

THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART TWO: THE HUASHAN MARTYRS.

TIMELINE: 1 AUGUST 1895.

2.1 PROTESTANT and CATHOLIC MISSIONARY MURDERS to 1899.

From:

Maggillivray, Donald, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, (1807-1907)*,
(Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press. 1907).

Candlin, G. T., *John innocent, A Story of Mission Work in North China*,
(London, United Methodist Publishing House, 1909).

1847	Walter M Lowrie,	Scotland	Presbyterian
1850	Karl Josef Fast	Sweden	Lutheran
1861	J L Homes	USA	Southern Baptist Convention
	H M Parker	USA	Protestant Episcopal Church
1867	Samuel Johnson (Anhui)	UK	British & Foreign Bible Society
1869 Aug 25	J Williamson (nr Tientsin)	UK	London Missionary Society
1891 5 June	Rev. W Argent (Wuseuh)	UK	Wesleyan “Joyful News Mission”
1893 1 July	Mr. Wickholm (Sung Pu)	Sweden	Swedish Mission
	Mr. Johanssen (Sung Pu)	Sweden	Swedish Mission
1894 Aug	Rev. J. Wylie (Liaoyang)	UK	United Free Church Mission
1895 Aug 1	Kucheng (Gutian) Massacre by Vegetarian rebels.		
	Rev. Robert W. Stewart	Ireland	Church Missionary Society
	Mrs. Louisa K. Stewart	Ireland	Church Missionary Society
	Master Herbert Stewart	Ireland	(5 years)
	Miss Hilda Sylvia Stewart	Ireland	(baby)
	Miss Helena Yellop	Ireland	(children’s nurse)
	Miss Nellie Saunders	Australia	Church Missionary Ass of Victoria
	Miss Topsy Saunders	Australia	Church Missionary Ass of Victoria
	Miss M Annie C, Gordon	Australia	Church of England Zenana Miss, Soc.
	Miss Elsie Marshall	England	CEZMS
	Miss Hessie Newcombe	Ireland	CEZMS
	Miss F. Lucy Stewart	England	CEZMS
1898 Nov 4	Mr. W. S. Fleming (Kweichow)	Scotland-Australia	China Inland Mission
1899 Dec	Rev. S. M. Brooks (Shantung)	England	Anglican, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).

CHINA-CATHOLIC MISSIONARY MURDERS to 1899.

120 Catholics—87 Chinese, 33 foreign missionaries, are recognized as “Martyr Saints of China.” They were canonized by Pope John Paul II on 1 October 2000.

The national origins of the foreign Roman Catholic martyrs in 18th and 19th century China. Italy, 14; France 11; Belgium 1; Netherlands 1; Spain 6.

For names see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martyr_Saints_of_China

2.2. HUASHAN VICTIMS.

The Rev. **ROBERT WARREN STEWART**, 史華伯

C.M.S. Born Dublin, Ireland, 3 March 1850.

M.A, Trinity College, Dublin. Student for English Bar.

Entered Church Missionary College, Islington, April 19, 1875.

Made Deacon by Bishop of London, St. Paul's Cathedral, Trinity Sunday, 11 June 1876.¹

Ordained Priest in Fuzhou by Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 23 February 1879.²

CMS Superintending Missionary, Gutian and Ping Nang Districts, Fujian Province.

Corresponding Secretary, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Fujian Province.

Corresponding Secretary of Dublin University Fukien Mission.

Mrs. **LOUISA KATHLEEN (nee Smyly) STEWART**, C.M.S. (Dublin, Ireland)

Born Dublin, 9 November 1852,

Married Rev. Robert Stewart, St Stephen's Anglican Church, Dublin, 7 September 1876.

HERBERT NORMAN STEWART, (England—five years old)

Born 1 August 1889, Died of wounds near Suikau 2 August 1892.

HILDA SYLVIA STEWART. (England—baby)

Born 24 June 1894, Died in Fuzhou of wounds 10 August 1895.

HELENA (Lena) YELLOP (Ireland) nurse of Stewart children.

MARY ANN CHRISTINA (Annie) GORDON, C.E.Z.M.S. (Australia)

ELSIE MARSHALL, C.E.Z.M.S. (England)

HESSIE NEWCOMBE, C.E.Z.M.S. (Ireland)³

ELIZABETH MAUD (Topsy) SAUNDERS, C.M.S. (Australia)

HARRIETTE ELINOR (Nellie) SAUNDERS, C.M.S. (Australia)

FLORA LUCY STEWART, C.E.Z.M.S. (England)

SURVIVORS.

KATHLEEN LOUISA STEWART, (England)

Born 29 April 1884. m Rev Ernest Martin, died as Prisoner of War, Hong Kong.

MILDRED ELEANOR STEWART, (England)

Born 4 September 1882.

EVAN GEORGE STEWART, (England)

Born 24 Mar 1892, Bedford, England.

FLORA CODRINGTON, C.E.Z.M.S. (England)

MABEL HARTFORD (Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, USA)

REV. H. S. PHILLIPS, C.M.S. (England)

¹ Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd was ordained in the same service.

² *The Chinese Recorder*, 1879. p 151. Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd was ordained a priest in the same service.

³ From Booterstown, near Dublin, one of a large family, four daughters served with CEZMS in Fujian Province. Influenced by Robert Stewart and offered to CEZMS. She and sister Inie arrived in Fuzhou in 1886. Appointed to Gutian where she worked in the Girls' School. *The Dublin University Missionary Magazine* (hereafter *DUFM*), 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China'. pp 48-49..

2.3 THE STEWART CHILDREN AS ADULTS.

ARTHUR DUDLEY STEWART, b 8 October 1877.
At school in England. August 1895.
Headmaster St. Paul's School, Hong Kong, 1909-1930.



(Dr.) PHILLIP SMYLY STEWART, b 27 March 1879.
At school in England. August 1895.



Medical doctor. MB. BCh. BAO. Dublin.
Royal Army Medical Corps.
Lieutenant 30/1/1906, Captain 30/7/1909, Major 30/1/1918,
Retired pay 20/11/1930. Died 27/1/1949.
War services - Malta 1908 - 14, France 1914 (Wounded in action and invalided) & 1916 - 19.
Mesopotamia 1920 - 21, India 1921 - 23, China 1927 - 29, Malta 1929 - 30, China 10 - 11/1930.

(Rev) JAMES ROBERT STEWART, b. 7 January 1881.
At school in England. August 1895.



Taught at home to age nine years.
Schooling, Bedford Grammar School (3 years) and Haileybury College, England.
Matriculated into University of Dublin.
Graduated Bachelor of Arts (Hons), University of Sydney, New South Wales, 1902.
Taught Sunday School, St Matthias Church, Paddington, Sydney.
Member of Sydney University Christian Union.
One year theology course at Moore Theological College, Sydney, 1903.
Ordained to Church of England ministry, England., 1904
Warden, Anglican Hostel, West China Union University College, Chengdu, Sichuan Province, China, 1910.
Killed in France, World War I,

MILDRED ELEANOR STEWART

Born 4 September 1882.

The Heroine of Huashan

m. Rev. J. C. Taylor

Retired to England 1927.

Son. Dr. L Taylor,

Daughter, Kathleen.



KATHLEEN LOUISA STEWART.

Born 29 April 1884.

Opened St. Paul's Girls' School, Hong Kong.

m Rev. Ernest Martin,

Died as Prisoner of War, Hong Kong.



EVAN GEORGE STEWART

Born 24 Mar 1892, Bedford, England.



Returned from China in 1895 to grandfather's house Gortleitagh, Dublin and Later surviving children cared for by "Aunt Em", (Mary E. Watson?), Dublin.

Educated Dublin and as boarder at Wellington College, England.

Teacher, St Paul's College, Hong Kong. 1910.

Commissioned Lieutenant of Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Company, 1910.

Returned to Dublin, 1913, Dublin University.

Middlesex Regiment (Machine Guns), World War I, 1915-1919

Returned Hong Kong 1920.

BA, External Studies, London University, 1925. Awarded MA, Dublin University 1926.

Married Dorothy Lander, daughter of Bishop of Hong Kong 1928.

Headmaster, St Paul's College, Hong Kong, 1930.

Major commanding No 3 Machine Gun Company.

"Awarded Distinguished Service Order (DSO). The citation noted that the successful evacuation of Stonecutters Island while under fire was greatly due to his powers of organisation and leadership; while at Wong Nei Chong Gap, although wounded early in the fighting, he continued to command his Company with a total disregard for his own safety. After the capture of Wong Nei Chong Gap by the Japanese, he organised the escape of the six survivors from the area and finally found his own way back alone through enemy lines."

Wife and children evacuated to Sydney, Australia, 1941.

Prisoner of War, Hong Kong, 1941. Post war medical evacuation (serious foot injury) Sydney and Stoke Mandeville Hospital,

Returned Hong Kong 1947. Reopened St. Paul's School.

Commander Hong Kong Home Guard 1954-1956

Led Hong Kong Coronation Contingent, London (Queen Elizabeth 1), 1954.

Awarded Order of the British Empire (OBE), 1956.

Headmaster, St. Paul's and died, 17 December 1958.

PUBLICATION.

Stewart, Evan, *Hong Kong Volunteers in Battle*,
Hong Kong, Blacksmith Books, 2005.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, HONG KONG

The Stewart Brothers' Scholarship.

Established by Alumni Association in 1971 to commemorate Arthur and Evan Stewart.

