Sun Yat-sen. At the time, Jenkins wrote somewhat guardedly only that,

He is being given a state burial and there was certainly a general mourning for him on the appointed day. Flags were hung at half mast, and meetings were held everywhere. China has certainly lost a man that was great in many ways and his death will make a great difference to the political situation in Peking. (52)

But on April 5th, she continued her report, saying that "the past week had been taken up almost entirely with memorial meetings for Sun Yat Sen..."

Schools were all closed on Tuesday, and the school boys and girls of every school, marched in process all around the city, accompanying Sun Yet Sen's Photograph which was escorted to a large lot of ground outside the city. This is quite the fashion at funerals now. A large photograph of the deceased is placed in a beautifully decorated chair, and it occupies the chief position in the funeral procession. The students all wore purple flowers, and carried white paper flags with suitable sayings on them in memory of Dr. Sun. It really was an impressive looking procession with the Military Band leading and the Police following and this long line of students extending for blocks and blocks, all in their school uniform, and then the government officials and merchants and other mourners. I was also in the procession, and wore a purple flower, and waved a white flag! Our little girls looked very nice in their neat black uniforms and won much praise from the Educational officials. We tramped all around the city and away out towards the South. Finally we arrived at a large open space, where an enormous platform had been erected, and here the chair with the photograph was deposited. The Military Governor gave a short speech, and then the crowd dispersed.

The next day thousands of people gathered on these grounds and listened to memorial speeches etc.etc. from ten o'clock until nearly noon, when a play was put on by the Normal School students, showing Sun Yet Sen from his boyhood to his death - a most impressive thing it was, and it had a

great effect upon the people. (53)

Robbins commented particularly on the interruptions these events had brought to the work of St. Mary's Hall and on the mesmerizing effect of the memorial services on St. Mary's students. She was not pleased that an afternoon at school had been lost to an assembly of both girls and boys boarding schools with speeches about Sun Yet Sen's life. These students too had participated in the long march Jenkins described and had listened to the addresses which followed. Robbins wrote,

> ...We spent the whole day over at the drill grounds listening to speeches etc. most of which we could not hear, and watching the crowd. A play representing the chief points in the life of Sun Yet Sen very much interested the girls and though Miss Watts and I were so tired and hungry we went home for our dinner we could not coax one girl to go with us, but they stood in the hot sun and watched that play from about twelve o'clock to three thirty, not having had anything to eat since seven thirty in the morning. (54)

This pageant of patriotism captivated the students. It was the turning point for the women missionary teachers. From this time on, their authority over their students was very tenuous. As Robbins added, no sooner was the "disruption" of Sun Yet Sen's death over, and the teachers tried to settle the students down to work, than they were interrupted again by "the agitation over the trouble in Shanghai." (55) Robbins was referring here to the events surrounding May 30, 1925. On that date, British-officered police in Shanghai killed thirteen student demonstrators, thereby setting off a nationwide wave of patriotic, anti-

foreign, particularly anti-British, feeling. Like May Fourth, 1919 before it, the incident sparked a major movement. The May Thirtieth Movement included boycotts, strikes, and demonstrations, and galvanized large numbers of students among its recruits. The themes of Chinese nationalism and anti-imperialism were now more vigorously expressed than in the May Fourth Movement, and increasing numbers of students were won over to the young Communist party which had been competing with the Nationalist (Kuomintang) party. Protest manifestoes initially focused on the unequal treaties and all forms of imperialism, including Japanese, but soon conflated the actions of Westerners and Christians, contending that Christian missions were deliberately employed as forerunners of imperialism. The June resolutions of the National Student Union Congress, for example, condemned the Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A. and other Christian organizations as the "hawks and hounds" of the imperialists. The issue of mission education, which had briefly subsided, came to the forefront once again. {56}

Robbins later recalled the effects of May 30th on the girls of St. Mary's Hall and her attempts to cope with them.

A few days after the trouble in Shanghai the Student's Union in Kaifeng began to work. Since there had been so much criticism in the Fall about Christian Schools I did not feel that it was right to keep our students out of the Union, and when they entered the Union and attended the meetings they had to abide by the rules of the majority. Their first request was that they stop lessons to mourn for their country and its weakness. My argument, that students should continue their studies that they might so be fitted to strengthen their country, and that the officials were

responsible for settling any trouble which arose between foreigners and Chinese, not students, was answered by the remark that so few of their officials really loved their country it was the place of the students to rise all over the country and show the officials what true patriotism was. (57)

The girls' comments about their country's officials indicated their disillusionment with traditional authority figures as well as their perception of their own special importance in the current political arena. Robbins reaction was not unlike that of many other Christian educators who argued that a school was a house of study and not an instrument of social and political reform. (58) It is well to remember that the missionaries themselves had connected Christian education with western civilization, democracy, and political progress. Many of them, and even some of their students, now took up the position that the nationalist political movement had nothing to do with religion, and that they were not personally involved. Robbins allowed her students to give some expression to patriotic feelings and to join in student unions, but did so rather reluctantly, hoping that such actions would put to rest charges of denationalization. She was not happy about the form or duration of patriotic expression, but she compromised in her educational policy.

We stopped lessons though daily prayers and Sunday services went on as usual, the delegates to the Union having announced at one of the meetings, that the agitation having nothing to do with religion and St. Mary's being a Mission School, the students were meeting daily for prayers as usual. The second request was that there should be no examinations and students allowed their standing on their

monthly examinations. We felt that no diplomas could be given to students who did not take examinations so a compromise was made and students graduating from Lower and Higher Primary classes and from Junior Middle School took examinations while students of other classes were allowed their standing according to their monthly examinations. The representatives to the Students Union were attending the Union meetings daily, and nearly always came to the school office to report to me on their return. They were always very respectful and many times said that they had nothing against us personally. {59}

The St. Mary's students continued to attend regular meetings of the Students Union and participated in its anti-British publicity. The Canadian mission's close connection to things British did not deter the girls. Robbins explained the publicity campaign and the balancing position attempted by her Christian students.

The Chinese papers all over the country published very extravagant and exaggerated accounts of the Shanghai affair, and the Students Union printed circulars which were distributed to the students and by them to the people all around the city and country. These things were posted up on St. Mary's notice boards so I knew a little about what they were reading and hearing. Groups of Middle School girls, five in a group went out to the near by villages to tell the people how badly their fellow country men had been treated by the British, and collected money to send to the strikers in Shanghai. One felt that the presence of the Christian students in the Union did have a quieting effect, because they told the members of the Union from the first that this movement was patriotic and had nothing anti-religious in it. On Saturday June 6th, what was called the Threatening Band of the Students Union visited the (sic) most of the Foreign compounds in Kaifeng, called out the Foreigner in charge and asked him to write to his Foreign government and ask for justice in the Shanghai case, and in many cases called the Foreigners very bad names. St Mary's escaped because on that day the students were putting on a play to earn money to send to help earthquake suffers (sic) in Yunnan, and as they had been selling tickets to students of some of the Govt. Schools these students said "St Mary's students are doing something to help their country", so we were not molested. Our students however spoke against that method of threatening Foreigners who had had nothing to do with the Shanghai affair, and it was decided that in future such

methods should not be used by the Students Union. {60}

As Robbins was coping with her politicized St. Mary's girls in the suburbs, Jenkins was reacting to student activism in Kaifeng city. She described the events and her own feelings a few days after the May 30th incident.

This letter will probably be full of one topic, as there is only one in our minds these days - and that is the anti-foreign riots. By the time this reaches you, it will all be ancient history, I hope. But just at present, here in Kaifeng, it is very much present day history.

As you know, the anti-foreign feeling has been rising very rapidly lately, and it only needed a very little thing to bring it to a climax. The killing of those Chinese students in Shanghai was that little thing, and the whole country is in an uproar. Kaifeng has not escaped, and the students are spending their days, marching through the streets, beating their breasts and cursing the foreigner.

The trouble began here on Friday, when the students had a big meeting to discuss proceedings. On Saturday, my first intimation that anything unusual was happening was at half past eleven in the morning. School had been dismissed for the lunch hour, but the children had not gone home yet. I was sitting in my office teaching an English lesson, when all the children rushed into the room in a perfect panic. Mrs. Wei, the wife of our Chinese Pastor, was with them, and she burst into the room, telling me that a mob of students was outside on the street shrieking and shouting for the foreigner. The foreigner, of course was me! The children of course did not know what it was all about, and they were frightened to death, and one and all commenced to cry. Soon, two Chinese men, teachers from the Boys' School came running in and entreated me not to move from the school, as the mob was an angry one, and was still shouting for the Principal of the school. Mr. Wei, the Pastor, had already gone out, and told them that school was closed, and I was not there - a glib lie, but quite permissible in Chinese eyes -still they refused to go. However, after some time of stampeding and reviling, interspersed with such kind and sweet phrases as "kill the foreigner", they proceeded along the street toward the South Suburb, to visit the foreigners there. We let the children go home then, and when it was perfectly sure that all was quiet and serene, the church caretaker escorted me home. That afternoon all was peaceful as far as we in the city were concerned. At four o'clock, Daisy and I went to the South Suburb, to Mrs. Cline's for tea. She had invited thirteen guests - it was in my honour - but only Miss Robbins and Miss Watts ventured forth, the

others being afraid to appear on the streets. We had a very nice tea, and a very nice time, but of course only talked of one thing. Mr. Cline had his tale to tell of how this mob of frenzied students visited the Y.M.C.A. and called out their cries, cursing Mr. Cline in no light fashion. The Chinese are adept at this art! Mr. Cline spoke to them, and the leader was quite decent, telling him their troubles, and asking him to write to his government on their behalf. When they left the Y.M.C.A. they went to St. Andrew's School at the South Suburb, and there carried on the same performance, cursing the foreigner and beating their breasts. They demanded the foreigner - Mr. Simmons - but the foreigner refused to go out and see them - so finally they went on to the C.I.M. Hospital. Here they stayed a long time, shrieking for the foreigner and refusing to go unless the foreigner appeared. After some time, two of the foreigners came out, and spoke to the leaders, explaining that they were here to help China and regretted very much that the Chinese had been killed in Shanghai, etc. etc.
The leader was quite pleased with what they said and shook hands with them and went on to the Baptist School. This is what happened that afternoon. Everybody was full of it and wondered what was going to happen next. ...

The next day was Sunday. I went to church at nine o'clock to teach a class. Only a few of the children had turned up for church - most of them being too frightened to venture forth. I was in the middle of teaching, when again there was another rush and panic, and it was announced that the students had entered the church and were making speeches there, violently attacking foreigners, especially British and Japanese. The church was filled to the brim, and we soon heard the clapping and jeering. At about half past ten they departed after giving their regular cries against foreigners, and went on to the Baptist Church. The Chinese Christians were so excited and disturbed by all this that our ordinary church service had to be abandoned, and only a short prayer meeting was held.

All afternoon the students were meeting together discussing plans, and the streets were quiet, except for groups of students here and there distributing pamphlets and explaining the situation to the public. Their one aim now is to create public opinion against the foreigner.

All this time, Mr. Simmons had been having a very difficult time at St. Andrew's school. The students, instigated by this mob of government school students, were getting out of hand and were holding meetings of rather a threatening nature. Mr. Simmons was being very firm with them, and it looked as if they might, at very little instigation, be violent with Mr. Simmons. Daisy and I were having tea, when a card was brought in announcing a St. Andrew's student at the door. Daisy went out, and it turned out to be one of the Christian students of the school who in

his anxiety for Mr. Simmons, had secretly come into the city to ask Daisy to warn Mr. Simmons of the danger. He said that if Mr. Simmons did not give in to some of the students' demands they were going to use violence.
So soon after the boy had left, we both rode out to the South Suburb to deliver the message and to see how things were there. We had only been there a short time when Dr. Macdonald (a lady doctor) and Miss Saltau, a nurse, came over in great distress, because they had just heard that the students had told the nurses (Chinese) and coolies to walk out and not work for the foreigner. The hospital was full of sick people, and if everybody walked out, the prospect was not pleasant - Also word had just come from the police, that we were all to get in extra water, in case the students set fire to our houses. Excitement was in the air now, and we all went to the [sic] interview the Bishop. He decided he would telegraph to the British Consul in Hankow, informing him of the grave situation here, and also write to the foreign office in the city asking them to do all in their power to prevent any serious event. At first, it was thought that Daisy and I should stay with the other foreigners at the South Suburb, but the Bishop decided that we would be perfectly safe in our Chinese house in the city, which is hardly known as a foreign residence. So we returned and spent a very peaceful night.

To-day is Monday, and all is serene as far as outward appearances go. Of course, school is closed. The students have demanded that all schools stop classes. And I have spent the day, settling up school affairs, putting things away, and paying bills and salaries. It is practically certain that there will be no more school this term. It is very disappointing to have school end in this way. Our final examinations were just about half over, and we were planning to have a big closing, and have been working for it for weeks. And now everything has ended up with a bang - most unsatisfactory in every way. However, after living in a lawless country for several years, you get used to having plans throttled by riots, wars, and bandits. But it is disappointing, nevertheless. (61)

As Jenkins prepared to settle up the affairs of her school, Robbins wound up the term at Mary's without dignity or accustomed ceremony.

We had eleven girls graduating from Junior Middle School this year, our first class, and had planned very nice graduating exercises, but of course we were not able to hold anything of that kind. We finished the examinations and got the diplomas made out as quickly and quietly as possible. (62)

Jenkins had been prepared to leave on her scheduled furlough. Her passage had been booked since February. She now wondered if she would get away. In April, amid very unsettled conditions, she had written that her home-going was about the most certain thing in her life. She now wrote,

> I am all packed now, and may get away the end of this week or the beginning of next week, if all goes well. The students are working for a general strike, and if such should happen, the trains will stop and I may miss my boat. ....
> Probably all the foreigners will leave for the summer places very soon, as it is impossible to do any work, and it is just as well to get out of the way. We are not afraid of any real violence, as the students are not uneducated people, but they may make things very unpleasant and inconvenient for us. {63}

Jenkins took a position of rational distance from all this unwanted emotionalism. She went on to describe her students' nationalism with irritation and condescension. She had empowered her students with education, but she did not like the results. Her own idealism as a student was forgotten. She was too accustomed to Canadian deference to authority.

> Poor misguided creatures - the love of their country - this new nationalism - has gone to their heads, and they are absolutely unbalanced and unreasonable. They are doing far more harm than good by their insane opposition to foreigners, and China is bound to suffer. All sensible thinking people in China are not in sympathy with the students, and deplore their actions. It is a great pity that a body of hot-headed school boys and girls should be able to run the country! What a treat it will be to get back to country with a government and with law and order! I never appreciated what government and law meant to a country before. Certainly China's future does not look very bright now. {64}

By this time things were getting pretty tense in Kaifeng, as Robbins later wrote.