2.4 AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT—THE REV. H. S. PHILLIPS.

The Church Missionary Gleaner, October 1895, p 151.

Rev. H. S, Phillips to Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, CMS London, 7 August 1895.

You will have long ago heard of the terrible, from some points of view, but yet blessedly glorious exodus of so many saints of God. This is the fourth riot I have come out of untouched, almost for me a very solemn thought. I need not repeat the story here, as I understand it has been very fully telegraphed home.

First, as to the survivors. Miss Codrington is very seriously wounded, but likely to recover; her quiet, calm trust does not a little for her physically. Mildred Stewart is very seriously wounded; she is, indeed, a little saint, and all who have watched her have been taught of God. Her first words when she heard dear Herbert was gone were just, "Won't father and mother be glad to see him" Dear child, after keeping up marvelously, her nerves seem now to have given out, and she is in a very precarious condition.⁴ (Stock notes Since Better)

Kathleen, a clear, brave little soldier of Jesus Christ, is much more slightly wounded, and has been such a help; in fact, I don't know what we would have done without her.

Even is only slightly hurt, but much frightened, poor little fellow.

Baby still lies in a very dangerous condition. (Since dead). It was a great mercy that Dr. Gregory of the American Episcopal Methodist Mission, was in Kucheng, and worked nobly, and we as a Mission can never forget our debt to him.

I reached Hwa-sang about ten days previously, just arriving as a series of Keswick meetings were commencing. A very happy, holy time we had. I send you a programme originally drawn up by Miss Hankin. In the morning we had a twenty minute prayer meeting, and in the afternoon a Bible reading daily. Everyone felt we were right in King's own presence, and He was speaking to us all, Dear Mr. Stewart seemed so full; I was specially struck with his quiet, calm life in God.

Our dear brother was indeed spiritually a strong man, as firm as iron, as gentle and loving as a little child, seldom have I spent happier days than those spent in loving communion with him and that mission mother, dear Mrs. Stewart. The text we chose for the coffin that held what remains we got back from the fire, just described their lives, "Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they are not divided."

Never in the Fuh-Kien Mission have we had missionaries more holy, able and true. I have heard a Native speak in any but terms of the deepest love of dear Mrs. Stewart. Mr. Stewart was, indeed, an elder brother to me, and was as much interested in our upper city work as in his own.

A few days before he went home he said to me, "I do thank God for our life here; so many of us now, and yet never the slightest approach to friction." And this not because it could not be; in these sisters I see traits and habits that would naturally annoy and furnish cause for friction, but they are met with the grace that comes through painstaking prayer; all have their niche, each is indispensable there, with all their differences of character.

There was no such thing as despotism in Ku-cheng, love oiled everything; the sisters followed dear Mr. Stewart because they believed in him from the bottom of their souls. Oh, for more such missionaries, men who can lead because their life is a pattern. He was the most humble man I ever met.

For Miss H. Newcombe's coffin we chose, "The Master hath come and calleth for thee." She was so full of the Second Coming. God had wonderfully given her the gift of uniting and drawing people together. Her bright cheery life kept everyone bright. For Miss Nellie Saunders we chose, "Not counting their lives dear unto them." She died trying to save the Stewart children. She struck one as a peculiarly unselfish soul; her one thought was others. She was burnt in the house. For Lena, the faithful nurse, who died covering the baby from the brutal blows,, we chose, "Faithful unto death."

Miss Stewart was evidently more used in helping her sisters than in direct Chinese work. I knew her less than the others but believe she was deeply taught of God.

4 Mildred's condition would today be described as "post-traumatic shock syndrome."

Miss Topsy Saunders bright, whole-hearted life of self-sacrifice suggested “Jesus Only” as the most suitable words. Wonderful the way God kept these two sisters in suspense about their work. May their death open some district where CMS workers may not go; those who believe God calls them to be Chinese to the Chinese. I don’t want to touch on controverted matter, but if the CMS want such labourers as many of our blessed CEZMS ladies, there must be the same liberty of the Spirit allowed in the work.

Miss T. Saunders’ beloved friend (they were inseparable) Miss Elsie Marshall, was indeed a sunbeam. My wife sued to say when she nursed her so lovingly at Sharp Peak last year, that her smile in the morning helped her for the day. The self-denying role of these two sisters, mostly at Si-chi-du (Sek Chek Du) was a picture for the whole Mission. “She asked life, and Thou hast given it for ever and ever” was her text.

Miss Gordon, you will remember, was from the Colonies. We chose for her text, “Where I am, there shall my servant be.” She worked so bravely alone at Ping-nang, faithful, I am told, was strikingly the key-note of her life.

So they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. The first words almost Miss Codrington said to me were “Won’t Minnie give them a welcome.” (Minnie was my own dear wife). A woman, who could hardly be called an enquirer, came beside Miss Codrington’s chair and said, “Sister, don’t think you work is all spoilt, the Ku-cheng women are weeping, they are so touched, now many will believe,” or to that effect. At least the words can never be said again,” We natives may be killed or beaten, but you foreigners are safe’; and only a few days before, some had said how sorry they were. Phil. 1.20 might be said, shall indeed be proved.

It was most touching to see the sympathy of the Christians as we passed along the road, and we realized that but for the face of God they too might be poor, dark Vegetarians. We were convinced that what poor Ku-cheng needs is not Gatling guns, but the power of the crucified and living Christ; and I do earnestly beg, and I am sure those who have gone would fervently join in the plea, that their places may be filled and others occupied without delay by the two societies.

On Wednesday evening, the day before, we had a happy Bible-reading on the Transfiguration. How little we knew the immediate glory was so near for some! In the evening we separated speaking of a picnic to be held the next day in memory of Herbert’s birthday.

Rowbotham, Judith, ‘Soldiers of Christ’? Images of Female Missionaries in late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom’, pp 82-106 in Gender and History, Vol 12, Issue 1, April 2002, pp 101-102

According to the various accounts of the incident, the Vegetarians surrounded the CEZMS house containing Miss Hessie Newcombe, Miss Flora Stewart, Miss Elsie Marshall, Miss Lucy Codrington, and Miss Annie Gordon. Hessie Newcombe rushed off to try to warn the nearby CMS missionary family, the Stewarts, but was cut down on her mercy dash. The others linked arms and confronted their murderers. Different tales are told of exactly what was said by Lucy Codrington, but it was along the lines of ‘Girls, never mind, we are all going Home together!’⁵ They fell with their faces to the foe, with Elsie Marshall ‘clinging to her Bible to the very end, though the hand with which she grasped it was nearly severed’.⁶ ... In fact, there were only four martyrs at Hwa Sang – Lucy Codrington, though terribly wounded, survived and later returned to labour in the mission field, remembering only the ‘thrill of joy’ she felt at the prospect of joint martyrdom with her sisters in Christ!⁷ ...

But the whole affair had a wider significance. The publicity given to the incident ensured that the missionary establishment had to come to terms with its implications – in particular for the feminine capacity to achieve martyrdom in the strictest sense and to provide thereby a national inspiration not restricted by femininity. At a widely publicised memorial service, attended by representatives of the masculine establishment, ecclesiastical and secular, held at Exeter Hall, the most important national venue for religious gatherings, it was agreed in the prayers and tributes that these women’s deaths were of huge significance;

5 H. F. Turner, *His Witnesses: Kucheng, August 1, 1895*, (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London, 1896), p. 58.

6 Barnes, Irene H, *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C E Z M S Work and Workers in China*, (London, Marshall Bros and Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1896),.pp. 142–4.

7 Turner, op cit., pp. 58–9.

that it was ‘part of God’s purpose’ to force ‘the lurid light of His servants’ martyrdom’ upon the plight of the heathen and so to speed the progress of the conversion of China. Whereas the deaths of male missionaries there had had little local impact, these martyrdoms were likely to provide the decisive breach in China’s Satanic defences:⁸ ... With British femininity as a whole armoured by testimonials evoked by the wave of emotion over these deaths, it was difficult for male critics to argue that women could not provide nationally valuable exemplars on equal terms with men. Substantial public criticism was virtually stifled, regardless of any continuing private reservations.

**Flora Codrington,
The CEZMS Survivor of the Huashan Massacre.**



The Graphic, London, 10 August 1895.

8 See Part Two” The Huashan Martyrs, Para 2.1, p . None of the three previous British missionaries killed in China were Anglicans. None were killed on the same dramatic fashion nor were their deaths reported in the world press to the extent of the Huashan Massacre.

2.5 CMS-CEZMS—THE HUASHAN MISSIONARY MARTYRS



TOP LEFT. Mrs. Louisa Smyly Stewart, Hessie Newcombe, (Ireland), Rev. Robert W. Stewart. (Ireland).
CENTRE LEFT, Lucy Stewart, (England). Annie Gordon, (Australia). Elsie Marshall, (England).
BOTTOM LEFT, Nellie Saunders, (Australia). Topsy Saunders, (Australia).

The Church Missionary Intelligencer, September 1895, p 137.

Herbert and Evan Stewart c 1888, United Kingdom.



The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 16 August 1896.

Mrs. Eliza Saunders, Topsy and Nellie, Melbourne, c 1891.



Church Missionary Association of Victoria, Prayer Card, 1893.

Nellie and Topsy Saunders, Melbourne, c 1891



The State Library of Victoria.

2.6 HELENA YELLOP: STEWART CHILDREN'S NURSE.

Helena Yellop



Erin's Hope,
Journal of Smyly Homes, Dublin, Ireland.