Our Chinese workers in the city were being very much criticised for staying with us, and they felt it would be much easier for them to continue their work if we went away for our vacation a little earlier than we had planned. The Chinese nurses and servants in the China Inland Mission hospital beside us were compelled to strike and they had to close down the Hospital. We were advised to stay off the streets as much as possible lest ignorant people who would not discriminate between Foreigners cause us a good deal of inconvenience. We felt the wisest plan was to get away as soon as possible. Miss Watts and I prepared to leave under difficulties. We were running the examinations in the school, and Miss Rapson arrived on Thursday to stay all night, Dr. [Violet] Shaw arrived on Sunday and Miss Peters and Miss Naisbitt on Monday to travel with us. [Canadian Anglican medical missionaries from Kweiteh] We closed school on Saturday though some girls did not get away until Monday, and then we had to close up the building, close accounts, pay servants and teachers for the summer as well as look after our guests and do our own packing. It was a great rush and I have been wanting some things I left behind ever since I came away. The Governor provided us with a third class car to bring us straight through to the station below the mountain, and nearly fifty Foreigners came away at the same time. I am sure the authorities in Kaifeng were very glad to get rid of us, as our presence added a good deal to their responsibility. (65)

Safe with her colleagues, Robbins viewed the future from the mountains of a missionary resort.

We are here on this mountain top where everything is quiet and beautiful, and it is hard to realize what an excited condition reigns in China except when we read the newspapers or a new arrival on the hill tells us of his or her experiences. There are many things for which we thank God. Individual Chinese friends have shown a tremendous amount of faithfulness, and friendship, and Christians are still distinguishing between Christianity and Foreigners, but we feel that the real test is yet to come, and one wishes very much that more Christians realized that the Kingdom of God is greater than the Republic of China. We cannot see the future or what it holds for Foreign Mission work in China, but we believe that God is working His purposes out, and that in some way He will change this apparent calamity into a tremendous blessing to His cause in this needy land. Pray for us that we may all be guided as to our actions and

words, and pray for the Chinese Christians that above the turmoil and what they call patriotism they may see Jesus and His plan for them and His Church. (66)

Ruth Jenkins was not with them on the mountain top. She had caught a boat and sailed home for her furlough, her school shut. Behind her, Bishop White closed all work dependent on foreigners under his supervision in Kaifeng. He wrote that "St. Mary's Hall will be closed this year, and the work of the Women Missionaries will be carried on quietly." (67)

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Jenkins was recalled early from her leave in the summer of 1926, to take over the principalship of St. Mary's Hall when it re-opened in September. Robbins was exhausted and had been transferred to Kweiteh where she continued to teach adult women in the context of Christian evangelism.

Arriving back in Kaifeng in the mail car - the railway service was still upset - Jenkins was subdued by the effort of starting over.

Just now of course things are in rather a mess. There is a tremendous amount to be done to the school in the way of cleaning and repairing before we open on the 8th of September. (68)

Her own unpacking and the refurbishing of her new quarters in a wing of St. Mary's had yet to be done, and she was still taking in all the difficulties endured by the missionaries and the local people during the past year. The province had been through "a terrible year of looting and fighting". Honan had reportedly been one of the worst

places in the whole of China. White had written of the political outlook, "personally I feel we are on the edge of a national calamity." {69}

Robbins, herself, had reported that it had been one of the hardest years she had known in China. When she and the others of the missionary community returned to Kaifeng from the mountain resort after the summer of 1925, the feeling against foreigners seemed less tense than it had in June but, she wrote at the time,

> the people seemed very surprised to see us, many of them thinking we had gone to the homeland. As we go on the streets we are very much gazed at, and constantly hear people call us "foreigner" or "foreign devil" or what is much worse in their eyes, "foreign dog". One day Miss Watts and I went to the north end of the city where we are not known and met a lot of children coming out of school, boys and girls from seven to twelve years of age and they followed us for half a long block calling out "Strike the foreigner." The ricksha coolies are very rude and impertinent, and often apologize to others when pulling us. It is so very different from the treatment we have had for years past that we feel it keenly. {70}

As to the Christian community, she had been cautious:

> On the other hand, we were welcomed heartily by our friends, which was a great help. The Christians seem steadier than they were in June, and the attendance at Church is improving. When Mr. Simmons was here for a few days in the summer he was asked not to attend Church so I wondered what we should do about this. ... {71}

But the Chinese pastor now invited them to church, telling the other Christians that "in Church we have no enemies. During the war in Europe the Germans were allowed to attend Church." {72} No new missionaries came out to China from Canada that year.

In the fall of 1926, St. Mary's had not opened on the

advise of both Chinese and foreign friends. It was felt by the older missionaries that the British especially - and Canadians, as members of the Commonwealth, were identified with the British - should go very slowly about opening schools and hospitals. (73)

Despite this caution, some of the girls of St. Mary's Hall had remained loyal. Robbins wrote that,

> The girls seem very disappointed and many of them have come to see us. Some have gone to Government schools, a few to Mission schools carried on by Americans, and some are at home. I think a good many of the girls would have come to us but do not know whether we would have gotten through the term without serious trouble. (74)

One consequence of the school not opening in September, with the associated anxiety about the future of the mission schools (including their teaching employment prospects for their students), was that a number of St. Mary's girls were married that fall. (75)

Robbins went on to talk of the continuing civil war, soldiers and banditry, concluding,

> Poor China! Her young people talk all the time of foreign aggression, but the poor people all over the country are suffering from their own soldiers. (76)

Robbins made preparations to open St. Mary's in the spring if possible. Meanwhile she helped Mrs. Simmons with the women's Bible school which had reopened. She also began a Sunday Bible class for some of St. Mary's girls who were in Government schools, as a way of keeping in touch with them. (77)

When Robbins did reopen St. Mary's in the spring of

1926, many girls left during the term. Anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements had been "rampant" in both government and mission middle schools. The Kaifeng women's school did proceed under Daisy Masters. May Watts was reassigned to supervise the women's work in the out-stations of the Kweiteh district, though war and bandits limited her activity. She too was affected by the strain and anxiety of the situation and became ill. {78}

A scene of malaise and pessimism greeted Jenkins on her return to missionary life in China. Nevertheless, she attempted to resume her former habits. As she planned new curtains for her quarters, she made an explicit attempt, as she had in each residence before this one, to create an atmosphere of gentility amidst outward turmoil and inner anxiety. Her small silver tea set and brass kettle, and her new china dinner set from Shanghai, arranged in a still-life tableau, was another one of those substitutions for the female domestic life from which she was largely excluded. They also attached to her something of the social lustre to which she at times aspired. These small aesthetic acts of reassurance, reminding her of who she was, appear pathetic in the context of the crumbling mission, but perhaps helped her gather her resources to face the work ahead. Under the eroding circumstances, she spent a good deal of thought planning and fixing up her rooms.

As she got St. Mary's into running order, her mood

improved.

I am surprised to find how easily it all comes to me. It is not nearly as hard as I feared! I can see now that my experience in the City School has been invaluable to me, and I know I am going to thoroughly enjoy the life and work here. {79}

The spacious grounds of the school, with its green trees and flowers, were particularly soothing, as was the warm welcome the new principal received from the girls of St. Mary's.

But the numbers of students were down, and some of the Chinese teachers had not arrived due to the continued difficulty in travelling. Fighting was going on all along the Yangtze and most of the trains had again been commandeered to transport troops. Jenkins wrote of the latest military developments and anti-foreign climate as she perceived from Kaifeng the Northern Expedition:

The Southern Nationalist troops have worked their way up north as far as Hankow, and are doing their best to take Suchang now. They aim, of course, to get control of the whole of China. The northerners, however, are resisting them fairly well and may be able to keep them back. We sincerely hope they do, for the Nationalists are extremely Communistic and anti-British. If they get control of China, I am afraid foreigners are in for a bad time of it. ... The latest outrage against foreigners has been the Wanhsien affair*... Like the affair on May 30th, 1925, it has been exaggerated and distorted in the Chinese papers, until a thoroughly anti-British feeling has been aroused. It is so serious that the Bishop thinks Britishers may yet be called out from the interior to the ports. At present, they, the Chinese are so busy with the civil war in that region that they have not time to bother much with the hated Britisher. {80}

Her next letter confirmed White's prediction partially. All the British in Chungking were called out of Szechuan. Jenkins expressed the opinion that it would be no surprise

if the same thing happened to the Canadians of Kaifeng. There was a new sense of unease in Jenkins' letters; there was little remaining of the cultural complacency evident formerly, no optimistic long-term career plans, and she spoke of being homesick. (81)

Responding to the nationalistic climate, Jenkins and her staff took all the girls into the city to visit Confucius' temple on the occasion of his birthday. On October 10th, they made much of the anniversary of the founding of the Republic with special celebrations at the school, including a "patriotic meeting", organized largely by the students. But these efforts were too little too late, and further trouble was anticipated. Nearby bandit scares found the teachers and students prepared to move quickly to the safer C.I.M. compound in the middle of the night. (82)

There was some sense of positive anticipation, at least, at the arrival of three newcomers to the mission staff, and the return of others. Jenkins wrote, "It will be great fun to have some more people here... Soon we will be more like our old selves." (83) One of those newcomers was a Mr. Watts (not a relative of May Watts). Horace Watts was British, but had taken his university and theological degrees in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan before joining the Canadian overseas mission. One of few single men in the social context of Kaifeng, he arrived now, just in time to enliven an anxious time. Watts joined in mission dinner

parties, and soon Jenkins doubled in tennis with him. (84)

As principal of St. Mary's, Jenkins had little time for socialization. Her schedule was exhausting and, for the first time, she had to leave work incomplete and letters unwritten. A typical Sunday, for example, went like this:

> We had an early service at half past seven, regular service at eleven, Sunday school at two, a Baptism service at three, and a meeting of the Chinese W.A. at seven. (85)

And the responsibilities associated with a boarding school went around the clock. An outbreak of typhoid fever, affecting both teachers and students, absorbed her time and concern for a number of weeks. But Jenkins soon claimed to love her work at St. Mary's, and said that the anti-British feeling in West China was after all not affecting them in Kaifeng. (86)

At this time, Jenkins was alone in her residence, but she found an alternative to socialization with roommates. With increasing frequency, she reported to her mother tennis and walks with Mr. Watts, usually in the company of married couples. Her letters home were now more often neglected or brief. Jenkins' Christmas boxes to her family got less than their usual attention. As St. Mary's teachers and students prepared for a large Christmas program to advertize the school, and Jenkins gathered costumes for the girls' plays and prepared a speech to the parents, she was distracted, and felt happier than the school situation deserved. She wrote, without singling Watts out,

The newcomers are a great addition to the mission. They are full of life and fun and we have lots of nice times together. They live just across the road from St. Mary's School and this week I have gone over nearly every evening for a little while and played ping pong or had some music. (87)

As Jenkins continued to preside over St. Mary's, the Canadian mission in Honan unravelled. Like White, she now recognized the grim and profound changes in China, and the limits they imposed on her work. She remarked that, in all probability, she would be returning to Canada before her next five year term was up. As to the fighting,

The Southerners are as far as the Yangtze and of course are preparing to come north, in which case there will probably be a grand revolution throughout the whole country. (88)

Soon after she wrote,

Troops are moving down from the north into Honan, preparing to resist the advance of the Southerners, and we are afraid the railway may be cut off. So we are closing St. Mary's School the end of this month - two week's earlier than we had planned - for the New Year holiday. We do not open again until February 24th....
The government schools all closed the end of November because of lack of funds. (89)

Jenkins went on to describe, with some ambivalence, the handling of student demands at the mission schools.

This [the government school closings] affected the students of some of our Mission Schools who decided that they would like a holiday too, and there has been a good deal of restlessness amongst the boy students. Yesterday a delegation of St. Andrew's School students visited the Principal and demanded two things: first, that the school close immediately, and secondly that no exams be held! They threatened the Principal with personal violence if he refused to grant their demands; also assured him that they would leave the school in a body. This is the favorite method of students now a days. We dare not refuse them, for another break in St. Andrew's would kill the school for good - moreover, it would only be another excuse for anti-foreignism. So the authorities are meekly yielding, and the

school is closing in another few days. {90}

On this occasion Jenkins reported that she did not have any such trouble at St. Mary's. She wrote, approvingly,

> Girls are so much better than boys! Our girls far from wanting to get out of work, are sorry that school is closing early because they have not covered all their term's work. {91}

So, after a busy and hard first term, Jenkins now had six weeks holiday during which she was available to respond to the attentions of Horace Watts. No doubt he was in her mind, when she wrote about her Christmas gifts of cups and saucers, teaspoons and cake plates. "Why, they looked just like a lot of wedding presents when I had them arranged on the piano for display." {92}

For the next few months, the missionaries were prepared to have to get out of Honan at a moment's notice. They waited for notification by the Consul to move, "if anything serious should develop", and expected that they would all go out together, probably to Shanghai. Jenkins told her mother, "Who knows, I may have to go home within the next year! We are ready for anything." But their moods rose and fell. And Jenkins ordered more curtain material and two new pairs of evening shoes. {93}

The courtship of Ruth and Horace took place within an entourage of missionaries, married couples and the other single women. When they were not playing tennis or golf they went, as a group, for long walks on the city wall. She wrote, "it is very hard for us to arrange to be alone, as we

are keeping our secret from the world; but our chances come, and we make the best of them when we get them." One of the couples in their social group was complicit in the romance and "they open their home to us on all occasions." (94)

During this period, some of Jenkins' letters did not reach home. The fighting was but ten miles away, and the trains were not running. By March, her letters referred to marriage plans already reported to her mother. On March 15th, at the end of a brief note to her father, she wrote,

> Mother has told you by now, I suppose, of my great friendship with Mr. Watts, and the possibility of marriage for me later on. I am tremendously happy, and hope everything will work out as we want it to in the future. Above all, if I do marry him, I hope you and mother will like him. (95)

And her letter of March 21st to her mother, spelled out the romance in detail, enclosing some of Horace's daily love letters, "to show you something of his inner self and his love for me", and fully expressing her own happiness. (96) It is possible that Jenkins' decision to entertain the possibility of marriage was related to her changing sense of her role in China. Marriage was a graceful exit.

Against a backdrop of Chinese war, mission demise, and career uncertainty, Horace and Ruth continued their courtship. When they walked in the country they came across bombs lying in the fields, traces of the recent battles. St. Mary's school reopened, but the numbers were small. Kaifeng again passed into Feng's hands, and the troops which had been occupying the city moved out peacefully. By now,

warfare and changes of command were deja vu, but each change now amplified anti-imperialism. On March 27th, Jenkins reported,

The Bishop has just been over, and it is quite probable that all of us will leave Kaifeng next week for Peking. There is no immediate danger, but it looks now as if the Southerners will be in control of North China soon...The Bishop thinks, if we leave, we shall not come back for several years, if at all. Telegrams came from the American Legation yesterday, advising all Americans to leave at once. But we have received no word from the British Legation. However, we are packing, and I don't think there is any doubt of our being away from here in a few weeks time... {97}

With the railways cut off, the missionaries knew little of what was happening in the outside world. But, a few days later, more telegrams began to come through from Peking, urging them to get away from Honan without delay.

We closed up work at once and left in a body. ... The trains just started at that time and we decided that we must take this opportunity to travel - So the morning of April 5th saw about thirty of us - C.I.M. missionaries and ourselves - starting for Chengchow in a very crowded 3rd class carriage bound for the west.
...The journey to Peking was really very comfortable considering all things, although very slow. We left Kaifeng at eight in the morning and reached Chengchow about one o'clock. There we waited until six o'clock when we got the Peking train. We managed to get a second class car to ourselves and travelled this way for two days and two nights, sleeping on our trunks at night, and cooking our own meals during the day. We took lots of food with us, and had alcohol lamps, so we got along very well. But we were a grimy lot when we arrived not having washed or taken off our clothes during the whole journey. {98}

The women had moved out in a great rush, closing up their work and packing their belongings, for they did not know whether they would ever return. Jenkins packed her pictures, china, curtains, candlesticks and a great many books. Going full circle, she and other refugee

missionaries from all parts of China, poured into the now defunct Peking Language School. The Peking dormitories felt luxurious to Jenkins after Kaifeng. On April 14th, Bishop White met his missionaries in Peking with the decision that they would all be sent home. {99}

Distracted by her own personal happiness, the ending of Jenkins' professional career in Kaifeng - and all it represented to her of Christian idealism, her own hard work, and western influence on Chinese females, all apparently lost - was temporarily softened.

> Horace and I are still radiantly happy and are being drawn closer together every day. ... Horace is here in the same house and we are seeing a great deal of each other. I have no work to do, so am enjoying a real holiday; and we go sight-seeing together and shopping together and have lots of nice times. ... Wouldn't it be lovely if we could come home together and be married at Kingsmere? {100}

On August 3, 1927, Ruth Jenkins and Horace Watts were married in a tiny church in Chelsea, Quebec, near the Jenkins' summer property in Kingsmere, in the Gatineau hills north of Ottawa.

Horace was one of those missionaries who had not harmonized with Bishop White, and White did not think he was good enough for Jenkins. The couple's future was in doubt, particularly in regard to the application of their hard-won Chinese language skills. Horace applied to the Canadian-Chinese mission in Vancouver, but was rejected. So, as the Honan missionaries were gradually reassigned, some planning to return to Kaifeng when circumstances would allow, Horace

accepted a new overseas posting to Japan. With a big send-off and a real trousseau, Ruth and Horace sailed for Japan on the Empress of Russia, September 22, 1927 to begin all over again at language school. (101)

As they sailed again to Asia, this time to get off the boat to stay in Japan, they spoke little of China. But Jenkins later recalled,

> how strange Japan seemed to us then, with our habit of thinking in Chinese, speaking in Chinese, discussing things Chinese, to turn our eyes to Japan and realize that there and not in China we were to find our work. When the boat docked at Yokohama and landed its passengers, it was almost with a feeling of injured affront that we stepped off and allowed the boat to go on to China without us. Japan at first seemed to offer dull contrast to our old field. ... Efficiency seemed written over everything, and this, to our Chinese eyes, ears, and noses, spelt dullness. (102)

Although she spoke of "our work", Ruth had no formal role or independent status as a missionary now that she was married. Horace, on the other hand, had increased his chances of a posting to Japan and his place on the salary scale by marrying Ruth, both due to a reckoning of her years of service. Despite Ruth's lack of formal status, it is clear that she expected to help in the work and, being better than Horace at languages, she helped him as they studied together. Of this new effort she wrote from Tokyo,

> Japanese is entirely different from Chinese, and knowing one does not help the other much. However, we are thoroughly enjoying learning a new language... Of course, we get homesick for China every now and again. This evening, several missionaries from China were here for dinner, and the conversation naturally centred on China, and we longed to be back in Kaifeng...(103)

Injury and humiliation were indeed felt by the

missionaries but not given much weight. Their rejection by the Chinese was blamed primarily on the war, an impersonal opponent. The message of rebellion given directly by their students that they were interfering cultural aggressors had not "taken". As people of their times, the missionaries continued to believe in their Christian and western purposes. Ruth and Horace Watts proceeded as Christian agents in a foreign country.

In the wake of the 1927 developments, the immediate career options of the other Canadian women missionaries were few. Given their lack of ordained status and their experience unique to China, they had few places to apply their skills. The investment in education made by the missionaries, their female staff, and their students was displaced by political events outside their control. The gender advances accrued in the context of that investment were stalled. Marriage plans filled the career vacuum for a number of St. Mary's students, as they had for Jenkins.

Later in 1928, some of the Kaifeng missionaries were able to return to China, among them, Katherine Robbins, May Watts, Daisy Masters and Mrs. Simmons. The women pursued their work in the education of Chinese females for a few years longer, but under increasing government restrictions and further political instability, until the final denouement and takeover by the Communist regime. But, in 1927, when Katherine Robbins spoke to meetings of the Girls'

Branches of the W.A. in Canada, she carried with her the banner embroidered by Chinese women and given by them to Canada, the Mother Church. Its design was the Bishops Seal - St. George Cross (flown over Anglican cathedrals and churches), the Open Bible, Maple Leaf, old-fashioned Lamp and a Character Emblem of Honan. It meant "Canada Sending the Word of God to Be a Light to the People of Honan". The girls were probably unaware that its white satin field was the color of death and grieving in China. {104}

Notes

1. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, August 31, September 7, 28, 1924, NAC.
2. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 7, 1924, NAC.
3. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 21, 1924, NAC.
4. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 14, 1924, NAC.
5. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 21, 1924, NAC.
6. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 28, 1924, NAC.
7. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 21, 28, October 5, 21, 28, November 2, 23, 1924, March 23, 1925, NAC.
8. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 28, Oct. 21, 1924, NAC.
9. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 16, 1924, NAC; Robbins to W.A. Corresponding Secretary, Kaifeng, August, 1924, in The Living Message, November, 1924, p. 314, and Dec., 1924, p. 355, ACH.
10. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 26, 1925, NAC.
11. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 12, 1924, NAC.
12. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 28, November 2, 1924, NAC.
13. W.C. White, Kaifeng, December 9, 1924, "Honan", The Living Message, April 1925, p. 109-110, ACH.
14. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 7, 1924, NAC.
15. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 14, 1924, NAC.
16. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 23, 1924, NAC.
17. Ibid.
18. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 1, 1925, NAC.
19. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 30, 1924, NAC.
20. George A. Andrew, "In Honan", M.S.C.C. Study Book, 1932, p. 48, GS75-103, ACH.
21. Ibid.
22. quote in Andrew, "In Honan", p. 50, ACH. Emphasis added.
23. Ibid., p. 50-51, ACH.
24. White, Kaifeng, December 9, 1924, "Honan" printed in The Living Message, April, 1925, p. 110, ACH.
25. Editorial, The Chinese Recorder, September 1926, p. 612.
26. White, Kaifeng, December 9, 1924, "Honan", printed in The Living Message, April, 1925, p. 110, ACH.
27. White acknowledged this later in The Living Message, October, 1925, p. 298. For a full treatment of Chinese Christian responses to rising nationalism see Jessie Gregory Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-28 (Notre Dame, Indiana:Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1988), pgs. 77-89 and passim.
28. Andrew, "In Honan", p. 53, ACH.
29. White, "Honan", The Living Message, April, 1925, p. 110, ACH.
30. Ibid.
31. Robbins, Kikung Shan, Honan, to "Friends", July 1925, Gould series 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
32. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, p. 91, 124.
33. Ibid., p. 127.

34. Ibid., 91-128, quotation p. 128.
35. Ibid., p. 123.
36. John King Fairbank, China: A New History, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) p. 279.
37. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, p. 93, 98.
38. Ibid., p. 100.
39. Ibid., p. 101, 104, 106, 102.
40. Ibid., p. 101, 122.
41. Miss Y.T. Zee, "Woman's Place in China", reprinted in The Living Message, April 1924, p. 104-5, ACH.
42. Tsai Kuei and Lily K. Haass, "A Study of the Young Women's Christian Association of China 1890-1930", Chinese Studies in History (Fall 1977): 18-63, p. 33.
43. Ibid., p. 105, 122-23, 162.
44. Ibid., p. 139.
45. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 23, 29, 1925, NAC.
46. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, February 8, 1925, NAC.
47. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 8, 15, 23, 1925, NAC.
48. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 13, 1925, NAC.
49. Report of the corresponding secretary, The Living Message, December, 1925, p. 343.
50. Report of the corresponding secretary, The Living Message, September, 1926, p. 340.
51. Robbins to "Friends", Kikung Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould Series 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
52. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 23, 1925, NAC.
53. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, April 5, 1925, NAC.
54. Robbins to "Friends", Kikung Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould Series 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
55. Ibid.
56. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, p. 160-207; quotation p. 166.
57. Robbins to "Friends", Kikung Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould Series 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
58. Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, p. 170-174.
59. Ibid., p. 170; Robbins to "Friends", Kikung, Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould
Series, 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
60. Ibid.
61. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 8, 1925, NAC.
62. Robbins to "Friends", Kikung, Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould Series, 3:2, box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
63. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, June 8, 1925, NAC.
64. Ibid.
65. Robbins to "Friends", Kikung, Shan, Honan, July, 1925, Gould Series, 3:2. box 60, M.S.C.C., GS75-103, ACH.
66. Ibid.
67. White, in Report of the Corresponding Secretary, The Living Message, December, 1925, p. 343, ACH.
68. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, August 27, 1926, NAC.

69. Ibid.; White, The Living Message, October, 1925, p. 298, ACH.
70. Robbins to the President of a Girls' Branch, Dartmouth, N.S., October, 1925, in The Living Message, March, 1926, p. 67, ACH.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p. 68.
74. Ibid., p. 67-8.
75. Robbins to a W.A. Branch in Nova Scotia, December, 1925, in The Living Message, April, 1926, p. 108, ACH.
76. Robbins to the President of a Girls' Branch, Dartmouth, N.S., October, 1925, in The Living Message, March, 1926, p. 68, ACH.
77. Ibid.
78. Report of the Corresponding Secretary, The Living Message, September, 1926, p. 342, ACH.
79. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 12, 1926, NAC.
80. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 20, 1926, NAC.
81. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, September 30, 1926, NAC.
82. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 10, 1926, NAC.
83. Ibid.
84. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 4, 1926, NAC.
85. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 17, 1926, NAC.
86. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, October 7, 10, 17, 1926, NAC.
87. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, November 28, 1926, NAC.
88. Ibid.
89. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, December 15, 1926, NAC.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, January 7, 1927, NAC.
93. Ibid.
94. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 21, 1927, NAC.
95. RJ to Frank M.S. Jenkins, Kaifeng, March 15, 1927, NAC.
96. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 21, 1927, NAC.
97. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 27, 1927, NAC.
98. RJ to AJ, Peking, April 11, 1927, NAC.
99. RJ to AJ, Peking, April 8, 14, 1927, NAC.
100. RJ to AJ, Kaifeng, March 27, 1927, NAC.
101. Ruth Watts to AJ, S.S. Empress of Russia, September 22, 1927, NAC.
102. Ruth Watts, Nagano, Japan, June, 1928, in The Living Message, September, 1928, p. 284, NAC.
103. Ruth Watts to AJ, Tokyo, November 13, 1927, NAC.
104. A Delegate's Report, 1927 Annual Meeting for Girls' Branches, Diocese of Nova Scotia, in The Living Message, September, 1928, p. 310, NAC.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Reprisals and Revivals: and the Legacy of St. Mary's Hall

"The world about us is confused, shaken, and changing. We find ourselves called to ventures of which we do not know the ending." Ruth Jenkins Watts

When Ruth Jenkins and her colleagues departed from Kaifeng so hastily in the spring of 1927 they left a trail of consequences which is best understood over time. A story of devastation and devolution in the Christian mission, of rising and falling revivals, still very much tied to the tides of Chinese politics, finally faded from the spotlight, but did not end. In 1994, for example, there was still a Christian community in Kaifeng and there were still women who remembered St. Mary's Hall. Using periodic time-probes of the Anglican institutions in Kaifeng and their students, it is clear that the events and lives of Chinese Christians and Canadian missionaries continued to intersect long after 1927 - though the missionaries had lost their preeminence forever - and that there were long-lingering effects for all those involved.