The Elliott Home has had a wonderful honour given to it. One of the children of former days has been carried through suffering into glory—out of happy, loving, faithful work for Christ on earth, by the short path of martyrdom into His unveiled presence.

You, dear readers, did not know, when you heard the name of Helena Yellop among the other names of the martyr-band of Hwa Sang, that years ago it had come before the Elliott House Committee as the name of a wee maiden whose mother asked for admission into the Home for her and her little sister. Their father had died, and the mother, having to go out to work, could not take care of her little girls, so she was very glad when they were taken in to be loved, and taught, and cared for.

So in her early days, Lena (as we always called her) trotted about the big house, or did her lessons in the airy school rooms; sat at the low table where the “baby-girls” take their meals; made one of the cheerful procession that marched out for the daily walks; and appeared on Sundays in the gallery of the Mission Church, from which the fresh little voices join vigorously in the hymns they know.

It was the same healthful, simple life then as now; with its own events and excitements—Examination Days, Christmas days, visitors sometimes; and in the summer the longed-for weeks in the country.

It was during one of those summer holiday-times that a really great event came—the turning point in the child's life. The weeks in the country were a time of great blessing that year. There was with the children a worker in whose heart God had put a great love for the souls of her little charges; and as she prayed for them and with them, and talked lovingly to them about the Good Shepherd, in whose fold the lambs are so happy, one and another little one came softly to see if that fold would take *her* in. Lena was one who entered in at

that time; she was eleven years old then, a steady gentle little girl.

In the world outside Elliott Home, changes had been taking place. One of its particular friends, Miss Louisa Smyly, had been married to a C.M.S. missionary, the Rev. Robert Stewart, and had gone out with her husband to China, followed to her far foreign home by the love and interest of many to whom she had been dear and helpful in Dublin. But in one little Elliott Home girl's heart there was a special link of sympathy—A God-given link—the missionary spirit that longed to join in bringing the good news of salvation to the heathen. And the wide little maiden felt that if she could help forward God's work in China by helping Mrs. Stewart with the daily duties of the household, and so setting *her* free to teach the Chinese women, her great wish would be fulfilled.

So the little heart longed and prayed; and if she had known *all* that the granting of her powers would bring, I do not believe those prayers would have been different. And God, who sees the end from the beginning, saw the earnest desire of that little girl to give herself to Him for China, as He saw the same desire and the same consecration in other hearts; and He accepted them all.

The way it came round for Lena was this: Mrs. Stewart, during an absence from China for her husband's health, was going to Wales for her children's summer holidays, and wanted someone to help her in taking care of them. And though Lena's desire was secretly locked up in her own little heart, the Matron of the Home had *her* ideas on the same subject; she had often thought that her capable trustworthy pupil might be of real use to Mrs. Stewart; and she gladly recommended her for the vacant place.⁹ And so Lena found herself promoted, for a time at least, to the work she had so desired.

She proved herself so faithful and useful during the temporary engagement that the next proposal was, to her unbounded delight, that she should be permanently installed as nurse and go back to China with the family on their return. I need hardly say that the offer was accepted—even with tears of joy—and from that time (with one interval of a year, when she went to stay with her mother, who had migrated to America,) the little voices that called on “Ena” for help and counsel in their daily joys, and sorrows and occupations filled her time with happy useful work.

Her letters to one friend or another from time to time often gave pictures of pretty child-play—the little ones “acting coolies, load bearers, trying to imitate everything they say, carrying on conversation in make believe Chinese, with long pipes in their mouths.”

You shall have some passages from one dated May 3rd, 1895, written from Kuliang, the summer resort of the Missionaries from Foochow, where the party from Kucheng spent some time while it was not yet considered safe for them to return to their own house. It gives an interesting account of the threatened attack on Kucheng and hasty departure in obedience to the authorities.

March 26th. We, i.e., the children and I, came down from Hwa Sang.”

March 27th. The birthday of one of the little boys; the ladies from the Olives [C.E.Z.M.S] were up to ten, and stayed late. Being the night before the messenger from Foochow left, Mr. Stewart, as usual, was up till morning writing. Two of the leading Catechists came with the news that the Mandarin had, during the night, blocked up the city gates, having had private information that the Vegetarians were mustering in thousands quite near, and about to march on Kucheng. They had taken their families out of the city. Those in the surrounding villages having anything to lose had entered it for protection.

At six o'clock I went in to take baby, and Mrs. Stewart said, ‘We may have to fly to Foochow.’ I did not hear any reason, but dressed the children. They were not surprised at being up early, as their father was to have started for the country. When they were at breakfast I put blankets and a change each in baskets. The plan was to go up to Hwa Sang for a few days in the hope that the excitement would blow over.

In the meantime, the boys, girls, women and babies were hurried away, some to their homes, and the remainder to the chapel in the city. As we were anxiously watching the heavy rain, and wondering would the babies escape cold after a five hours' ride in baskets, a man came with the Mandarin's card and a polite invitation to go into the city, as he could not offer protection outside. An empty American house was placed at our disposal.

9 Lena was then seventeen years old. *DUFM*, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, ‘Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China’. p. 53.

The people were at the fields and were asking, 'Why are you escaping? You need not fear.'

The boys were in their glory, being pulled up the ladder in baskets. We only had the things with us that I put up for Hwa Sang. The Kuniong's¹⁰ cook lost his head with fright and sent over all their boxes. The whole verandah was crowded with their belongings.

I suppose you heard that the Mandarin asked for a gun, or some weapon of defence?

The weather picked up, and we had two enjoyable days—like playing siege. We could see the squad of soldiers passing by with their martial strut and weapons of the primitive type. The American doctor said he did not like the tone of the people, and that there were enough malcontents in the city who would sympathise with the invaders.

Americans build their houses very large and commodious, and the one we were in being close to the wall, Mr. Stewart decided we must start for Foochow. The gates were blocked up. While our chairs were waiting outside, men came around asking friendly questions; the children always draw people.

At the wall there was some commotion. I fancy the owner of the ladder wanted Mr. S. to give money. It ended by the ladder being pulled away. A bit of one was secured; Mr. Stewart and a man resting it against their shoulders till all the party descended.

We stayed the night in the chapel at Co-yong. The morrow was Sunday; we felt so bad, starting with the usual confusion from a chapel. It seemed necessary. On the way we had one fight with the coolies. I had baby, starting; she was crying for her mother. The coolies refused to carry Mrs. Stewart if she sat in the chair with her. My coolies would not let me go. Miss Hessie [Newcombe] exhorted them in loudest tones. Our boy shouted at them. I went to the head man, whom I always found civil; all in vain, they were quite changed. I learned afterwards that Mrs. Stewart had to offer extra money if they hurried quickly.

The landing place was reached about five o'clock. I wish could picture the scene for you. Crowds of curious but friendly men, as usual, asking questions; women dressed in their best, wishing to be entertained; the coolies and load-men rowing about money; our men running backwards and forwards. In the midst of it baby yelling frantically, while Mrs. Stewart was trying to write to Mr. Stewart.

'Just then a piece of paper was handed in. Mr. Stewart had scribbled, 'Gates are open, peace is declared, all may return. But the children may go on to Foochow.'

We changed into the other boat and came down. Mrs. St. and the ladies slept in the other, taking two days to do the return journey.

Later on, the letter gives little nursery details, very touching to read now—the baby caught cold on the journey, and how her teeth were troubling her—but finally the careful nurse says, "She is quite bright again," and goes on to tell of merry little plays and sayings.

10 The Chinese term for a single foreign woman missionary.

2.7 MARY ANNA CHRISTINA GORDON, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. (Australia).^b

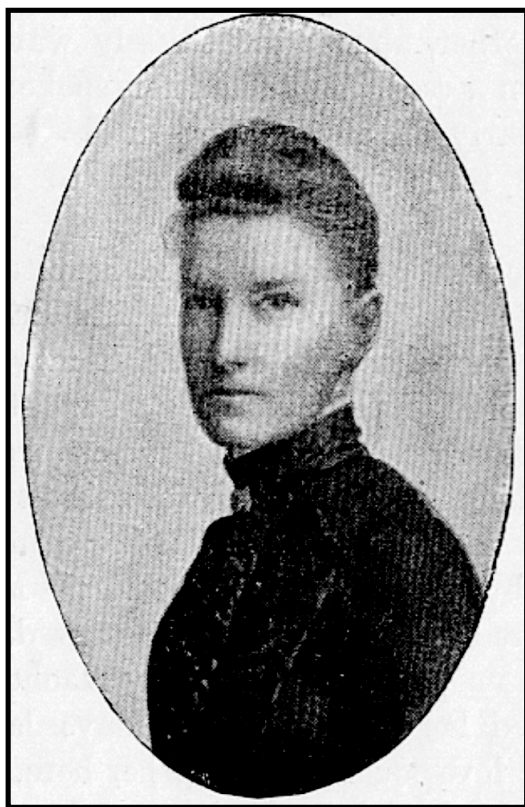
Date of Birth: 13 September 1864, Ipswich Queensland
Date of Baptism: 30 October 1864, St Paul's C of E, Ipswich
Parents: Charles John GORDON (Veterinarian) and Mary Anne DEVINE.

Miss Gordon received a deep spear wound in the face,
another in the side of the neck and one on the right side of the head.
Dr. J. J. Gregory.

Annie Gordon

1891—Arrival in Fujian Province

1895—Five Years in Fujian Province



Left. Barnes, Irene H, *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C E Z M S Work and Workers in China*, (London, Marshall Bros and Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1896),
Right. *The Graphic*, London, 10 August 1895.