The Immediate Aftermath and early 1930s

Following hard upon the exodus of missionaries from Kaifeng in 1927, the army of the Kuomintang took possession of nearly all the churches and Christian school buildings, using them for dormitories and horse stables. Despite the

massive chaos which ensued, the Rev. H.J. Wei, rector of the Anglican cathedral, his wife, and a small staff of Chinese Christians remained at their posts in the Canadian mission. Through their appeals to the local political authorities they were able to prevent the cathedral from being occupied and many of the other Anglican mission buildings from being defaced. With surprising tenacity in the face of the military presence, the Christians of the Canadian mission carried on services in the cathedral and continued to attract new believers, so that some months later Wei wrote, "our work goes on here as usual". (2) He reported that groups of children and adults were soon to be baptized. (3)

The strength of the Chinese Anglicans in Kaifeng during the 1927 period seemed to vindicate White's early emphasis on an indigenous Chinese church and the three-self principles, his early ordination of Chinese clergy, and the structure he had helped to install through the formation of the Chung Hwa Sheng Kung Huei. In a meeting in January of 1927, before the missionaries left Kaifeng, the standing committee of the Diocese of Honan had concluded that "in case missionaries were to leave the Diocese due to trouble that might possibly arise, the machinery of the Diocese as provided for in the Constitution and Canons of the Diocesan Synod, were quite adequate for the carrying on of the work of the Church." (4) The lines of authority were drawn should the Bishop or his Commissary be absent. Trinity

Cathedral in Kaifeng was already self-supporting, due to a self-support endowment fund campaign begun as early as 1920, and all the Christians throughout the Diocese were now urged to contribute to endowment funds for the support of their pastors and the church work generally. A grant from the Canadian Church was to be transferred to the synod for the payment of Chinese workers (although separate funds and control of those funds were held apart for the educational and medical institutions, including St. Mary's Hall). Later the rector reported that the bank where the self-support endowment was deposited had to close down, so that for two years the parish had to live on borrowed money. Eventually the money was refunded. (5)

On August 11th, and again on September 20th, of 1927, the Chinese members of the standing committee of the Diocese of Honan met, with Liu Kwang Fu in the chair. No missionaries were present and there was still no word from them. The committee members attended to a wide variety of matters pertaining to the Orphanage, the Summer Institute, the educational committee, and the appointment and salaries of both men and women workers in the various pastorates. Nevertheless, many considerations awaited communication from Bishop White. The committee on the "reorganization and registration of St. Andrew's and St. Mary's Schools", for example, felt that no movement was possible without further instructions from the bishop or the bishop's commissary. (6)

The provincial authorities had prohibited the missions from running private schools; some of the teaching staff of these schools were absorbed into other church work. Despite the degree of religious freedom which was being permitted, the anti-foreign political mood was unchanged. The standing committee members concluded, "It is our unanimous opinion, that it is, we regret to say, yet not advisable for the recall of any missionaries into our midst." {7}

The tenacity of the Chinese Christians was matched by the perseverance of the Canadian missionaries, many of whom gradually filtered back to Kaifeng during the summer and fall of 1928 and the winter of 1929, against the advice of the British embassy. The women included Katherine Robbins, May Watts, Daisy Masters, and Florence Simmons. Unsure of what to expect, the missionaries nevertheless arrived much as before, with many pieces of baggage, reacquainting themselves with old friends, and set about getting their houses in condition for occupation. Most of the buildings which had been occupied by soldiers had, by this time, after considerable negotiation, been returned to the Canadian mission, but damage had accumulated. In some places the gardens were a wilderness and the trees and shrubs destroyed; in other places the stones from paths had been torn up for stoves and the walls blackened by smokey lamps. The missionaries found the glass in their windows shattered and most of the drawers of their furniture missing. One

missionary explained that the drawers had been used by the soldiers as feed boxes for horses or as convenient boxes for carrying their possessions and acquisitions. The missionaries washed, repainted, and revarnished their way back to a semblance of their former dignity, and they returned to services in a crowded church. They felt they had returned "Home". {8}

Nevertheless, the returnees noted some conspicuous differences in the city of Kaifeng. There were new arches over the streets, new street names, and

> numerous mottoes ... all about the city gates, the Drum Tower, former temples, and public places, one on the South Gate says "Every last cent for the people, that our blood and sweat be not spent in vain!" Some of them are more tending to inculcate hatred for "Imperialistic" enemies. The South Gate Tower on the wall is called a Public Library, as is also the (former, but no more) Drum Tower. Nearly everything is named for Dr. Sun Yat Sen. {9}

And, nearby in the South Suburb, the relentless whistles of the Arsenal and the sound of bugles at dawn right on the St. Andrew's school campus reminded the missionaries of the continued military presence. One remarked that all these changes showed "how the inequalities of the old order are passing away." {10}

To these changes were added a new kind of uncertainty. Despite the appearance of mission work resuming, nothing was settled regarding what the work of each of the missionaries would be. In December, 1928, White wrote, "In our Church work we are still marking time in some branches, especially educational,... These are days when

patient waiting and slow but steady work count most." (11) A severe famine, worse than that of 1921, gave focus to some of their attention, though Bishop White was skeptical about extensive involvement this time. He wrote, "I am trying to keep out of the general famine relief work, and give my attention only to our Church relief work in our own districts. That is, all the money we receive from Canada we want to handle through our Mission." (12)

With this dubious beginning, White and all other members of the Canadian mission, both Chinese and foreign, nevertheless celebrated what they felt to be the outstanding event of 1928-29, the election and consecration of the Rev. P. Lindel Tsen, as the Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Honan. He was the third Chinese Bishop to be consecrated in the Anglican Church, and the first to be supported from a fund under the control of the church in China. The latter, however, was only possible because of the personal creation of an endowment fund by Bishop and Mrs. White. The North-China Daily News wrote in flattering tones of this development.

> From the very beginning of the work of the Mission from the Church of England in Canada to Honan, the very definite policy of building up a Chinese Church was followed. Long before the work of devolution of responsibility from Mission to Church was speeded up by the present Nationalist urge, the Mission in Honan had all but perfected machinery for such a transfer, through developing a Diocesan Synod, Rural Deanery, Vestry boards and Diocesan Committees. The calling of an Assistant Bishop to Honan was just one more step, though a vital one in perfecting this machinery.(13)

The renewed Canadian presence was more questionable. As late as August 1929, the work of the returned missionaries was still in flux. A new civil war had erupted in Honan in the spring, and the Canadians in Kaifeng were again marooned and had to make ready to leave at short notice. The country chapels were occupied by troops on the march. The most encouraging development was that the buildings of St. Andrew's and St. Mary's which, unlike the cathedral, had been occupied continuously for over two years by the medical units of the Kuomintang troops (under no other than General Feng) were now vacated as that army retreated for further action, allowing the missionaries to take possession of their schools again. White wrote that keeping the school buildings was not easy. "We have managed to keep them clear of troops up to the present, though it has only been done by much local persuasion and considerable correspondence with the Foreign Office at Nanking." (14) St. Mary's Hall, as such, was not to reopen, although a Girls' Day school was to be opened there instead, "until the time should be propitious for the Boarding School again". (15) The day schools in the rest of the diocese were not reopened, but the women's schools were carried on as usual. (16)

Generally, despite many uncertainties, the Canadians congratulated themselves on their Chinese Church which had "so well stood the test, both in the matter of its

organization ... and in the loyalty and faithfulness of its Chinese staff and Christian constituency." (17) They heard the sad tales of some of the other missions in Honan whose work had been more seriously broken up or dislocated, or, as White wrote, had been "compelled to compromise with the forces of Nationalism in the Church in such a way that I fear trouble lies ahead of them." (18) He said "these missions had been working towards a Chinese Church in common with the rest of us", but had met with greater trouble. (19) In one case the Chinese Church and the Mission had separated with great bitterness and havoc. White claimed, with a decided note of superiority, that the Anglicans had met comparatively little trouble in part because of the greater unity and continuity of the Anglican communion, "emerging triumphant from many a revolution." (20)

White did not elaborate regarding the persecution of the Church by the Communist Party, which had accompanied the 1927 civil war, or the reprisals which many Chinese Christians suffered from non-Christian compatriots during 1927-28, or the dislocation of hundreds of young women students and teachers. In a backlash of traditional forces, including social and family forces, widespread resentment arose between generations, genders, and among large sections of the population. Many girls suffered conflicts with their families and communities as a result of school socialization. The most radical of educated Chinese women

were brutalized in an "anti-Red reaction" in which thousands of girls were grossly mutilated and shot by conservative elements in Chinese society, particularly by the Kuomintang. Chinese autobiographies recall that girl students "on the evidence of bobbed hair or unbound feet or their local reputation for having opposed familial authority in a marriage arrangement or demanded a divorce" were arrested by gendarmes, then stripped, their noses and breasts cut off, then nailed on crosses before they were executed. {21} Some were burned alive; some were beheaded, their heads put into men's coffins. The survivors were driven into hiding. From 1927-1930, a period of conservatism set in; for girls, a return to traditional values was reassuring and family duty became paramount. {22}

Only change and "readjustment" were acknowledged in the Canadian mission, for this "period of rapid extension [of the indigenous Chinese church] throughout the whole Province of Honan, through the nucleus of this young daughter church." {23} White asked for more money and for more missionaries from the Mother Church in Canada to help train Chinese leaders as trusted and loved "associates". He asked for more women missionaries trained for kindergarten and religious education. Projecting unfailing optimism, at least for the purposes of public relations, White announced that he had marked out a program of "campaign for advance" for the next five and ten-year periods. {24}

But by March 1930 the military situation was worse. Kaifeng had changed hands again and the mission was cut off even from its medical missionaries in Kweiteh, who were experiencing their own troubles from bombs, machine guns, and artillery. In Kaifeng, White wrote, "Absolute chaos exists here, and the people are suffering greatly. At present 7,000 refugees from West Honan are being fed while our Red Cross has just finished relief for over 10,000." (25)

After the effects of this campaign subsided, the mission's educational institutions were slowly but gradually revived, beginning with four day schools in 1930-31, one of which was St. Mary's. White wrote of the difficulties in reviving St. Andrew's as a boarding school.

> We are taking steps to register the school with the government, which is the only way by which we may be allowed to carry on at all, but prospects for a continuance of the school are not bright. There is too much unrest in the air, and students of all schools, particularly of the government schools, are liable to lose their heads and become frenzied and unmanageable at the slightest excuse. We have a good Chinese principal in the person of the Rev. P.C. Lin, M.A., B.D. but he has not the backing of his teaching staff unfortunately, the majority of whom are non-Christians. This is to be rectified at the earliest possible moment, but meanwhile an explosion may happen at any time, as has frequently occurred in surrounding schools. (26)

In regard to St. Mary's, White reported that,

> A beginning this term has been made with St. Mary's as a Boarding School again, and in this school the prospects are much brighter than in St. Andrew's, though our great difficulty is in the matter of getting properly qualified women teachers. Miss [Greta] Clark is temporarily in charge of this school*, though her main activities lie with the Women's Station Class and Women's [Bible] School which adjoin St. Mary's. This Women's School was also revived

again after being closed for some time, but the numbers of pupils so far have been small, and it will take some time to bring it up to desired standard. The whole countryside is disturbed by banditry and as most of the students for the school are drawn from these country areas, they are naturally reluctant to leave their homes at this time, quite apart from the grinding poverty which makes it impossible for so many of them to provide even their food money. {27}

*Robbins was stationed in Kweiteh.

To "facilitate" official registration requirements, it was decided to combine St. Andrew's and St. Mary's as one school, with Boys' and Girls' Departments. The newly organized school was renamed Yu Chung Middle School (Central Honan Middle School). The mission primary schools were also federated in this group. The Rev. Lin was appointed principal of all, with the assistance of a Board of Directors (both foreign and Chinese Christians), with boys' and girls' departments under separate "deans". The Dean of the girls' department was Chinese, E. P'an. The women missionaries were part of her staff. In 1933, another innovation helped to resolve the problem of religious education in the schools. A church center, or chapel, was built to serve both the schools and the south suburb population instead of using the school buildings for this purpose. A Chinese pastor and a Biblewoman were appointed to this new chapel under Canon and Mrs. Simmons and regular meetings were held for the students. {28}

These obvious efforts to "get around" the regulations regarding relationships of power satisfied the authorities. Enrollments increased. But adjustments following all the

recent upheavals meant abnormal expenditures; educational work was still heavily dependent on support from the Canadian church. That support continued to come during the 1930s, despite the Great Depression, and after missionary contributions (and interest) had begun to decline in other countries. For its part, Honan's own endowment funds at this time were second only to those of Chekiang and well above most Chinese dioceses. {29}

In 1934, White resigned from his position as Bishop in Honan, because of his wife's deteriorating health, and moved back to Canada. Together they were considered by Kaifeng's Christians as Honan's "permanent representatives" in Canada. {30} The Rev. P. Lindel Tsen was promoted to full Bishop in September, 1935. His wife became a leader in the Women's Missionary Service League. The succession of a Chinese bishop to the Diocese of Honan once again confirmed White's reputation for foresight in his emphasizing an indigenous church. {31}

The Next Decade

In 1937, ten years after Jenkins and the other women missionaries were forced to leave Kaifeng, the Chinese Christians still prevailed. There were 17 parishes and 3 preaching chapels. Only the Cathedral parish, still under Rev. H.J. Wei, was completely self-supporting, with a sizable annual budget; other parishes were reportedly

working towards this. (In some places there were congregations that had been built up apparently spontaneously, with no ministry of any church or assistance of any worker paid by any church.) There were 16 branches of the Women's Missionary Service League. This continuation of the women's involvement in the work of the church suggests that its programs had met a need. By great sacrifices, the Kaifeng branch of the W.M.S.L. paid the salary of a Biblewoman. Wei wrote,

> During this time of depression, and in such a financially backward country as China where her women have no financial independence, it is not an easy thing for our sisters to support a Biblewoman. They have done this for over ten years, as well as making their annual Diocesan pledges. The members have secured their money by sewing, washing clothes, and other small jobs. (32)

Surprisingly, there were four new women missionaries in Kaifeng, Grace Gibberd, a graduate of Western University, at Yu Chung Middle School, along with Frances Howard and Lilian Racey, and Mary Searle on the cathedral staff. (33)

The 1930 war had been followed by a relatively long period of peace. With sustained effort at physical and spiritual revival early in the 1930s, the work in Kaifeng seems to have followed lines quite similar to those during the 1920s. Student evangelism and literacy work among women, for example, remained among the highest concerns of those asking for the prayers of Canadians. In 1937 Greta Clark was principal of the newly reopened Diocesan women's Bible school (opening with a kindergarten, a music

department, and a mother's club connected to it), where there were 60 women students, 25 of them boarders. She also carried the burden of reaching out to the Government School students of Kaifeng. By this time there were thirty-nine government Middle schools in the city. She held special Bible classes in which some teachers and students from these other schools attended, and she organized interdenominational Christian rallies for students to which as many as five hundred girls came. Other evangelistic meetings for students were held with the China Inland Mission, using lantern slides of the Life of Christ. Cooperating with the Y.W.C.A. Clark organized retreats for religious workers among youth. Like Ruth Jenkins, she continued to try to reach upper class families. Mrs. Simmons continued the work of reading classes among the illiterate women. Such classes sometimes began with courtyard preaching of the W.M.S.L. in homes where invited, and where neighbors and friends were gathered. A character Study Course and Diploma which had been designed by Robbins was then followed. The Course was being used all over the Diocese and "in a few more years should make a great difference in our services and in the intelligence of our women Christians, as well as in their appreciation of what Christianity really means to the individual." (34) The work among the men, many of whom were day laborers and were less available, had not developed as far as among the women. (35)

Educational work in Kaifeng was still supported by the mission. Howard wrote, "St Mary's School is a very familiar name to most of our friends in Canada, but it is almost unknown to the present staff and pupils of 'Yu Chung School'. The name 'St. Mary's' belongs to the history of the past here." {36} In 1937 there were 112 girls, about one half Christian or from Christian homes. Howard wrote, "it takes time, patience and love to win their confidence, especially of girls who come from conservative homes which have had little or no contact with foreigners." {37} The principal was now J.C. Ch'en. {38}

The standards of Yu Chung School appear to have been high. The students were required to take entrance examinations. In 1936 Ch'en reported that only about one-third of the 600 students who took those examinations were accepted into the school; 202 of them were girls and 159 of those were boarders. In 1937 the numbers were about the same. The dormitories and classrooms were packed. A class had been added to the girls' department to bring it up to a full six year program. Regulation political science instruction was held once a week, and a "government union examination" was also required for graduates, all of whom had passed successfully. {39}

The students continued to do well in competitions held outside the school, such as in oratorical contests and athletic tournaments. In 1937 they won thirteen banners,

nine silver shields and many other prizes from different contests during the past year. A western import, the Girl Guides, the female division of Boy Scouts, was still strong at this time. Among the awards to Yu Chung Middle School that year was first place prize for its girl guides who, along with its boy scouts, were inspected by the governor along with those of 30 other schools which had participated. (40)