Turner, H F, His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895. London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), pp 48-53

" Well done, good and faithful servant."

IN 1892 a remarkable document reached the office of C.E.Z.M.S. It was on a brilliant crimson sheet of paper and enclosed in an envelope of flowery design. Its message was intended for a large community, for it was addressed in Chinese to " The English Society for Women, to all the pastresses and venerable ladies." Its authors were " all the members of the Native Church Council in Ping- Nang," a district in the north of Fuh-Kien. Its purport was stated in these words:—

There are many women, who are Christians both old and young, who beg the English Church to appoint lady teachers to reside in the Ping-Nang district, who will direct and conduct the work among the women, and visit all the congregations and instruct the women in the Word of God, and teach them to pray, that thus they may understand the doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Ping-Nang is a district 400 miles in extent; about 12 miles wide by about 20 long, containing hundreds of towns and villages that teem with the unevangelized heathen population.

It was visited by Mr. Cribb in 1866. Struck with its importance, he was anxious to occupy it as a station, and in 1868 sent a catechist to open out the work.

He was politely but resolutely dismissed by the authorities, who made it impossible for him to rent quarters. The needs of Ping-Nang, however, were not lost sight of—later efforts were more successful. By the year 1879 five chapels, i.e. rooms used for meetings, etc., were worked by native agents, and some interest was aroused. In 1884 there were still no baptized Christians, and the really earnest inquirers were few. In 1888 Mr. and Mrs. Stewart found very few Christians—one woman among them.

In apportioning the work of the ladies as already described, the appeal from Ping-Nang could not be disregarded, but one only could be spared to be Christ's witness to the women of this great district.

" Gentle Annie Gordon," as a fellow worker describes her, was the brave, faithful messenger to whom the women of Ping- Nang were entrusted. No wonder Mr. Stewart adds in reporting this arrangement, "I need not say however hard Miss Gordon may try, she can do little more than touch what is waiting to be done."

We are not privileged, as in the case of the other sainted sisters, to trace the means by which the Master prepared Annie Gordon for His use in China. She was born in Queensland, and was the daughter of an active member of the Zenana Committee there. The needs of the heathen were therefore probably known to her from childhood, and her ministry as a Sunday-school teacher seems to have been linked with her future vocation, for it appears that the superintendent of her school became a Chinese missionary.

From Queensland, Annie Gordon moved to Melbourne, and worked for a little while under the Rev. B.M. Macartney (sic). "We have to thank Mr. Macartney for this valuable missionary," writes Mr. Stewart. (*Rev. H B Macartney, St Mary's Anglican Church, Caulfield. See Part One, Introduction. Para 1.8. p.30*); She set sail for China in 1891, and the few letters that have come to us were written after she joined the party in " the happy home " at Ku-cheng, the headquarters from which she began in 1893 to visit the district in Ping-Nang.

Mrs. Stewart writes in 1894: " There is only Miss Gordon left to do what Ping-Nang requires, so the women of that district are put under her care. Miss Gordon is most earnest and devoted, and has such a nice way of dealing with the Chinese women. They love her much, and I believe she will be a very successful missionary. Miss Gordon is just hoping to spend a month at Dong-gio, and regularly teach some of the women. She will have one of our best Bible-women with her."

The secret of the love of these ignorant, child-like women for their faithful, devoted friend is explained in her own words. The women to whom she went were severally and individually precious to her; she entered into their sorrows and brought them one by one to her Lord's feet in prayer.

From Dong-gio she writes (February of this year):—

On Sunday some sixty or seventy women come to church, and before service we have Sunday-school. Last Sunday seven women were baptized, and as far as I can tell they were all true and earnest. I know their history and watched over them for many months, and have been very well satisfied. For all, it will mean tribulation. One woman has been much persecuted by her heathen relations, and now she is baptized I am sure they will persecute her still more. Let us be very earnest in prayer for her and for them all. It is such joy to see souls coming out of darkness into the glorious

light of Jesus.

When the tithes for holiday rest came at Hwa-Sang none needed it more than Annie Gordon. Always earnest in purpose and faithful and thorough in every detail of duty, she had carried on her work in Ping-Nang under the burden of much bodily weakness—malarial fever had sapped her strength, and in her lonely ministry at Dong-gio, with none at hand to speak comfort to her in her mother-tongue, the sad news reached her of her father's death. "It feels very lonely," she wrote simply, "but Jesus is with me."

Within a fortnight of her death she wrote the following account of her sphere of labour:—

Dong-gio is the chief station in this district and my headquarters. Here God has given us much encouragement. There is a fair-sized chapel which is always filled. Between sixty and seventy come every Sunday. All go in to morning service, but in the afternoon the women have a little service all to themselves—really an examination, because they are questioned on what they learnt in the morning.

One woman has been serving God amidst great persecution for eight years. When she came to service, if her husband (an opium eater) knew it, he would come and beat her and drag her out by the hair, and nobody seemed to have much power to prevent him. He would burn her Christian books, and the only one she could succeed in keeping was a copy of the hundred texts. Many prayers were offered up for that man, and this year God has more than abundantly answered those prayers. He has given up opium, is very regular at service, and comes to prayers every night, and every spare moment is reading the Bible. His poor wife is overjoyed.

I try to visit all the centres twice a year, and work as many villages as I can from them. I like on Sundays to stay in a centre and gather all the Christians round me for a little teaching, because in many cases there is no one else to instruct them. The Lord does give us some lovely times together.

In itinerating from village to village there is a great deal to try and discourage one, but the encouragements are greater. Sometimes the people will crowd in and shout and scream at the top of their voices so that it is utterly impossible to make oneself heard. Sometimes the men and boys will not go away and let us talk to the women—in such cases I find silent prayer the best refuge. In other places the people welcome you, but will listen to anything but the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and this is harder to bear than anything else I know.

At Dong-kau the first Christian was baptized at the beginning of this year. He used to be a gambler and a very bad man, but when he heard about the Saviour he left it all and trusted Him. His wife says a doctrine that could change her husband like that must be a true doctrine, so she too has given up idols and is worshipping God up to her light.

There are a number of day-schools scattered throughout this district. Mostly heathen children come, and more than one little one has learnt to love Jesus through coming to school, and has been the means also of leading friends to Him. I will give you one instance:—The Biblewoman and school-teacher usually visit the homes of the scholars and in most of them get a welcome, but in one house they were never welcomed—the grandmother would go into her room banging the door behind her, and would not listen to a single word, she said she hated the doctrine. But one day her son got very ill, the priests were brought into the house, the idols were entreated, and every heathen rite performed, but he got worse instead of better. At last his little girl, a scholar in one of these schools, who had there learned to love and trust Jesus, said to them all: "These idols can never make father better, they have no power, but my Jesus can, and I am going to ask Him."

She then knelt down by his bedside and asked God to cure him, and from that day he began to get better. Now the grandmother and three of the sons are serving God. The grandmother was baptized the beginning of this year. I prepared her myself.

If one went on every day for a year without a single rest, one could not visit all the villages, and yet I am the only foreign worker. I am most of the year quite alone, and for a month and five weeks at a time do not see another foreigner.

Dong-gio, Ka-bang, Nong-bah, and one or two other villages, are ripe for station classes, but, alas! no worker. I cannot both itinerate and hold classes. Often I am travelling the whole day over rough mountain roads and in all kinds of weather—sometimes I am two days and a half journey from Ku-cheng, yet I can only just touch the work that is to be done.

In February this year Miss Gordon thus referred to the troubles which, as she wrote the letter just quoted, were gathering around the Mission party and hastening the day when she should indeed for ever be safe in His keeping."

"A number of people called 'Vegetarians' have banded themselves together and defy the mandarin. One day when he caught four of them and put them in prison, the others surrounded his house and said they would pull it down and kill him if he did not let their comrades out. So he had to release them, and not only so, but had to send his secretary to be beaten by their own hands. This happened in Ku-cheng city quite near to us. They have persecuted the Christians, and have threatened more than once to pull down the chapels, but the missionaries have as yet not been threatened at all. They can do nothing to us or the native Christians against the will of God. We are safe in His keeping and have only to 'Trust and not-be afraid.'"

Watson, Mary E, (1896), Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death, London, Marshall Brothers.

At Dong Gio a most interesting work is going on. About fifty women come regularly to the services. We have a Bible woman there who has taught them a good deal, but you can fancy what such women must need—'line upon line, precept upon precept.'

Annie Gordon had a most happy time there. Nine women came daily to be taught, and she had more invitations than she could accept to go to their houses to see them. Dong Gio is about a day's journey from here northward (I.e. from Kucheng). A day further on, still going north, is another town called Dong Kau. Robert spent a Sunday there, and found the people so open for the message that he asked Miss Gordon to go on there for a few days, which she did, accompanied by a Bible woman, and they had a splendid time. We are going to send the Bible woman there for a month, and then Miss Gordon will go again and make a longer stay.

2/1/95 The CEZMS ladies. We have two at Sang Long, quite out of reach; two more a long day's journey from us. Then we have four who Kucheng their headquarters, but they are seldom here more than a few days at a time—at least, three of them; the fourth, Miss Weller, has the boarding school, with fifty-four girls, and the babies too, now Miss Nesbit has gone on furlough. Each of these girls has an area of about 300 square miles! Annie Gordon, indeed, far more; she is the only lady worker in Ping Nang.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne) August 1895, pp 341-342. The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895.