The intentions of the Christians in religious education were necessarily guarded. Morning and evening gatherings were led by the Christian teachers. Bible classes were held weekly. But attendance was not required of students and all services and meetings were held outside the school buildings proper. Che'n wrote in 1937 that "We have followed rather strictly the curriculum set by the Bureau of Education which has sent out inspectors from time to time." (41) Nevertheless, 125 boys and 75 girls were reported as Christians, and Ch'en wrote that the opportunity for religious work was ample. (42)

In the same breath, however, Ch'en reported that the previous year had begun with a general strike of nearly all the schools and they had had to close Yu Chung early; they reopened with reduced numbers the next term of that year. He explained that there was continued political unrest and "disturbances of the student movement." (43) In many ways, little had changed since the events immediately following

May 30, 1925. And, with the same focused vision, the missionaries themselves, driven by regulations to be more devious, continued to press their religious message and culture as part of their teaching. (44)

Echoes of earlier times were heard at synod meetings which began with musicales prepared by the staff and students of Yu Chung Middle School, and were attended by the Governor and government officials. Miss Robbins was by this time officially retired but had returned an honorary worker, living on her pension, to continue her struggle with the teaching of illiterate women in Kweiteh, many with rural backgrounds and more backward than those in Kaifeng. She was an appreciated and honored missionary, convener of the language committee, and usually elected with the most votes as a delegate to whatever conference was being currently held. (45)

There was not much evidence on the surface that the missionaries were "wiser" for the experiences of the 1920s. One new missionary had the grace to be diffident when she wrote,

> Last year, at the Language School in Peiping one of the popular subjects of impromptu and often heated debates, was whether or not any tourist, temporary resident, transient or newcomer to China had any business to write books, articles or letters for publication, on their impressions of the country and people. With these discussions still vividly in my mind, I hesitate, therefore, to make any comments! ... We are busy and enjoy it, always bearing in mind the fact that we are working to help and to earn the confidence of a foreign people who are still very diffident about our intentions. (46)

Another acknowledged that the complexities of Chinese society when she wrote,

> Many people come to China for a month or two and return home to write a book. Some stay a year or two and find it hard to write a letter. I presume the third stage comes after ten or twenty years when you really have impressions that are based on facts of experience and knowledge, and can produce something worthwhile reading. I am in the second stage just now. (47)

But she did observe of the girls of Yu Chung Middle School, like Jenkins and Robbins had before her,

> The girls... are very like any other girls the world over. They love to talk and play. They are interested in your clothes and in the way you wear your hair. I think they [are] more interested in details than Canadian girls: your age, likes and dislikes, and family, or should I say they are more curious. They giggle a great deal and cry very easily. ... But I do not think any group of girls at home could say as many complimentary things in a week as Chinese girls can say in fifteen minutes. And if they don't approve, their faces soon tell you, if not their tongues.
>
> It is most certain that anyone working among school girls soon learns to love them and longs to do her utmost for their wellbeing physically and spiritually. (48)

By and large the missionaries seemed to make a moderately successful adjustment to the role of associates to Chinese superiors and to their reduced status in the schools and community, although they felt restricted by government rules. If there were problems in working under the supervision of Bishop Tsen and Principal Ch'en, the missionaries made no mention of them. They maintained some control over school administration by serving on Boards of Directors. Curiously, indicating the ambivalent reception of foreign schools - Canadian moneys for mission schools were augmented not only by school fees but by a Chinese

government grant. White was gone and the faithful Simmons had died. But Mrs. Simmons stayed on; new missionaries still came. Physical improvements began to suggest a long future. For example, in Shangqiu, the new postal name for Kweiteh, a new road was built opposite the mission with willows planted along its sides. The Canadian missionaries there looked forward to the time when those trees would remind them of Avenue Road, Toronto. (49)

As had happened so many times before, even this degree of stability was soon shattered, but this time by an outside force. On May 28, 1938, Kaifeng was bombed by the Japanese. Trinity cathedral was "struck by a one-ton demolition bomb with delayed fuse", a deliberate destruction which damaged the chancel, choir and vestries, the nave pillars and wall, floors, as well as the outside of the building. On the same day, Toronto House, the building devoted to women's work, was struck by a 400 lb. general purpose bomb and heavily damaged. A second bomb caused more of the building to collapse. No one was killed. (50)

The Canadian women, those with and those without medical training, were all put to work in this latest challenge of refugee and general relief work. On June 20, May Watts, who had been on continuous duty since the outbreak of war, wrote,

> We are very busy for we have nearly 4,000 refugees on our two Compounds and the feeding and caring for them all is a great task, as you can imagine. Miss M. Searle with the help of Miss Jennings of the China Inland Mission, a trained

nurse and a fine staff of helpers are looking after St. Mary's Compound and they have 1,600 over there. Mrs. G.E. Simmons and I, with the help of our friends and workers, have had over 2,000 here. ... Our Orphanage is an Isolation Hospital, but we are thankful to say that so far there are not many patients, although every camp has lots of dysentery for the flies are so bad...

Our camps still run about 1,500, some go and some come each day, but we hope before long that we will be able to reduce them to the minimum and keep the young women for a Bible School, we have over 300 between the ages of 12 and 30, and can do a good work amongst them we hope... (51)

The leaders and Christians of the five Christian denominations which still had headquarters in Kaifeng - Anglican, Free Methodist, Southern Baptist, China Inland Mission, and the Benedictine Sisters of the Roman Catholic Church - cooperated in an effort so efficient that it reportedly impressed the Japanese authorities, now in control of the city, who left the refugees in peace. Every week for many weeks the trains brought wounded soldiers from the front to Kaifeng and bands of workers, foreign and Chinese working together, assisted them. About 30,000 wounded soldiers were attended at the railway station alone as they reached Kaifeng. The ten refugee camps for women and children from the city and surrounding country, opened at the time of the Japanese occupation, sheltered about 20,000. Madame Chiang Kaishek paid tribute to the missionaries saying,

The Generalissimo and I send greetings to all fellow-Christians and gratitude to all those missionaries who have done so much to help China. Even the most glowing tributes to the heroism of those who have stood by the Chinese in this terrible time of tragedy and suffering would fail adequately to describe what the missionaries have done and are doing in order to help the Chinese people. (52)

But during and after this crisis many of the missionaries returned to Canada. The Sino-Japanese war put the Japanese in control until 1945.

A Decade Later

White and his new wife, the former Daisy Masters, could not stay away from China, now that the Japanese occupation and WWII were over. In 1947 they visited Kaifeng; Daisy wrote down her impressions of what she saw during "these transitional and formative days", twenty years after Jenkins and the others were evacuated.

> Since the war there has been a marked difference in the people of China. ... to a great extent [they] seem to have given up their usual conservative way of doing things. This change is perhaps more marked among the women of China, who far from being repressed and retiring are now taking their place in the affairs of their country in an intelligent and efficient manner. Many of them hold responsible positions on an equal footing with men, for Chinese women have now complete equality with Chinese men in all walks of life, political, industrial and professional. (53)

Masters took particular notice of the young people of both sexes walking together in public in a natural way but "in a manner unheard of a few years ago", when women always walked behind the man and "meekly took a subservient place, except sometimes in the family circle". (54) She wrote that anything else would have "horrified the populace" and drastic action would have been taken by the authorities. By now the practice of foot-binding had almost disappeared, bound feet being noticed only amongst the older women whose feet were too deformed to return to natural form

She observed that although China had adopted much of western custom, "yet the country people still retained many of their old customs, and particularly those connected with death and burial." (55) Masters went on to describe the Christian women in Kaifeng.

> Amongst the women of the Church also great changes have taken place. Many of the Christian women who before were quite illiterate are now able to read, and they follow the service in their Prayer Books as it is read, and at the same time give help to a neighbour who has not reached the same standard of efficiency. One finds them more willing to take responsibility and to act as leaders, where before they were timid and reluctant to come to the fore in any capacity, and as is the case everywhere the women attend the various services and meetings in greater numbers than the men. (56)

Masters credited these changes primarily to contact with the west, but also to the war itself, in which women had had to take their part "both in suffering and service". (57) They had been thrust into "new and startling situations and forced to undertake strange duties and responsibilities." (58) Even with the Japanese gone, the past year had brought the struggle of the Nationalists and Communists to the region. Shangqiu, for example, had been surrounded by Communist guerrillas who "honey-combed the whole area" and who from time to time placed the Anglican hospital and staff (still there!) in danger. (59)

During eight years of occupation and war, remarkably, the Christians and their leaders had continued some of their work and were once again reviving it. But Masters wrote that "many Christian families were compelled to leave their homes, and take refuge in other parts of China." (60) (Some

of them had returned and others were still returning.) Some of the older workers had dropped out of active church involvement during the war. And the mission schools had long been closed, "which meant that the source of supply of prospective workers in the church was cut off." (61) They were now being opened again. Masters went on to describe the post-war conditions of the Anglican plant in Kaifeng.

> The city of Kaifeng did not suffer so much from bombing as other cities, yet it did suffer greatly from occupation by the Japanese, followed by the National troops ...
>
> ... a great deal of the property of the Church in Kaifeng was not handed back for many months, and some is still occupied by official organizations. When the Cathedral building and its Schools were handed back, as well as some of the other schools and residences at the South Suburb, they were in a deplorable condition of repair, and were practically denuded of their fittings and contents.
>
> At the Cathedral centre it was sad to see the great gap where the Women's hall and offices once stood. This lovely building had been a gift from the Woman's Auxiliary of the Toronto Diocese and which had contributed so greatly to the women's work, not only of the city but of the whole Diocese, had been demolished by Japanese bombing during the early part of the war. The building could not be rebuilt on its former scale even if the money were available, as materials were very scarce or unobtainable and the cost of labour unreasonably high. Yet in the early part of this year the Church was able to secure a Quonset hut at a reasonable cost from the U.N.R.R.A. the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adviser. Huts such as this had been prepared for the U.S. navy for use in the Pacific, and when the war terminated they were handed over to U.N.R.R.A. to be sold to relief or missionary organizations. This hut which is 48 feet in length and 20 feet wide has been placed as a superstructure upon a brick ground floor in the same spot where the former building stood, so that while the main hut provides an auditorium for meetings and gatherings of all sorts, the foundation basement affords room for offices for the Dean of the Cathedral and other Church workers. (62)

Bishop Tsen's son, Rev. Francis Tseng was now Dean of the Cathedral. He had restored the Cathedral buildings that

had so far been handed back to Church control and had opened up new branches of work, including a Nursery School named Mei-Ling Nursery School after Madam (Chiang Kaishek) who had been a leader of work on behalf of war-orphans. He reported to Masters that there were ninety "kids" in this school, mostly from upper class families, and, because of its clientele, he hoped it would be soon self-supporting. (63)

Many of the other activities which had been started by the Canadian women for Chinese girls and women were being revived in this early post-war period. The women's school in connection with the Cathedral had now, once more, been opened up under the leadership of a Canadian W.A. missionary. Masters observed that

> in the past there had been many encouraging results from this school as well as from other similar schools held in different parts of the Diocese, and one is constantly coming in touch with those who have been influenced,... through the teaching given in the Women's Schools. .... Our schools for women have also produced a number of Bible Women, who now are working in different parts of the Diocese, while many of the younger ones have married and set up Christian homes. .... Meetings and classes for women are now being carried on as hitherto and this includes visiting and holding meetings in the houses and courtyards of the people themselves.(64)

She wrote of one such woman, now an old woman of eighty or so years of age, who had begun to learn to read at the school when she was sixty. She never missed or was late for a class. Masters met her again in a dark room off a courtyard in Kaifeng, still a Christian. Another pre-war acquaintance, who had been confirmed by Bishop White and became a Bible Woman and Chinese head of the women's school

in the South Suburb, was now very elderly and living in a poor house. All pension funds had been lost during the war and she had been forgotten. Masters arranged for new care and eventually a Christian burial. A fund was started for such workers by gifts from Canada; the Chinese Church was to add to this as it was able. {65}

The Women's Missionary Service League of the Chinese Church had been "hindered from functioning during the occupation". {66} The meetings had begun again and were now being held regularly.

Masters reported that the Yu Chung Middle School, formerly known as St. Andrew's and St. Mary's, had recently begun to function once more, with a W.A. missionary as Dean of the girls department under a Chinese principal. There were 150 girls, including 50 boarders. The school was officially registered and was continuing to work as one unit, although still in their respective compounds and buildings, "as the Government does not now favour co-education as in the days of the war." {67} Masters reported that the great trouble at the time was finding adequate staff and money for the much higher salaries and expenses involved. {68}

The Canadian church was still committed. Women missionaries were still choosing to serve in China. By this time, Ruth and Horace Watts had returned to Canada from Japan with their five children and had taken up residence in

Toronto. Ruth was the first Instructor of Chinese in the University of Toronto's School of Chinese Studies, directed by White. Horace was now Field Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.). The current affairs of the Diocese of Honan regularly crossed his path. And so their lives, like those of so many of their colleagues in the 1920s, had not yet entirely left the work in Kaifeng. (69)

The 1950s

Not surprisingly, this revival of Christian activity was problematic, and brought to life many of the issues which had been debated in the 1920s regarding religious freedom and religious education in the schools. Such issues were aroused during the period of "adjustment" which followed the victory of the Communist Party in 1949. (70)

In a spirit of cooperation between the new government and religious groups, except in regard to Roman Catholics who were thought to be too reactionary and to own too much land, all the major organized religions of China were represented in the People's Political Consultative Conference which established the People's Republic of China. The composition of the religious delegation included five Protestant Christians, two Buddhists and one Muslim. In addition between 20 and 30 delegates participating in the PPCC had some connection with Protestant organizations. A

1950 report on the status of Protestant Christian missions in China described the conditions under which the churches were now working. The report stated that

> Protestant Christianity, which numerically represents the smallest of the organized religious groups, is regarded in many circles as the religion most capable of making an adjustment in China, as well as the most liberal of the religious sects. The main change which is discussed in left-wing circles with regard to Chinese Protestantism is the need for a complete severance of relations between Christianity and foreign imperialism. {71}

The official Communist attitude towards Christianity was summed up by one of the Christian delegates to the PPCC.