LETTER FROM MISS GORDON¹¹

Dong-gio, Fuh-Kien, China, Feb 14, 1895

I am still itinerating in this vast Ping-nang district, and have also the oversight of the foundlings during Miss Nesbit's absence. I visited a great many villages last year, but there are hundreds that have not yet been touched, and alas, there is no one to send. In this one district alone we can truly say, "The harvest is plenteous, but the *labourers* are few." Do pray that the Lord of the Harvest will send both natives and foreigners—men and women after His own heart. This territory is over four hundred miles in extent. It abounds with large and thickly populated villages, and yet I am the only foreign worker for it all! The work here (Dong-gio) is most encouraging. On Sundays, some sixty or seventy women come to church, and before service we have Sunday-school. In the afternoon they either go the service or I have them myself in another room. Last Sunday *seven* women were baptised, and so far as I can tell, they are all very earnest and true. I know their history, and have watched over them for the last nine months, and have been very well satisfied. For all it will mean tribulation. One woman, a widow, ever since she gave up her idols has been very much persecuted by her heathen relations, and they have tried to force her to marry a heathen, and now that she is baptised I am sure they will persecute her still more. Let us be very earnest in prayer for her, and indeed for them all. It is such a joy to see souls coming out of darkness into the glorious light of Jesus. Nearly all January I was busy examining the Day Schools scattered throughout this district, and some of them passed a

11 Partly cited in Turner, H F, His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895. (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), p 50.

very good examination. In these schools we have simple Christian books taught, and as a rule the children can repeat them right off; but if you ask questions on the meaning they can scarcely answer anything. Now a rule has been made ‘that if the children do not know the meaning, they will not get full marks.’ Do pray for these little *lighthouses* scattered about. Pray very carefully for the teachers that their one aim may be to lead these little children to Jesus. Children *have* been brought to the Lord Jesus through these agencies, and have also led their parents to Him. Through them also we get into homes to which otherwise we could have no access, for most of the children are from heathen families. During the last few months’ trouble has been threatening all around. Satan has tried hard to drive us from our stations, but, praise the Lord, he has not succeeded yet, and I do not think that he will, so long as we have God on our side. A number of people called Vegetarians have banded themselves together and defy the Mandarin. One day when he caught four of them and put them in prison, the others surrounded his house and said they would pull it down and kill him if he did not let their comrades out, so he had to release them, and not only so, but had to send his secretary to be beaten by their own hands! This happened in Ku-cheng city, quite close to us. They have persecuted the Christians, and have threatened more than once to pull down the chapels, but the missionaries as yet have not been threatened at all, though they have expressed their hatred. It is so lovely and comforting to know that they can do nothing to us or the native Christians against the will of God. We are safe in His keeping, and have only to ‘Trust, and *not* be afraid.’ How the Lord keeps us! We scarcely know what fear is. In these inland places we hear very little about the war; *you* hear far more than we do; but of one thing we feel sure—that it will ultimately prove a blessing to China. (Reference to ‘the war’ is the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Japan seized Taiwan (until 1945) and Korea).

The Queenslander, (Brisbane), 17 August 1895.

A QUEENSLAND MISSIONARY IN CHINA.

Miss Gordon, one of the missionary martyrs cruelly murdered at Kucheng, was an Ipswich lady with her mother resident in that city. The Ipswich “Advocate” of 7th instant says:—“This young lady was well known in this town, where her mother, and brothers, and sisters all reside, and for whom the deepest sympathy will be felt in their great affliction. She was a daughter of the late Mr. C. J. Gordon and sister of Mr. Wm. Gordon (head of the mechanical portion of the staff of this paper). Miss Gordon, it will be remembered, was a devoted and earnest worker in connection with St. Paul’s Sunday School, labouring earnestly in the cause of the Master for many years as a teacher and church helper in many ways. It is nearly five years since she first took up the China Mission work, and, after a short stay in Melbourne, she proceeded four years ago to China, where she bravely and lovingly laboured on behalf of the benighted heathen until a few days ago, when there is every reason to believe she met her death, like the martyrs of old, at the hands of those she had gone to seek and to save. Her people here are bearing up wonderfully well under their sad bereavement, and the heartfelt sympathy expressed for Mrs. Gordon and family will find an echo in every heart in the district. Miss Gordon was just about 30 years of age at the time of her death—in fact, would be 30 next month—and was a native of Ipswich, where she resided almost continuously until she decided to take up mission work. She was a loving daughter and sister, and the pain it cost her to leave her home to depart for heathen lands may be more easily imagined than described; but she was sustained by the strength with which true servants of the Lord are ever endowed, and the same strong arm sustained her in times of difficulty and danger in China. Miss Gordon was a good correspondent, and she never neglected to keep her relations in Queensland well posted up in her movements. Her letters contain particulars of the work all the missionaries were engaged in, and it must be always have been full of danger.

Writing from Kuliang on 30th April last, Miss Gordon said:—

The ‘Vegetarian’ trouble depends wholly on the war. If the war continues, they cannot spare any soldiers for Kucheng (such as they are). I wish you could see the Chinese soldiers. I am sure you would laugh. One English soldier would put a great many to flight, but the Chinese are frightened of them, and that is something. All the big men about here (and I suppose it is the same all over China) say they could stand it from an other nation but from those ‘little Japs’—it is too much for their feelings. They want something to knock down their pride, and they are getting it now. The silly pride of the literary class is something awful. If they were a little more loyal to their country and not so conservative it would go better with them. I trust this war will open China to the gospel. For this

many have been praying. I do trust that the other Powers will not be drawn in. How dreadful it would be if they are? Another eight days and we will know whether it is to be peace or war. I know the coming of Our Lord is very near; we will not have to wait very much longer. May we each one watch and wait every day for that glorious appearing when we will be with Him for ever.¹²

The words, "We shall not have to wait very much longer," would seem to be almost prophetic. Miss Gordon's letters are full of religious fervour. There is in them a ring of trustfulness and bravery that will teach wavering Christians what is meant by a steadfast faith. Under the most trying circumstances she found comfort in her religion, and her friends are comforted by the reflection that she is "with Him for ever." Queensland teachers of religion cannot read the letters of the murdered girl without a full sense that some of the seed sown has fallen on rich soil.

After a sojourn in Foochow, whence the missionaries were called by the British consul, Miss Gordon and others returned to their labours at the end of May last, and the last letter received by her friends is from Dong-Gio (near Kucheng) dated 30th May. It says:—

You cannot think what a joy it is for me to be in my district once again. Praise the Lord for all His goodness and loving kindness to me and to us all. I stayed a week and two days in Kucheng waiting for Miss Hessie Newcombe to come in.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne), Vol XXII, No 21, September 1895, pp 348-350

**LETTERS FROM "THE BLESSED DEAD."
FROM MISS MARY GORDON**

"Ye also helping together by prayer." 2 Cor. 1.11

**And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world
for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Matt 24.24**

'The Olives,' Foo-Chow, May 19th, 1894

I had only been in Ku Cheng two months when I went with one of the sisters to Dong Gio. It is a day's journey from Ku Cheng, and Sek-Chek-Du where we always stop for dinner is just half way. The time about which I am about to write was a very blessed one. On Saturday, February 24th, a sister and I started for Dong Gio very early, and arrived at dark feeling very tired and ready for bed. We had a lovely Sunday, about fifty women came to morning and afternoon service, of whom the greater number were baptised, and the rest were candidates or enquirers. How our hearts did rejoice to see them. Our rejoicing however was not without a little trembling for we know their temptations and we know how Satan does try to get them back into his grasp again. Oh may we be very faithful! very earnest in prayer for them! may our hearts go out daily on their behalf! Dear friends in the Master's service, do 'help together by prayer,' so much depends on it.

On Monday, February 26th, we sent out visiting from house to house and had a very good time; the women in almost every house made us welcome, and were ready to listen to the story of Jesus and His love. I was speaking to one woman and telling her how Jesus was willing and longing to forgive her sins and to wash her white and clean in His precious blood, if only she were willing to confess her sins to Him and to ask His forgiveness. She replied, 'But you do not know how many and how heavy my sins are; I am sure Jesus will have nothing to do with me, I am so wicked.' Oh how happy we were to be able to tell her that 'Jesus came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' The cases are very rare where the Chinese will own sin. If you ask them if they have sin, they answer, 'no.'

That evening we went to a Christian wedding feast. After sitting through a great many course (which were not very inviting), we found to our dismay that it was only half done! We excused ourselves, however, on the plea of being very tired, and with great difficulty got leave to come away. We were escorted to the chapel by the bridegroom and his brother who carried torchlights.

We had planned to visit a village some little distance way on the Tuesday, but it rained so heavily all day we knew that God did not mean us to go, and we had a quiet rest in the house. On the Wednesday we went to

12 The majority opinion of 19th century evangelical Christians was that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ was imminent and would be followed by a thousand years of divine rule, the millennium, hence their views are usually referred to as 'pre-millennialist.' Her view was shared by all the Anglican missionaries at Kucheng.

two villages near and had a splendid time. The Lord had gone before us preparing people's hearts. Every house we went into was crowded; they were very still, and listened attentively.

On Thursday morning we left for Sek-Chek-Du, and arrived about one. We had scarcely entered the chapel-house before we had a crowd so great and so noisy that we could scarcely make ourselves heard. After talking to them for a little, we went into the bedroom and shut the door, but left the barred window open for air. It was most amusing to see the multitude of faces looking through at us as though we were wild beasts in a cage. The first house we were taken to when visiting is one of the best houses in the place, and in that house I had a most marvellous answer to prayer. The first time I passed through Sek-Chek-Du, nearly two years ago, the place was very dead and did not want the Gospel of Jesus. Indeed it was so dead that the catechist was taken away and sent elsewhere. But that day, while we were waiting for dinner, my companion began speaking to the people who gathered round, and I was very much struck with the despairing, hungry look on the face of one young man. His face haunted me, and from that day I had it very much laid on my heart to pray for him. Almost every time I went apart for private intercessory prayer, and when I asked the Lord if there was anyone special He wanted me to pray for, the face of that young man would always come up before me. I passed through Sek-Chek-Du several times afterwards, but never once saw that young man; still I kept on praying, and about six months ago all of a sudden there was an awakening in Sek-Chek-Du, and the people begged for a catechist, and one was sent, who in his turn begged us to come and stay a few days and tell the women about Jesus. As I said just now the first house we went to was one of the best. Here I saw the young man I had been praying for; I never could forget his face, and I found out that he had a part in this great house. We had a very attentive mixed audience to begin with; I watched that young man, and he seemed to be drinking in every word. We were next taken though to where there were quite a number of women, young and old. I had hardly time to sit down before the young man I had been praying for brought his blind mother to me, and told me that she wanted to hear about Jesus because she wanted to worship Him. I felt suddenly constrained to fall on my knees and to praise God, and I did so before I spoke a word. Dear old woman, she seemed so glad to hear about the Lord Jesus, and her son sat near and listened, all the time. Do join me in prayer for mother and son; I am sure that Jesus is going to save them both.

One young man in that house is a Christian already; I spoke to him about 'shining' in his home; we need to pray for him too.

Our two days there were glorious; the Lord was with us, helping us. On the way home I began wondering how much the people really understood of what I had been saying, because I knew so little of the language and so often felt at a loss for words; but when I opened my Bible the first verses my eyes fell on were! Cor. ii, 1-3. I did not doubt after that. I knew the Lord could use just one word to do His work. What we have to do is to keep on praying. The Lord has been showing me lately that He wants me to spend more time in supplication. I am quite sure that prayer is the strongest weapon we can use against the enemy, for 'Satan trembles when he sees the weakest saint upon his knees.' Pray much for China. And I pray that many from Melbourne may be led to give themselves to the Lord for Mission work. We do want succour; the field is wide, the labourers are few, 'Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest.'

2.8 ELSIE MARSHALL, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, (England).

Born 9 November 1869, Birchfield, Birmingham

Father: Rev J W Marshall, parish minister.

1874 St Johns Church, Blackheath, London.

“In 1886, (17 years old) during a conversation with her sister, God first put the thought of foreign work into her mind. But it immediately took firm hold of her, and became the ruling motive of her whole life. She at once took up with increased earnestness secular studies, and passed the Senior Cambridge Local Examination, in order that she might be better qualified, as she then thought, for teaching in India.”¹³

(Marshall, 1903, Introductory Memoir)

November 1891 Rev Robert Warren Stewart and his wife,

Louisa Kathleen Smyly Stewart conduct Missionary Mission in Blackheath Parish.

Parish established “The Fuh-kien Band of Helpers.” Elsie elected chairperson.

1892, Missionary training at “The Willows”, CEZMS Training Home.

Nursing training at Mildmay Hospital, Bethnal Green, London.

14 October 1892. To China on the Arcadia.

December 1892, appointed to Fuh-ning for language study with Miss Alice M. Bolieau, from Blackheath.

Passed first examination in six months and second in twelve months.

December 1892, Appointed to Kucheng.

Early 1893, appointed to Sek Chek Du (Seventeenth Bridge). Kucheng District.

Miss Marshall’s throat was frightfully cut and there was a deep sword wound in the left wrist.

Dr. J.J. Gregory.

Elsie Marshall

1892



1895



Left. Marshall, Elsie, *‘For His Sake’ A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1903).

Right. *CEZMS Jubilee Souvenir*, (London, CEZMS, 1932).

Marshall, Elsie, 'For His Sake', A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China, (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1903), Introductory Memoir, pp 10-13.

A few extracts from letters received from missionary friends. One writes, 'I was with her here in Kuliang two summers ago. Her great interest was then the work among the children; and she was the chief organizer of the weekly meetings for them.' Another, writing from the same place, says :

She lives in many hearts and lives, I know, and every week here we have still the children's service, which constantly brings to my mind the verse, "She being dead yet speaketh."

You know that these services were started here two years ago on a small scale by dear little Elsie, who yearned over the community [European] children, and longed to draw them in. Only two or three who were not missionaries' children came that year. Last summer we had them again, and more came. Governesses too came with them, and to reach these Elsie longed, and sought opportunity, and she got some one to speak to the amahs while the children were having their address. This year the gathering is held every Tuesday, and has developed in a third direction; one of the Christian teachers comes and speaks to the chair coolies, that they too may hear the Gospel. ...

Another writes :

Elsie had so much encouragement in her work, and she was so bright and happy in it. All the results of the three short years of service in this land eternity alone will reveal, but we know that the gentle, loving life, and the earnest, faithful words, have been owned and blessed by God, and shall be. Dearest Elsie came to visit us early in May, and she and I had a delightful time together, such as we had not had since we were at Bethnal Green. We went itinerating together for a few days, and it was beautiful to see her with the people, she loved them so, and pleaded so earnestly with them. She was a great help to me, for I was getting a little discouraged ... Darling Elsie has often said to me since we came to China, that we have such an easy time of it. ...

The following extract is from a letter received from the Rev. W. Banister while this book was passing through the press :

A few days ago I received an account in Chinese of the last few days at Hwa-Sang. It was written by Miss Nellie Saunders' teacher. The party had been keeping their "Keswick Week" on the Mount of Glory (for Hwa-Sang may be thus translated), soon to be for them the glorious Mount of Transfiguration into Christ's glorious image. Elsie Marshall was the last speaker at a supplementary meeting for native workers, and she spoke on Luke ix. 24, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it : but whosoever will lose his life for My sake, the same shall save it." Prophetic words soon realized and fulfilled for them all!

Turner, H F, His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895. (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), pp 40-47.

April 23, (1894) Mr. Stewart says,

Miss Marshall is doing excellent work in her district. There is not a better missionary in the whole Mission. She is in it now, as happy as possible, and looking exceedingly well. Another lady is with her (Topsy Saunders), but she is in charge.

February 28, 1894, Elsie writes to her father having passed in little more than a year her second Chinese examination...

All examinations are for ever done with and gone and now I am free to live the whole of my life for Him among His Chinese. ..I did not tell you about the worst part of my examination; instead of a conversation with a native, I had to teach a class of girls before Mr. Stewart. I felt rather bad beforehand...

December 1894, on board a native boat. When I am alone in boats or sometimes in the country, I have my meals in native style, it is so much simpler not to have the trouble of knives, forks, bread,

etc. I buy something as an accompaniment of rice, borrow bowls and chopsticks and buy rice from the boat-people. It's grand!

However, experience did not confirm the wisdom of this plan. A few months later we find:

I have come to the conclusion that the hardest part of a missionary's life is having to eat. I would give anything if we had not bodies that need to be fed, or if I could live on Chinese food, but I never feel up to work on it, so I know it is not right to do it entirely. It is a bother to have to take one's food about. My servant has just walked in with a cock screaming to ask if it will do for dinner. He little knows how it hurts my feelings.

The question of lodging was sometimes as perplexing as that of board.

December 19th (1894), Native Inn. This inn is not so bad. Of course the room has a mud floor and mud wall, but it certainly might be dirtier, and of course, boards for beds, but we have our native mattresses. There is a board out of my door, so several little pairs of curious eyes are watching me write... We slept last night in a funny little village on the hills. It was called an inn, but no one had stopped there for a month, and the dust of many ages must certainly have accumulated. Even my servant was shocked at the dirt. However, I had a pretty good rest.

The following month the first shadow of coming trouble fell on the mission party at Ku-cheng. ...

This is the hardest thing God has ever asked me to do in all my life. He has told us to go away. Sometimes the devil will come and suggest all sorts of horrid things and say, 'What a coward you are to go away when the Christians may be going to have a time of persecution.' But we had simply no choice, we were told we *must* go. Mr. Stewart did say if it were a religious persecution and they were hunting Christians he would not ask us to leave, but as it is a rebellion practically against the mandarins, the Christians are in no more danger than anyone else.

By the end of May, the ladies were able to go back to their loved work.

June 4 (1895).— Started to examine a school here, three miles walk, passed by a village on the way and couldn't help going in. Soon we met a man who took us to a house, and there twenty or thirty women came in. We had good time. It is like sowing beside all waters, for I don't know when I can be round to that village again, and there is no chapel or school. In the afternoon I had a good time talking to the people of this place. They all came into my room and sat on what was to be my bed for the night—rather close quarters—but anywhere if only they will listen to the story—which they certainly did.

It is strange that while gaining fresh vigour of body and spirit at Hwa-Sang, she writes a few days afterwards (July 22, 1895);—

It does seem to me more and more likely that I shall not be coming home at all now. Our first meeting may be all 'at Home' in His presence, when He Himself comes to take us. No more longings after earthly homes then. Don't you think there are many signs that he is *very near*?