> The attitude of the new government towards Christianity will ... be determined by that of the Communists, whose avowed policy is that of religious freedom.... The difficulties and even certain cases of persecution actually experienced by the church in China have not been in accord with the intention of top-ranking leaders, but have been divergencies from policy made by local authorities for various not unintelligible reasons. {72}

The subject of religious freedom was discussed at the PPCC and led to the adoption of the following principle:

> The people of the People's Republic of China shall have freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, person, domicile, moving from one place to another, religious belief and the freedom of holding processions and demonstrations. {73}

To explain this apparent tolerance of religious belief and religious freedom by the United Front, the 1950 report went on to say that the new authorities believed that when society changed there would be no need for such things as religion, but they recognized the fact that until such changes took place, certain elements of society would want the continuance of religion. A Bureau of Religious Affairs

was set up to deal with the problems of all religious groups. {74}

In practice, foreigners' freedom of action varied considerably according to local conditions. Where there had been fewer foreign missionaries and fewer foreigners in general, the foreigners apparently fared better. Where foreigners had been engaged in medical, welfare or technical work, they received greater cooperation than those engaged purely in evangelical work. The primary factor for all Christians - both foreign and Chinese - was whether or not they were engaged in productive work. Where needed, particularly in rural areas, church property holdings and buildings were "borrowed" for productive purposes, for holding meetings, accommodating soldiers, storing foodstocks. As one can imagine, there were many cases of misunderstanding of this policy between local government officials and church groups, but there were also reports of cooperation. {75}

The 1950 report stated that "No easy generalizations are available from the data on hand with regard to the condition of mission work since liberation", since reports were still too fragmentary and contradictory, and conditions varied tremendously from place to place, but one generalization appeared to be true, that rural churches suffered the greatest losses, losing 70-80 percent of their churches and many schools. {76} The combined destruction of

the Sino-Japanese war and the People's Liberation Army had also caused many pastors to flee, leaving their institutions without leadership. In some parts of China foreign missionaries were still able to travel freely, at least to places along the railway and main highways. In others, they were so restricted in travel they were unable to carry out their itinerant work or attend meetings. In South China, where liberation had gone smoothly, most missionaries were staying on their jobs, and "there [had] been no pressure for alteration of curriculum and no demand for the rejection of Christianity in education." (77)

Even where there was close cooperation between school authorities and the local government, however, enrollments were considerably reduced in Christian schools and colleges. Three quarters of these schools and colleges were by now self-supporting from tuition fees, contributions from alumni, and special grants. But the 236 mission middle schools scattered throughout China struggled with the question of religious education. "Many of the schools--in the belief that a ban on religious education will come sooner or later--have dropped the subject. Others who interpret the regulations to mean no religious education on the school grounds are holding classes voluntarily in mission residences." (78) Most colleges continued to teach Christianity on a voluntary basis. At the local level, the attitude toward voluntary religious education varied. In

some cases the attitude of the government authorities was quite tolerant, allowing religious fellowship activities on school grounds and only banning what was termed "religious propaganda". But new land taxes were often crippling. {79}

At this stage, many Chinese Protestant groups supported the new government, among them a following of students who believed that a successful adjustment between their Christian beliefs and the New Democracy was possible. For those who had supported or had friendly relations with the Kuomintang leaders, the adjustment took more effort. The Kaifeng Christian leaders would likely have fallen in this group. On the extreme right, some Chinese Christians had fled to Taiwan and abroad, people who would "never make an adjustment with the new society emerging in China." {80}

Unofficially, government officials allowed foreign personnel of the Christian church to remain as long as (1) they did not occupy administrative positions in any part of the church program or in the institutions supported by the churches and (2) especially if they worked in the fields of medicine and the technical sciences. It was also stipulated that moneys from other countries to the Chinese church could only be accepted if they were without any strings attached or used for social projects rather than the salaries of church workers. Some foreign missionaries welcomed this further acceleration of responsibility to Chinese hands, though the unprotected transfer of financial assets from

Canada to China was still problematic. There was still opportunity for missionaries to help in centers of destruction where suffering existed. Most of the foreign missionaries still in China (approximately 2000 from the three major countries of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain down from 6,500 in 1937)) felt pessimistic about the future position and potential contribution of foreign missionaries, but hopeful about the development of the Chinese church. Yet, in most places churches had not grown in numbers; people had moved away and, for those remaining, active evangelistic work was difficult. One of the bright spots for concerned Christians was the Y.W.C.A. "Everyone turns to it. A group of Chinese women has supported it with courage and skill." (81)

The most serious criticisms levelled against missionaries and Chinese Christians were (1) their passive support of facets of imperialism, and (2) their insufficient attention to the inequalities of society. In the summer of 1950, the Standing Committee of the Anglican Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui issued a pastoral letter to its fellow-Christians, explicitly addressing the criticisms of association which had been brought against Christian churches and stating defensively,

1. We acknowledge that the Church is not only unable to compromise with imperialism, feudalism, or bureaucratic capitalism, but takes issue with them as being fundamentally in opposition to the faith of the Church. The Church has ever regarded alliance with power and prestige, and the exploitation of the common people, as a contradiction to the

spirit of Christ, who Himself never compromised with power or prestige, and those apostles' teachings on these subjects are recorded in Holy Scripture at too many places to enumerate.
2. ...Christianity is actually engaged in bringing freedom to those who are oppressed. We therefore greatly rejoice in the liberation which has come to the people of our nation, and with the utmost sincerity uphold that freedom of religious faith which is guaranteed in the 'Common Political Principles'.
3. Our Church has already made real achievements along the lines of becoming self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating; we are now determined along with all our fellow-Christians to press forward together to achievement of our goal, within the shortest possible time.
4. Within the Church there have been in the past black sheep, ... who cannot be held to represent the whole Church...
5. The things which our Church must henceforth promote in a positive way...an emphasis on productive labour and the service of society. (82)

(The past efforts of White and Jenkins to connect to "the power and prestige" of Honan governors and other local elite would surely have made them blush to read this document.)

This period of assessment, accommodation, and adjustment ended quickly. The expulsion/withdrawal of the last of the west's foreign missionaries occurred in 1952. (White and Masters had actually left Kaifeng in the spring of 1948 when the People's Liberation Army occupied Kaifeng.) By 1960 the churches were assessing their failure after 100 years of "occupation". The link of Christianity to "westernism", the accusation that it was a "tool of Western imperialism", that missionaries themselves were "running dogs" of imperialism, though wildly overstated, had been fatal to the missionary presence. The foreign missionaries and their Chinese colleagues had passively, and sometimes

actively, given support to facets of imperialism in the hope of promoting their own work. Some had spoken up against the unequal treaties and similar impositions, and against Kuomintang corruption, but usually too late, and their promotion of western cultural values automatically associated them with imperialism. This association with imperialism exposed the missionaries to nationalist criticism and this criticism combined with the relatively small number of both missionaries and converts to the profound disadvantage of the Christian missionary enterprise. The churches were now a tiny minority group in Asia, "beset by the pressures of their non-Christian environment." (83)

Communications between the Canadian M.S.C.C. and the Diocese of Honan were silenced. But at a meeting in India in 1956 a Chinese delegation of six Christians under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. brought to Canadian delegates "greetings from the Church in China". (84) The Canadian representative wrote,

> I gathered from my talks [with Bishop Stephen Wang] that the Church in the Diocese of Honan is getting along well. They had a difficult time in the beginning when foreign aid was cut off but are now managing to support themselves. There are no restrictions upon Christian worship but apparently Evangelistic work is curtailed. Schools and hospitals have all been taken over by the State. (85)

1981

Canadians did not give up. In 1971, a group of Canadians from various denominations had met to reflect on

Canadian missionary experiences in China. An outgrowth of this group was the 1976 formation of the Canada China Programme/Projet Canada Chine. In their literature they state "the common ground uniting [this] ecumenical venture was solidarity with the Chinese people's struggles for independence, justice and peace." (86) Coming out of the missions of the past, these remaining "friends" transmuted their past experience and took on a mandate of interpreting China to "supporting bodies". (87)

Direct relations between Canadian and Chinese church leaders did not become possible again until 1979. In June of 1981, a delegation from the Canadian Council of Churches visited China at the invitation of the China Christian Council and requested that Kaifeng be added to their itinerary. The group was hosted for three days by Bishop Francis Tsen, who had been consecrated in 1949. Now in his 70s, he was president for Honan of the Three-Self Movement, that movement which had been started so many decades ago which advocated the three principles of an indigenous Chinese church: self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. The delegation discovered that Trinity Cathedral had been destroyed around 1972. They took photos, "the only record we have of a destroyed church structure from the period of the Cultural Revolution." (88) Reportedly no explanation or precise date were provided, and there was considerable vagueness and discomfort apparent on the part

of Tsen. Tsen had studied in Toronto at one point and had assisted Bishop White there, but at this meeting with the Canadian visitors he never mentioned White's work. The delegation was not shown any of the former compound in the south suburb so it could verify whether these buildings continued to be occupied as a school. Bishop Tsen did list many sufferings of the Three-Self Movement during the Cultural Revolution, attributing many grievances to the actions of the Gang of Four. At the time Tsen was looking forward to the opening of a former Baptist Church within the year for common worship. (Recent information regarding the fate of the church, renamed Church #31, tells us that "in the 1966 Cultural Revolution, the facilities in the church were taken away by the Red Guards, and the building of the Church was demolished because the Marshroom [sic] Factory of the church was combined with the Third Kaifeng Yibiao Factory and expanded.") (89)

Tsen's silence was not without reason. One of the Christian "black sheep" turned out to be Bishop White, who was accused of removing Chinese cultural relics to Canada. White had purchased most of these relics while in China to satisfy his growing interest in archaeology and to build the Royal Ontario Museum's well-known Chinese collection of which he later became Curator. During the nationalist wartime, some objects had been purchased for White by Chinese agents who had hidden the ultimate destination of

their purchases. White had died in 1960, but now in the 1980s he was accused of "stealing" these treasures to grow rich. His cross-cultural purpose regarding the museum, to improve Canadian understanding of Chinese culture, was forgotten. White - who had once been decorated by the Chinese for his famine and flood relief work - was now remembered with a sour taste in Kaifeng. In 1983, a more culturally sensitive Canada reported China's "regret at losing relics bought by Canadian cleric" in the Toronto Globe and Mail. (90) This form of cultural exploitation has been a source of controversy ever since. The negative reaction of parts of the church community in Canada to White's activities on behalf of the museum left a dubious memory of the bishop even in his own country. (91)

1996

If you were to visit Kaifeng today, seventy years after the period under study, you would find that there are seven or eight Anglican churches, all administered by the Kaifeng Patriotic Three Selves Commission of Christianity. In the South Suburb, St. Mary's Hall still stands. In 1951, when the last missionaries were gone, St. Mary's/Yuchung Middle School became a provincial school, called "The Sixth Kaifeng Junior High School" and was merged into the Third Kaifeng High School in 1953. It is now used as an office building. (92)

In 1994, a young Chinese woman from Kaifeng, Guan Ping, currently a student at the University of Shandong, at my request visited various record offices and former Anglican sites in her home city. She was asked to find out what she could about the former Anglican school, St. Mary's Hall, and to locate alumni or their families and report on their recollections (positive or negative) of mission education for females in the period under study in this dissertation, 1920-27. Under the supervision of Professor Song Jiaheng of the Canadian Studies Department at the University of Shandong, who had been doing her own research for a book on Canadian missionaries in China, Guan Ping made inquiries in Kaifeng and sent her report of them to me.

Guan Ping found that, although few could remember the 1920s period of history clearly, there were still people in Kaifeng who had heard of St. Mary's Hall. She was surprised to find that they were glad to talk about the Anglican Church and its schools as they remembered them. She herself interpreted the degree of receptivity of the people of Kaifeng to Christianity in the 1920s as a positive sign, explaining that,

> even in the 1920's, Kaifengers' ideas were so enlightened that the Kaifenger's attitude to church changed little by little. Refusal and indifference were out of date. More and more persons paid close attention to the active elements of Christianity or became believers. {93}

Thinking about this period in the lives of Chinese women she also observed that,





Views of St. Mary's Hall, Kaifeng, 1994

Women benefitted by the social progress in society, too. For example, they must not bind their feet and perhaps could get a chance of education. In fact, women got more and more freedom and rights. The revolution for them was beginning silently. (94)

Guan Ping reported that it was difficult to find graduates of St. Mary's Hall today because many had moved away from Kaifeng during the wartime years and "lost touch with their alma mater". Nevertheless, she located the records of the alumni association of the graduates of Yuchung Middle School dated 1935 and 1937, which included their school song (to the tune of America!), their school's history, diagrams of the school, pictures of their teachers, and lists of graduates. (95)

Like Daisy Masters White had before her, Guan Ping walked among the streets and courtyards of old Kaifeng, where there are still many buildings that were built in the 1910s, until she located two elderly women from the mission school past. The first was Chang Baozhen, then aged 75. Chang Baozhen sat with this young modern woman and began to recall those days, with her own observations about those girls who came to believe in Christianity and about the advances of women. She told the following story.

I was born in 1919 in Kaifeng's Nankuan (South Suburb) Gospel Hospital (which is now the location of No. 115 Hospital), which I still call "American Hospital".

In 1923, when I was only 4 years old, my mother died. Since I had no brothers or sisters, my father sent me to the kindergarten run by the Anglican church. After that I entered St. Mary's Girls' School to continue my studies. There, as in St. Andrew's Boys' School, English was taught by the British and Canadians, and the courses of geography and world history were based on English texts. In 1930, St.

Mary's Hall and St. Andrew's College were amalgamated and renamed the Private Yuchung (Central Honan) Middle School. The female-student department was directed by a Canadian, called Cutzeda. Two classes of Junior Middle School and one class of Senior Middle School were offered in Yuchung Middle School. In addition to the teaching materials appointed by the Provincial Education Department, the Bible was also taught there. In some of the lessons such as Physical Education, boys and girls had class separately. In other lessons such as physics and chemistry, boys and girls were taught together due to the limited number of instruments for conducting experiments. Usually the students had dinner in the dining room together.

When I finished my junior school in Yuchung Middle School, I went to Chengdu in Sichuang province with some of the teachers and students, where I finished my senior middle school and college education. In college, my major was sociology. After graduation, I stayed at my alma mater as a teacher. However, because of my bad health there, I finally returned to my hometown, Kaifeng, and I taught in the First Occupational High School of Kaifeng until I retired. I have remained single all my life, living in this street at the back of Nankuan Hospital. I am supported by my pension.

I was recruited into St. Mary's Hall through examination. Each term I had to pay 40 or 50 silver dollars (or 'dayang') to the school as tuition fees. But for those from extremely poor families, they might obtain a tuition waiver, or even more, be offered part-time jobs if they were having serious economic problems.

As the capital of Honan Province, Kaifeng was quite open in terms of thinking and ideology at that time: footbinding was no longer prevalent, and the idea of gender equality began to be accepted. Even so, women's access to schooling remained restricted, largely depending on their family's economic condition. Since most of the resources were reserved for the male children, most girls were sent to school only when there was extra family money left. Of course, if the girl was the only child in the family or her siblings were all female, she might have a better chance to study. Besides, the mothers tended to understand and to try their best to support their daughters' education.

The girls in St. Mary's Hall were not forced to adopt Christianity, but Christian doctrines became more and more influential. For example, some families in which the husbands beat their wives frequently became non-violent after they became Christian. Some families gave up their long-established idol- or ancestor-worship and converted themselves to Christianity. Briefly put, people's attitude toward Jesus -- that is, listen but never believe -- began to undergo a change: they gradually understood some reasonable essence inside this religion. Some students of St. Mary's Girls' School therefore decided to be baptized as

Christians. Yet generally, the Christians in the whole society were still limited in numbers.

There were many other reasons why parents wanted their children to enter St. Mary's Hall. Some parents were willing to send their daughters largely because the school was run by foreigners and was believed to have higher education standards and better boarding as well as living conditions. It was also believed that the students from there could have more choices after graduation. They could either continue to study in the church-sponsored universities or find jobs, benefited by their relatively advanced English proficiency, in the post offices, telegram offices and other institutions controlled by the foreigners. Many graduates ended up being teachers, doctors, and nurses. Some of them got married after working for a period of time after graduation. But since then, no further contacts among them were organized or developed. {96}

Xu Yuying, age 72, was harder to pin down. Her neighbors said she was very busy, and was often visited by either the church associates or the churchgoers. Furthermore, from time to time she went to attend government-organized meetings. Apparently, compared with Chang Baozhen, Xu was still quite an active figure. {97}

Guan Ping saw Xu Yuying on her second visit. Xu Yuying was lively and she appeared younger than her actual age. In Chinese terms, her life was very comfortable: though single, she owned a house of three rooms and a kitchen. Furthermore, the church had hired a girl to take care of her. In her rooms, there were Bible pictures on the wall, a refrigerator, a color TV, and a traditional square table (Baxian zhuo). The decoration was indeed a blending of Chinese and western cultures. {98}

Xu Yuying welcomed her young visitor and, like Chang Baozhen, told her story of Christian contact and influence.



Guan Ping and Xu Yuying, 1994

I was born in a peasant's family of Hebei Province of China. My mother gave birth to eleven babies, but unfortunately, only the ninth and the eleventh survived -- both were girls. I had a very strong personality since I was a child. I was eager to outdo others, often climbing trees and hunting birds with boys. When my mother and elder sister once tried to bind my feet, I stubbornly revolted against this and then I succeeded. This convinced me that I should be able to fulfill whatever a man could do, and perhaps do it much better.

I decided to come to Kaifeng in Honan province after I was told that there were church-organized girls' schools there. I entered the Girls' Department of Yuchung Middle School and studied for six years. I still remember many of the foreign teachers at Yuchung Middle School. One of them, called Rei, was especially kind to students. After that I transferred to Shiyu Hall (American Baptist) to finish my senior high school.

When I started schooling I did not sincerely believe in Christ. The reason why I went to school was to find a good job after graduation. But near the time of my graduation I became a believer. So, ever since then, I have been working for the Church. I used to be the leader of Kaifeng's "Patriotic Three-self Commission of Christianity." (It is located at 24 Ziyou road in Kaifeng city.) Now my primary responsibilities are to spread Christianity and participate in church-related social affairs. I have a strong capacity in socializing with people, and yet I have never married. (99)

The Chinese historian, Song Jiaheng, in her recent study of Canadian missionaries, included some other recollections of Kaifeng Anglican students: sitting wearily and skeptically through long chapel services, having to kneel on hard benches in thin dresses, and suffering from poor quality institutional food. But Song is even-handed in her treatment of the mission schools. For example, regarding the Anglican kindergarten, which was the first kindergarten in Honan and filled mostly with girls, she stated,

The goal of the mission school was, on the one hand, to educate the children with the bible, on the other hand, to

provide a chance of learning for the children who could not afford school. (100)

Similarly, in regard to the orphanage, she wrote,

The purpose of the Anglican Church to run the orphanage was to extend its influence and spread Christianity. But at the same time, it did engender some realistic social effects. It took care of and educated innocent orphans, who made their contribution to the progress of society in various areas later in their lives. (101)

Song treats the historical position and influence of St. Mary's, together with St. Andrew's, as one of high prestige. She refers to their reputation for having high standards in faculty recruitment, high salaries for faculties, kindly teachers, and harmonious relationships between Christian and non-Christian students.

As a result, the school become one of the top private schools. ... This was why many teenagers applied to the school. The school graduates could either go to find jobs or go to college. Among them, many found jobs. ... Female graduates of St. Mary School often taught at schools or became nurses after further training at nursing schools. After the 1930s, the scope of careers was broadened. Those who pursued further education either went abroad or entered domestic universities. Most of them were the children of rich families. Some religious students were funded by the Anglican Church for further education but they were required to come back to teach in the mother school, or serve in churches. The school graduates were able to enter the prestigious universities in China, such as Yanjing University or Xiehe University in Beijing, Qilu University in Jinan, St. John University in Shanghai, Jinling University or Jinling Girls Arts and Sciences College in Nanjing, Wenhua University in Wuchang. Quite a few of these students became well-known scholars and experts in various fields after further college education. They include Yishou Bai, a famous historian, Suling Wang, an expert in ancient literatures, Jiaowo Wang, a poet, Shuzeng Tan, a violinist, and Linqiao Chen, an agronomist, just to name a few. They made great contributions to the scientific and cultural development in China. (102)

The voices of Guan Ping, Chang Baozhen, Xu Yuing, and

Song Jiaheng are just a few voices which today graciously acknowledge some of the benefits which accrued to Chinese females in the missionary era in China. Despite the tremendous upheavals the missionary enterprise helped to engender in China, and from which it suffered, it aided and abetted a silent revolution among Chinese women.

Notes

The Title quotation is from Ruth Jenkins Watts to W.A. Members, "A Message From the President", May, 1965, W.A. Dio of Toronto, GS76-15, Box 46, ACH.
2. Rev. H.J. Wei to May Watts, Dec. 8, 1928, in The Living Message, Feb. 1929, p. 46; Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 4, W.C. White Papers, M63-1, Box 1, ACH.
3. Ibid.
4. Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Honan, January 11, 1927, M.S.C.C. Annual Reports/Conferences Honan Mission, General Synod Archives, ACH
5. Ibid.; Rev. H.J. Wei, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 4, ACH.
6. Minutes of the Standing Committee..Kaifeng, Aug. 11, 1927, M.S.C.C. General Synod Archives, ACH.
7. Ibid.
8. Rundall Lewis to his sister in Ontario, Kaifeng, Oct. 1, 1928, in The Living Message, January 1929, p. 4-5, ACH.
9. Ibid., p. 5.
10. Ibid.
11. White, Kaifeng, Dec. 1928 report, The Living Message, March 1929, p. 87, ACH.
12. Ibid.
13. "Chinese Bishop's Consecration", North China Daily News February, 1929, in The Living Message, Sept. 1929, p. 310, ACH.
[Tsen was educated in schools and colleges of the American mission in Hankow, and in 1924 went to the United States for post-graduate study at the Virginia and Philadelphia Theological Seminaries. He then became dean of the Cathedral in Anking but was compelled to leave, along with other Christians, after the Nanking incident of March 13, 1927. Well known in Christian circles, Tsen had been the first General Secretary of the Board of Mission of the Church in China as well Secretary of the interdenominational evangelistic effort known as the China for Christ Movement.]
14. White to Editor, Kaifeng, August 17, 1929, The Living Message, Oct. 1929, p. 331, ACH.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 332.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Norma Diamond, "Women Under Kuomintang Rule", Modern China, Vol. 1 No. 1, January 1975, p. 7. Diamond quotes an estimate that 1000 women leaders were killed in 1927 alone. It is not clear whether the Kaifeng missionaries knew of this slaughter. Their own region does not appear to have been directly affected.
22. Ibid. 6-7, Jacqueline Nivard, "Women and the Women's

Press: The Case of 'The Ladies' Journal' (funu zazhi) 1915-31", Republican China 10: 1B Nov. 1984, p. 42-3.
23. White to Editor, Kaifeng, Aug. 17, 1929, The Living Message, Oct. 1929, p. 332, ACH.
24. Ibid.
25. White, The Living Message, March 1930.
26. White, Annual Report of the Bishop in Honan, for 1931, M.S.C.C. General Synod Archives, ACH.
27. Ibid.
28. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Board of Managers of the Sheng Kung Kui Middle School in Kaifeng, December 28th, 1931, W.C. White Papers, Yu Chung Middle School, M63-1, Box 1, file 20; and Honan Newsletter, No. 1, Kaifeng, May 1936, pp. 6, 11, 19, ACH.
29. "Report on the State of the Church", Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, Eighth General Synod, Wuhu, The Daily Bee, April, 1934, no. 5
30. Bishop P. Lindel Tsen, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 1 and 2, ACH.
31. Lewis C. Walmsley, Bishop in Honan: Mission and Museum in the Life of William C. White (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1974) p. 126-7.
32. Bishop P. Lindel Tsen, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 1; Rev. H.J. Wei, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 4, ACH.
33. "List of Workers", Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 19.
34. "Please Pray", Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 20; "Letter from Miss Greta Clark", Honan Newsletter, p. 6-8; Grace Gibberd, "Echoes of Synod", Honan Newsletter, p. 9-10; Robbins, "Overcoming Illiteracy among Women Christians in Honan", Honan Newsletter, p. 15-16.
35. Florence Simmons, "The Church of Truth", Honan Newsletter, May 1936, p. 12.
36. Frances D. Howard, "Yu Chung Middle School", Honan Newsletter, May 1936, p. 6.
37. Ibid.
38. "List of Workers", Honan Newsletter, May 1936, p. 19.
39. Joseph C. Ch'en, principal, "Yu Chung Middle School", Honan Newsletter (Hankow: Religious Tract Society Press, 1937) No. 3, March 1937, p. 6-8, ACH.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., p. 7.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 6, 7.
44. Ibid., p. 7, and Clark, "Student Meetings", and "Trinity Women's Bible School" Honan Newsletter, No. 3, March, 1937, p. 5-6,11, ACH.
45. Honan Newsletter, No. 1, p. 10 and No. 3, p. 10, ACH.
46. Anne I. Burgess, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936, p. 10-11, ACH.
47. Lilian M. Racey, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936,

p. 12, ACH.
48. Ibid., p. 13.
49. Honan Newsletter, No. 2, Oct. 1936, for tributes to Simmons; "Comments from Miss M.G. Peters, Honan Newsletter, No. 1, May 1936.
50. Descriptions by Dr. MacClure of damage to Honan church buildings, May 28, 1938, War in the Diocese of Honan (Toronto: M.S.C.C. Church House, 1938) W.C. White Papers, M63-1, Box 1, ACH.
51. May Watts in "News From Our Missionaries", War in the Diocese of Honan, p. 2, ACH.
52. Rev. George A. Andrew, Kaifeng, August 9, 1938, War in the Diocese of Honan, p. 9; Madame Chiang Kai Shek, War in the Diocese of Honan, cover.
53. Daisy Masters White, "The Spirit of China", c. 1946, p. 1, W.C. White papers, M63-1 Box 3, File #26, ACH.
54. Ibid., p. 2.
55. Ibid., p. 3, 3a.
56. Ibid., p. 3.
57. Ibid., p. 4.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 5.
60. Ibid., p. 6.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., p. 6-7.
63. Ibid., p. 7-8.
64. Ibid., p. 8-9.
65. Ibid., p. 8, 11-12.
66. Ibid., p. 10.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. While residing in Toronto, Jenkins was heavily involved in Christian education, both as superintendent of a large "Junior Congregation" and as a teacher of Bible classes for young women. In 1952, Ruth and Horace Watts moved to northern British Columbia, where Ruth became a leading spokeswoman in church circles and Horace was Bishop of the missionary diocese of Caledonia. After his death in May, 1959, Jenkins returned to Toronto where she continued into her elderly years as a leader of Christian women. Jenkins always felt a special attachment to China, and her Chinese artifacts were always central to her domestic arrangements. But she spoke little of the 1927 period. Perhaps it was in keeping with her tendency to be silent about things which hurt her the most.
70. The word "adjustment" was used throughout an article entitled "Report on Protestant Missions", which appeared in the MONTHLY REPORT (Shanghai: Willard Publishing Co.) Vol. VII, No. 6 (December 31, 1949), pp. 17-24. The article was said to have been written carefully by a non-Christian reporter. It was reprinted as OCCASIONAL BULLETIN, no. 1, by the MISSIONARY RESEARCH LIBRARY, 3041 Broadway at 120th St.,

New York 27, N.Y., for the information of the member boards of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, March 13, 1950. A Copy of this report is in L.A. Dixon papers (April 1, 1950), and W.C. White papers, M63-1 Box 1, File 15, ACH. The Communist view of religion and the subject of religious freedom are addressed in this article. The problem of religious education in the schools, as harking back to the "era of the 20's", is mentioned on p.10.
71. Ibid., p. 2.
72. Ibid., p. 2-3.
73. Ibid., p. 3.
74. Ibid., and p. 16.
75. Ibid., p. 4, 5.
76. Ibid., p. 7. Recent news coverage of the dirth of schools for girls in the countryside of China suggest it never recovered from the losses of this period. Patrick E. Tyler, "China's Country Schools are Failing", The New York Times, Sunday Dec. 31, 1995.
77. Ibid., p. 9.
78. Ibid., p. 10.
79. Ibid., and p. 12-13.
80. Ibid., p. 12.
81. Ibid., and p. 14; "Report from Peiping", in "A Pastoral Letter to Fellow-Christians of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui" issued by the Standing Committee of General Synod of the C.H.S.K.H. and the House of Bishops, July 5, 1950, W.C. White papers, M63-1, Box 1, File 4, ACH.
82. "Report on Protestant Missions", p. 15, and "A Pastoral Letter to Fellow-Christians".
83. Prof. Song Jiaheng, Shandong University Department of History, Jinan, China, draft chapter, The Canadian Anglican Church in Kaifeng, tr. Fu Long, Syracuse, N.Y.; Charles Stuart Craig, South-east Asia (London: London Missionary Society, 1960). The word "occupation" used throughout this work was frequently used by the missionaries in reporting their advances, and in the title of Milton T. Stauffer's statistical report, The Christian Occupation of China (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922). Professor Song's own work on Canadian missionaries covers the work of other denominations besides Anglican and does not focus particularly on the work of or for women. But she devotes two chapters of her book - which is now published in China - to the history of the Canadian Anglican mission in Kaifeng and Kweiteh). The results of her research, conducted jointly with her students, were sent to me by Prof. Song in 1994 prior to publication, in draft-form. The draft chapter on Kaifeng was translated into English in Syracuse by Fu Long.
84. Bishop C.R.H. Wilkinson, Amritsar, India, to Canon Dixon, Oct. 18, 1956, W.C. White Papers, M63-1. Box 1, File 15, ACH.
85. Ibid.