Child abandonment, infanticide and abortion are long standing practices in most countries, often for similar reasons.¹⁴ There are few impoverished societies free of such problems and certainly 19th century Britons had no real grounds for complacency.¹⁵

The CMS mission in Fuzhou operated a foundling's home "The Bird's Nest," with Miss Ada Nisbet, a CEZMS missionary from Tasmania, Australia, in charge for many years. In 1902 alone, it received fifty babies.¹⁶ Louisa Smyly Stewart instituted the home in 1889 with financial support from her family and

14 Miss Hessie Newcombe of the CEZMS was specific that the Chinese did provide asylums for abandoned babies and that the missionaries were providing for children outside the usual Chinese frameworks. See Turner, *op cit*, p. 16. For a contemporary account of child welfare issues in today's China see Johnson, Kay Ann, Amy Klatzhim (editor), *Wanting a Daughter, Needing a Son: Abandonment, Adoption, and Orphanage Care in China*, (St Paul Minn, Yeong and Yeong, 2004).

15 See Lowe Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong and Louis Ah Mouy, (1879), *The Chinese Question in Australia, 1879-80*, Melbourne. The three Chinese-Australians issued an indictment of contemporary British society in response to the frequent attacks on the Chinese.

16 Ada (Adeline) Nisbet and Emilie Stevens, both Tasmanians, came to China with the CEZMS in 1891. Macgillivray, Donald, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, (1807-1907)*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian

friends in Ireland and England again drawing on her family's experience with the Irish Church Missions.¹⁷

Ada Nisbet and Foundling Children



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

Mission Press, 1907), p 59. Miss E. P. Kingsmill, another Tasmanian, arrived in 1895. Barnes, op cit, p 175. Barnes added: 'the sums sent in to the Foreign Missionary Branch of the of the YWCA in Tasmania since July 1887, amounted to £66.16s.3d, so that the Association hopes to undertake the support of one missionary in China.' The Tasmanian Branch owed much of its vitality under God to its energetic Chairman and Treasurer, Mr. and Mrs. George Fagg. (Barnes p 163) who, as Miss Margaret Cooper, served with the Female Education Society and was a close friend of Mrs. Louisa Smyly Stewart. Together they appear to have been responsible for the entry of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society into Fujian Province. The archives of the YWCA of Tasmania were destroyed many years ago and no record of its Foreign Missionary Branch now exist. Barnes also refers to the support of the Irish YWCA for CEZMS (p 167).

17 Mrs. Ellen Smyly 'became the most public Protestant female figure in nineteenth century philanthropy. She had opened her first Bible school in Dublin in 1850 and by the 1870s had been instrumental in establishing at least six day schools and residential homes for poor and destitute children. . . . Smyly and her daughters sat on all the committees, raised funds for their projects, and oversaw the management of the various institutions they founded. Luddy, Maria (nd) 'Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth century Ireland', *Voluntas* Vol 7 No 4, (revised and extended) p 19.

Elsie Marshall gave this account of two little girls who were brought to the Gutian Foundling Home by a Biblewoman. This was typical of a genre of missionary literature that sought to attract funding to missionary work by highlighting social problems:

Two little girls are twins, and were rescued from being buried alive. A Biblewoman met a man carrying them in a basket, and asked him what he was going to do with them. He said, 'Bury them,' She asked him to give them to her, and he was quite willing, and so they were brought to the Home. All the children are girls, whom their parents did not want, and would have got rid of in some way.¹⁸

18 Marshall, Elsie, (c 1903), *'For His Sake', A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, London, The Religious Tract Society, p 114. See general discussion in Hook, Marion,) *'Save Some': C.E.Z.M.S. Work in Fuh-Kien*, (London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society/Marshall Bros, c1900

2.9 HESSIE NEWCOMBE, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, (Ireland).

1885. Offered for CEZMS after hearing Rev. Robert and Mrs. Louisa Stewart.

Studied at CEZMS Training Home, 'The Willows.'

October 18, 1886. Sailed for Foochow.

1894. Furlough in United Kingdom.

Hessie Newcomb was cut on the left cheek and left hand, probably with a spear and then thrown over a steep embankment, where were recovered the body.

Dr. J. J. Gregory

Hessie Newcombe.

1886



1895



(Left) Turner, H F, *His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895.*

(London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), p 142.

Right. *The Graphic*, London, 10 August 1895.

Turner, H F, His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895. (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), pp 17-31.

Miss Newcombe's own words, Written June, 1891, will most fitly describe the scope of the missionary ladies' operations.

We have three distinct kinds of work in this province.

The teaching in Boarding Schools of Christian women and girls, which work is generally united with visiting the heathen in the villages around.

Visiting the little Christian congregations scattered all over the country, helping and guiding the Biblewomen, etc....

Direct pioneering work among the heathen

My sister Hessie was from a child much interested in missions to the heathen. As far as we know her sympathies were first drawn out in that direction by the fact that her Sunday-school teacher to whom she was much attached, gave herself to serve in the foreign field. This teacher was Miss Graham, who, as Mrs. Bailey, worked in India among the lepers. It was many years later, in 1884, that the great blessing came to her heart and life, which resulted in her offering for work in China in the early summer of 1885. Special meetings of the Y.W.C.A. were made a great help to her, and also a fortnightly 'Holiness' meeting which was started in the house of a friend. Only those were invited whose desire was known to be to live 'All for Jesus'-our avowed object in meeting being to seek how our lives might be in the fullest possible way satisfying to Him who redeemed us.

Hessie was among the first to recognize His claim to a fuller service than she had yet given Him, and she longed intensely to be used of God to be 'a vessel meet for the Master's use.' In the spring of 1885, she received her definite call from the Lord to China, while listening to a sermon from the Rev. Robert Stewart on the words, 'Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses and this house lieth waste!' She told us how she heard the Lord's voice saying to her, 'I want You for China,' and she gladly responded. Hers was no grudging surrender. She rejoiced to leave all and follow Him.

She went with my sister Inie to 'The Willows' for a year, and they sailed together for China in 1886." ... The sisters landed at Foo-chow on a Saturday, and took their first lesson in the language on the Monday morning—a practical proof of the zeal with which they set about their Master's business. After they had been two months the Stewarts' guests, Mr. Stewart wrote:

I feel certain that the Miss Newcombes will do good work and be used by the Lord of the Harvest. They have already shown themselves peculiarly gifted in winning the affections of children."

In her first report home, Miss Hessie Newcombe speaks of the condition of the women, and throughout her journals she refers to their ignorant and neglected condition:-

At present go per cent. of our Christians are men! It has been clearly proved that the women of China can only be reached by women. In seventeen villages we visited round Lo-nguong we found wives and daughters of Christians of many years standing, as absolutely ignorant of the Gospel as their heathen sisters around them; and when again and again we asked their Christian male relations the reason, the one answer was: 'There is no woman to teach them; only women can teach women, they are so stupid! We men, how could we teach them?' It does not mend matters for us to blame the men.

Again of the Christian women she said:

Our great difficulty is the utter ignorance of the Christians themselves; in many villages not a single woman can read. They can neither join in our hymns nor prayers; though really believing in Christ as their Saviour, they know nothing of the wonderful life He lived down here. How can they imitate a life of which they know nothing? How can they obey commands or claim promises of which they have neither heard nor read?

For the first two years the study of Chinese necessarily occupied a great deal of their time. ...

Already Miss Newcombe had visited the scene of her after labours at Ku-cheng. This walled city of 60,000 inhabitants was, it may be remembered, one of the first outposts of the Foo-chow Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Banister were here in the spring of 1888, and for two months the sisters joined them. Ku-cheng is thus described:

A walled town which it takes us five or six days to reach from Foochow. We go up the river seventy miles, then we travel inland for thirty miles by road, which takes a day and a half, but we can return in twenty-four hours or a little over.

At the meeting of road and river there stands on the banks of the Min a place named Cui-Kau. Some of Miss Newcombe's last words home, last spring, speak of her heart's yearning for the dwellers there:

Near Cui-Kau there is a settlement of aborigines, such nice, bright-looking people. I have long prayed for an opening among them, and now it has come in a wonderful way. There is one family among them who, for twenty-eight years, have been worshipping God, and no one seemed to know anything about them. They heard of the meetings in Ku-cheng, and walked in all the way to be baptized,

It was not in the Master's plan for her to bring His light to Cui-Kau. Only four months passed from the day when these words were penned before the sorrowful procession of August 3rd bore through Cui-Kau the earthly remains of her whose spirit had yearned over its people. It is now for the Church on earth to care for these souls whom HESSIE NEWCOMBE has left to our keeping.

On April 20th (1895), we read almost her last letter:-

We have had to leave Ku-cheng on account of the troubles among the 'vegetarians.' What will come next none of us know. We only know our God reigneth and we are in His Hand. Hay we glorify Him whether in life or in death. ...

Her last letter home, written from Hwa-Sang, the scene of her martyrdom, seems to us too sacred for comment:-

Here I am in my little domain -a partition ten feet by eight feet. Just under the window is the little table where I write, so that whenever I lift my eyes they rest on a wilderness of soft, billowy, feathery bamboos. It is wonderfully restful and quiet up here.

Barnes, Irene H, Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C E Z M S Work and Workers in China, (London, Marshall Bros and Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1896), p 36.