86. Information Sheet, Canada China Programme/Projet Canada Chine, 40 St. Clair Ave. East, Suite 201, Toronto, Ontario Canada M4T 1M9, 1992.
87. Ibid.
88. Terry Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, 1909-1934: action and reaction in the administration of Bishop William Charles White (M.A. Thesis, York University) December 1981, postscript, ACH.
89. Ibid.; Song Jiaheng, The Canadian Anglican Church in Kaifeng.
90. Ibid., Globe and Mail clipping in Thompson thesis file, ACH.
91. Thompson, The Diocese of Honan, p, 54-5.
92. Song Jiaheng, The Canadian Anglican Church in Kaifeng; Guan Ping, Student, Shandong University Dept. of History to Margaret Webb, September 17, 1994.
93. Guan Ping to Margaret Webb, September 17, 1994.
In addition to her own letters, in English, Guan Ping's report included two interviews (in both Chinese and English) with women who had attended St. Mary's Hall or Yuchung Middle School, some files copied in Kaifeng Archives, and several photographs taken by her of St. Mary's today and of the women she interviewed. Additional translation services have been provided by Fei Wen Liu, Syracuse University.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
Guan Ping found that there were only fragmentary materials about St. Mary's Hall in the Kaifeng Religious Bureau. Kaifeng Archives had sorted out all the files of the schools that existed before 1949, including those of Yuchung Middle School. But the materials before 1930 were not available because most of the church schools were not registered then. She concluded that written materials before 1930 were mainly kept by the church; the remains of them were almost wholely destroyed during the Great Cultural Revolution of China.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Song Jiaheng, The Canadian Anglican Church in Kaifeng.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.

CONCLUSIONS

Balancing the Scales

"Time makes ancient good uncouth"

Mission education for girls carried with it a heavy burden of religious ideas and cultural interference. As illustrated in this study, the missionaries themselves, in spite of their own education and increasing professionalism, were surprisingly innocent in their attempt to "take on" the ancient society of China, and to attempt to transform its daughters. As Canadians they were particularly ill-equipped to recognize that Christianity was revolutionary. A strong theme which emerged in this work was their "blind eye": their cultural insulation and inability to appreciate what was truly happening around them and their own role in China's troubles. In the case of Ruth Jenkins, her idealism, her confidence in a vision of Christian universalism, reinforced by a sense of her own heroism, was only confirmed by her like-minded fellow-travellers and by the size and prestige of the Christian presence in China. In Peking, she and other western students were carried into a world of social glamour and complacency which flattered more often than it encouraged self-reflection. In Kaifeng, Jenkins' original desire to connect to the Chinese, "so out of reach", was blocked further by the mission's emphasis on language study in virtual isolation. The study also

described the elaborate physical and social arrangements the missionaries constructed, perhaps necessary distancing devices, without which they could not have sustained a determined optimism in their collective mission, but which cushioned them from the worst realities of poverty and unrest. Amidst growing political turmoil, their "plant" was a visible, spatial reminder of their acceptable purposes and symbolic of their importance. Support from Canada and the involvement of other international personnel were additional sources of affirmation.

The missionaries' protection from harm by treaty and their positive reception by local Chinese also contributed to their misreading of their slipping status as foreigners and as Christians in China. Cultural lag between the conditions in the port cities and China's interior helped to create mixed messages. A sea change in Chinese willingness to continue the status quo was suggested in Jenkins' own reports of the growing number of incidents of kidnapping of missionaries, and of the nationalist, anti-Christian, and anti-foreign riots that she read about. At the same time, the frequency of civil wars and bandit crises that directly impinged on the Kaifeng missionaries and then subsided seemed to suggest merely one cry of "wolf!" after another. The issues regarding nationalism and educational rights which involved the missionaries' presence, and the extent to which these issues were imbedded in China's unrest, were

clouded by endemic lawlessness and violence.

When this sea change finally reached the Kaifeng missionaries' own students in the spring of 1925, the immensity and grimness of their situation finally began to register. The denial syndrome which seemed to operate up to this point, as they continued "business as usual", finally began to break down. Between that point and their departure in 1927, there were only brief moments of sustained purpose and optimism. Not only was their vision of a Christianized China defeated, their individual efforts and careers were permanently changed. But again, although assailed and shaken, they did not entirely accept the message of rejection delivered by nationalist Chinese students. As people of their own culture and times, the missionaries remained firm in their Christian convictions and missionary purposes, not dwelling on their failures, returning later to modified roles in China or accepting similar assignments elsewhere. Over time this study suggested they were vindicated somewhat in their detachment from blame for China's woes. The fact that, in long periods of their absence, China continued to be embroiled "in its own fires" suggested that there were factors at work unrelated to the western and missionary presence in China.

"In Christ there is no East and West"

Coexisting with their "blind eye" were all the

positive efforts at cross-cultural understanding made by the women missionaries of this study. Their universalist vision saw no barriers between east and west. Their desire to help "China's unloved daughters" find equality before God was worth the price of their own frequent discomfort and long hours of work. Their many years of language study included sincere efforts to appreciate Chinese history and culture. Their efforts to learn, to communicate, and to teach the girls and women of Kaifeng argue for attitudes more generous and more complex than mere cultural "condescension". Their fondness and care for their students and Chinese colleagues were genuine, as was their pride in the students' achievements. They became possessive of China, their adopted country, and despaired about developments in China's politics, but their concern for her future and their compassion for the suffering of ordinary Chinese people were real. They were, at times, heroic, particularly in times of crisis, but also at smaller moments of friendship. There were many instances of woman to woman collegiality among Chinese Christians. There was sadness and loss when the experience ended. The women missionaries never lost their love for China. They had invested idealism and affection and hard work, and their disappointment in their rejection was real.

What was their educational legacy? Mission schools have been dismissed as "Sunday Schools every day". This

study showed that the Anglican mission schools of Kaifeng, as illustrated by their curriculums and timetables, included a full range of subjects and secular activities. Over the years, St. Mary's Hall, for example, continued to expand its years of academic coverage and worked to improve its quality and standards. The students were brought voluntarily to the schools, and no one was forced to become Christian. Indeed, many did not, admitting to attending for the quality of education and/or for the opportunity to study English and music. Although the hope was to influence the students to become Christian, and at times that hope showed itself in aggressive strategies, such as special Bible classes for the skeptical and English classes to lure the government school students, the focus on education itself was strong.

More important for the purpose of this study was to find the many ways that the mission schools in Kaifeng had other agendas. Some were in response to demand, but others were not. As by-products of their religious purposes, they offered physical freedom to females in the unbinding of their feet and by strongly encouraging athletic training. They offered full secular education, such as in the sciences, still relatively new for girls even in the west. They provided several kinds of musical training, instrumental and vocal, to girls totally new to such experiences. And they provided feminist beginnings and vocational futures to girls who otherwise were intended to

marry at a young age. Of all of these things, only the music might be seen to be a carry-over from Edwardian expectations of women.

In the mission schools for women in Kaifeng, as well as for girls, basic literacy accrued. Their Bible study extended into secular subjects and higher education. The new social experience of school membership created solidarity among girls and women. Leadership roles for females were encouraged and modelled by the women missionaries, as church conferences were organized. Student organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. and student unions were formed within the mission schools, providing further opportunities for development. Such student organizations in China provided communications networks and skills that fueled the more politicized women's organizations.

These were transitional influences in the course of women's emancipation in China, but their priority made them unusually significant. Mission education and Christian organization coincided with radical political changes within China, and the effects of both feminism and nationalism were bolstered by widely reported female activism in many countries in the early decades of the twentieth century. All of these developments hastened the feminist agenda and, in some cases, took it far beyond the evangelical intentions of the missionaries. But even when this political edge was less evident, the Bible Women, Christian, and non-Christian

students of the mission schools went on to teach other women and girls, and sent their daughters to school. For above all, the notion of the value and worth of the individual girl was contracted along with all other programs.

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Throughout this work, I have referred to the women missionaries as feminists, and their schools and organizations as feminist training grounds. Yet locating missionaries in the spectrum of female activism is problematic. Any collective portrait masks the different generations and individuals involved, and many missionaries themselves would have rejected the feminist label as too extreme, as conjuring up images of the radical fringe.

I have used the term "social feminism", which was originally a classification invented to describe a generation of American women activists at the close of the nineteenth century "who sacrificed the struggle for women's equality to the ... aspiration to reform society." {3} It grew out of a tradition of female charitable work towards the urban poor, and became increasingly professionalized. I have joined some Canadian historians in applying this label to a major stream in Canadian feminism before and after WWI.

Yet, although the instincts of the women missionaries were similar to such social feminists, the women missionaries went further. Their own lives, if not their rhetoric, were radical, and it is that which I celebrate.

Their boldness in choosing overseas missions, and their activities and leadership on behalf of their foreign sisters, speak to something more than merely an extension of charity. Their own examples of independent travel, financial management, and commitment to professional careers all suggest that they had imbibed the fundamental tenet of feminism: gender equality. Newly enfranchised themselves, the Canadian women missionary reformers in this study were committed to the equal rights of Chinese women in education and family, and they encouraged their students to continue their education and to become leaders. In their own vocation they were as idealistic and energetic as their utopian socialist sisters (the latter used some of the same strategies as the missionaries to reach the people). One could even argue that the missionaries' investment of their lives in the literacy and education of Chinese girls and women evidenced greater commitment to feminism than participation in a few marches for suffrage.

Yet the women missionaries of this study chose to work within a conservative institution, and cooperated with the system of authority that went with it. They accepted lower pay than their male colleagues and lost professional status when they married, even though they were expected to continue contributing to the missionary enterprise. In the politics of the field as well as in their missionary associations at home, individual women missionaries fought

for independent decision-making and equal consideration, but they recognized that an overt show of interest in power and independence could turn against them. Direct confrontation in the field sometimes resulted in reassignment or dismissal, as this study illustrated in the case of Dr. Margaret Phillips. Ruth Jenkins took instruction from that case. As newly educated women of their day, missionaries feared adverse reaction which would interfere with the gains they had made.

As spiritual reformers, the missionaries looked forward to a Christianized social order. Their interpretations of what constituted appropriate behavior for females continued to represent Christian values, and still frequently emphasized the important role of women as mothers in a Christian family. The Canadian women rejected the politicized behavior of their more radical students. They did not favor militant or revolutionary postures or expression. For Canadians, moderation and reason had always been valued over radicalism and passion. Social order and political stability were the most basic of civic goods. Territorial fighting among the Chinese warlords only reinforced the missionaries' fear and distaste for internal aggression. They were gradualists, believing that working within the system was the longer-term solution. Perhaps most important, committed as they were to lives of service to others, the women missionaries "pulled their punches":

Christian self-denial prevented them from too close an attachment to the self-assertions of radical feminists.

Paradoxically, in the service of others, the missionaries themselves obtained considerable autonomy. Within the religious sphere they became delegates, committee members, and administrators, as did their Chinese students and counterparts. The missionaries' compromise between their forceful and idealistic lives and their milder, pragmatic positions within the church carried them a long way. Alliance in the name of sisterhood was a safe step in the direction of women's liberation.

***

This study has drawn parallels between female activism in China and Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In both countries they were closely linked to struggles for education and to notions of female service to country. The student culture in both countries played a significant role in the expansion of female activism. In both countries educational rights preceded women's suffrage as issues. Educated elites preceded workers in unrest. There were different levels of feminist consciousness expressed in several kinds of group membership, ranging from philanthropic to militant. Membership among groups tended to be fluid.

In both countries Christianity played a paradoxical role: on the one hand leading change and, on the other,

preserving the social order: both empowering and handicapping. In Canada, Protestant evangelism encouraged active female participation in church and state, but still carried attitudes of woman as mother and moral protector of the family. In China, Protestant evangelism did the same by initiating female education and other social reforms for females, but in a context where strong reactive forces and vast socioeconomic need led to different and more radical results. The oppression of women in Canada, less overtly abusive than in China never aroused the same demand for radical change, nor did feminism excite the level of animosity that it did in China.

Though significant gains were made by and for women in both countries, in education, employment, and political/legal rights during the period, male political actions periodically served to repress active participation by women. Women frequently acquiesced in these "regressive" periods, suffering conflict and ambivalence about their female roles, struggling with what is still for many women an unresolved conflict between autonomy and attachment. Periods of regression also evidenced in both males and females a conservative tendency in reaction to the swiftness of international and intercultural social change. Many changes during this period seem to have occurred with very little "lag time" between countries, suggesting the effect of mass communications and perhaps constitutes a partial

explanation for the trauma in China where enormous developments occurred with revolutionary rapidity. Ultimately, any assessment of "progress" for women over these generations must be sobering. Recurring self-defeating and reactionary periods reimposed traditional gender roles. In both China and Canada the realities of war disappointed idealism.

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In spite of the lessons one might draw from the missionary era, westerners continue to intrude on China's culture giving new names to their "missions". Whether in the name of human rights, or lawful trade, or public administration leadership training, the desire to extend our values continues, unimpeded by the cultural mistakes illustrated in this study. The western desire to influence and change has not died.

Interest in Chinese girls and women is also the source of continued interest and feminist outrage in the west. Media reports of China suggest that the prejudice against the relative value of girls dies hard, particularly in the private sphere. In order to outwit the family planning quota, for example, ultrasound scanners are used, even in remote villages, to check the sex of fetuses. As one representative peasant is quoted as saying, "then if its a girl, you get an abortion." {4} Recent attention to the apparent ill-treatment of female babies in orphanages, and

to the small number of girls in China's rural schools suggest that the traditional Chinese preference for sons, (and to invest more resources in them as heirs) continues to contribute to the cultural denigration of Chinese girls and women. These treatments are reported with the same mix of concern and cultural superiority, sometimes in the very same language, as those of the missionary era regarding the obdurate nature of Chinese culture.

Notes

The lead quotations are from Christian hymns:

(1) From Hymn #651, by James Russell Lowell (Am. Episc.), 1849, "Once to every man and nation", The Book of Common Praise, the Hymn Book of The Church of England in Canada (Toronto: Oxford U. Press), p. 652, from vs.2.

New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

(2) First line of hymn #565 by John Oxenham (Eng. Congr.) 1908, in The Book of Common Praise, p. 563, vs. 1.

In Christ there is no East or West,
In him no South or North,
But one great fellowship of love
Throughout the whole wide earth.

{3} See Chapter One above.

{4} Nicholas D. Kristof, "Peasants of China Discover New Way to Weed Out Girls", New York Times, Wednesday, July 21, 1993. Conservative resistance in the private sphere is also noted by Maria Jaschok, Concubines and Bondservants (London: Zed Books, 1988), p. 112.

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c. Photographs and maps, National Archives of Canada, Anglican Church House Archives, private collection.

d. Oral interviews of Chang Baozhen and Xu Yuying conducted by Guan Ping in Kaifeng, summer 1994.

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