Kien-ning-fu, capital of a large prefecture in the N.W. of the Fuh-kien province, is a city that has been, from its first contact with Christianity, determinedly opposed to it; so here in the seat of war we may well look for the Victory that hath overcome the world, and we shall not look in vain. The dragon may war and his angels, but, praise God! in this nineteenth century and in China it is true, as ever, they prevail NOT (see Rev. xii. 7, 8). Many years ago an attempt was made to plant the Gospel in this city. A small house was rented, and a native catechist, with one or two helpers, sent to occupy it. At first all seemed promising well. There was daily preaching in the front hall opening on to the street, and many Gospels and tracts were sold in the city. But the yearly examinations were coining on, and students from all the district round were gathered in the city. These men, moved with hatred at the sight of a 'Jesus Hall' in the very midst of their city, took unto them certain vile fellows of the rabble, and gathering a crowd, set the city on an uproar. They assaulted the 'Jesus Hall', and utterly demolished it, and bringing out the catechist in charge (Mr. Ling, husband of Chitnio) and his helpers, they beat them and otherwise treated them so cruelly and shamefully that the catechist never recovered, but died shortly afterwards. Among the ruins of the 'Jesus Hall' the literary men of Kien-ning city erected a memorial tablet, with an inscription of four words, 'Chue cia, cong ciang', which means 'Abolish the false, keep the true'; and underneath an explanation relating how they had abolished the false foreign doctrine, and how they were determined to keep the true old Confucian doctrine, and never, never to allow 'the foreigner's Jesus'; to have a hall in their city again.

Barnes, p 96.

Here is part of a very sweet little letter, written as recently as June 11th, 1895, from Kucheng, by Miss HESSIE NEWCOMBE, to Rachel Smyly, second daughter of Dr. W. Smyly, which we cannot forbear quoting:

MY DEAR LITTLE FRIEND,—

Miss Smyly has written to me, telling me you are collecting money to support a baby-girl in China, and that you wanted me to choose one for you, that you might have as your own little baby to be clothed and fed with

the money you send out. Soon after I got this letter, I went to a place called Sa-Yong, where Miss Codrington is working for Jesus. She told me the following story:

A few weeks ago one of the little girls came to school crying. I asked her why she was crying. She said, 'God has given mother a little baby-girl, and she says she does not want it, and will put it in the river and drown it.' Then the little girl looked up into my face and said, 'Will you take the baby, and not let it die?'; I told her God had given mother the baby, and she ought to take care of it herself she must run and tell her mother this. 'But I know mother will put it in the river,' said the child as she went sadly home.

The chapter I was reading in the Bible that day was Isaiah Iviii., and it said in verse 7, 'That thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house' I thought at once of that poor little baby, and I thought I heard God's voice telling me to take the child. I sent a Christian woman to the house where the mother lived. She found the poor baby lying on the ground, crying under the bed, hungry and cold, with no one to love it or care for it. She brought the child back to me. We fed it with some warm milk, and put some nice warm clothes on it, and got a Christian woman to nurse it for us.

When Miss Codrington told this story, I thought of you at once, and told her I knew of a little girl in Dublin who would like to adopt this baby as her own. ...I hope you will daily pray for your baby, that she may grow up God's little child.

Your friend, HESSIE NEWCOMBE.

Every Woman's Encyclopaedia : 2. Our Fellow-Women In Foreign Lands. No. 2. The Medical Work Of The Church Of England. Zenana Missionary Society

The late Miss Hessie Newcombe wrote home in one of her letters: "I much doubt if there is any place where the opium has not penetrated. I can only speak from experience of one of the provinces. One of my own teachers compared its ravages to the last plague of Egypt, as she said there was scarcely a family without one victim to this awful scourge. When she questioned me with horror as to the report that this poison came from England, I did not dare to tell her the whole truth, that our Christian Government obtained a portion of its revenue from the sale. I only said that there were men in England and elsewhere who love money more than God, but that truly Christian people were very sorry for the Chinese."

2.10 FLORA LUCY STEWART, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, (England).

Daughter of Rev. James Stewart, Rector of Little Stukeley, Huntingdonshire.

Attended School run by Mrs. Pennefather,
wife of clergyman closely associated with Mildmay, London.

Lived at home and cared for younger siblings.

1890. Heard Mrs. Louisa Stewart at Wimbledon missionary meeting.

1892. Attended meeting addressed by Rev. Robert Stewart.

October 28, 1891, Sailed for China. Accompanied by brother.

I failed to find any serious wound on the body
of Miss Stewart. I am inclined to think she died
from shock.

Dr. J. J. Gregory

Flora Lucy Stewart



The Church Missionary Intelligencer, September 1895, p 137.

The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, (England), 7 August 1895.

Our Huntingdon correspondent telegraphs that Miss Flora Stewart was the eldest daughter of the Rev. James Stewart, rector of Little Stukeley. Miss Stewart was well known throughout the district as a very zealous missionary worker. In the autumn of 1892 she volunteered for Zenana mission work in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and went out to China under the care of the Rev. R. W. Stewart, to whom, however, she was not related. In her letters home she appeared to be quite cheerful, stating that she was readily acquiring the Chinese language, that she was well received wherever she went, and was getting well in touch with villagers among whom she laboured. The news of her death has come to Mr. and Mrs. Stewart under exceptionally trying circumstances, for it was only on Friday last that they had buried their eldest son.

Turner, H F, His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895. (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, c 1896), pp 32-39.

Always a supporter of missionary work. Attended Mildmay Conferences. Influenced by visit of Mrs. Tiong Ahok. Arrived at Kucheng, Christmas 1891. Worked with HESSIE NEWCOMBE and ADA NISBET. Used the Wordless Book (see later in this part)

April 1894, makes first itineration accompanied by Chinese servant.

Suffered illness and sent to Sharp Peak and later to Kuliang Sanatorium.

2.11 LOUISA STEWART: Last Word From Huashan.

The final letter received from Huashan was written by Louisa Stewart, and dated the day before the massacre. It is in a sense a mundane missionary letter but the deeper value lies in the absolute absence of any knowledge of the attack that was to take place the following morning. The letter was addressed to K.M. whose identity is not known, but as the letter was published in Australia, it was presumably a resident of Melbourne.¹⁹

Hua Sang, near Ku Cheng, July 30th 1894

Our days fly by so quickly, and are so filled with work. I was very glad to hear from you, and to know that you had all reached home safely. We were much pleased to hear of the books you were able to get for the Missionary Library, and also about the Magic Lantern, and we shall not forget to pray that the Lord may richly bless both, as a means of deepening the interest taken in the advancement of His Kingdom. We are just now having our time of rest; it is the middle of the hot season, when it is not very safe to travel; and we have found a cool retreat in the hills not far from our home in Ku Cheng city. It is just about four hours journey by sedan chair. The distance is not great, yet it is very much cooler up here, and already the mountain air has done wonders for our children. They were beginning to look quite pale and thin. Our sweet little baby girl, who was only born on June 24th, and who, of course, came up with us to this mountain village, is growing quickly and is as well and strong as can be. The Millards are just now in Foo Chow; he came alone to see us at Ku Cheng; their second little son was born on July 17th; their plans are not quite settled yet; there is an overwhelming amount of work waiting just now to be done among the heathen in this province. How I wish I could give you some idea of the need! One seems powerless to give a true picture; since our return to China this time I have been impressed even more than before with the unutterable misery and hopelessness of the lives of these poor heathen women.

My husband has charge of two great Districts (we should call them 'Counties' at home), about five thousand square miles in extent.. This great region is densely populated; it has towns and villages without number. Just think of it, only one Missionary and a few ladies for all this! Oh, that more workers would come out, chosen by God and filled with His Spirit! They would find a glorious field awaiting them.

God is opening the door wide in China; we see a great difference since our return; prejudice is considerably broken down, and the people are so willing as a rule to listen to our message.

The Day Schools are being much used; this year we have about 50 in these two Districts alone. More than half the children are from utterly heathen homes, yet they learn God's Word and our simple hymns, and often are the means of bringing the 'good news' home to their parents. In many places there is a great desire to hear the Gospel; we heard of one only last week where the Gospel has not long been preached, but where there are now more than 100 men and women who meet together every Sunday to worship 'the true God.' I am sure you will pray for us, and whenever the 19th comes, don't forget to ask that God may soon send out 'more labourers.'

19 *The Missionary at Home and Abroad*, (Melbourne) Vol xxii, No 21, September 1895, pp 350-351.

2.12 THE STEWARTS IN CHINA, 1876-1884: THE WU SHIH SHAN INCIDENT. 乌石山教案

After their marriage the couple travelled to Fuzhou to join the C.M.S. Mission in Fujian Province. They were accompanied by the Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd. Robert Stewart, a distinguished university graduate, was placed in charge of the Theological College and Boys' School. He erected a new building for the College on a piece of land owned by a Chinese temple body but before it was completed it was wrecked by a Chinese mob at the behest of a group of Chinese literati who disputed the right of the mission to use the land. The Stewarts and their first child narrowly escaped death.²⁰ Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister to China, advised London that Stewart was a man "to whose good pleasure everything is to give way" and that if Stewart remained in China, "he would cause trouble."²¹ Another of the Dublin missionaries, the Rev. J. S. Collins, referred to the events at Fuzhou in a note published after Stewart's death: "He had adopted a distant and rather overbearing manner during the first few years of his residence in China which he told me he greatly regretted."²² The mission was forced to move to a new location on Nantai Island (now Cangshang District, Foochow) where a new college was opened. When he eventually returned to China in 1893, Stewart seems to have mellowed and there was no further conflict between him and members of the literati. The Saunders sisters benefitted from the advice of Louisa Stewart that they behave in a: "most quiet manner and take 'studious care not to offend any class of the natives.'"²³

The following correspondence over the "Wu Shih Shan" incident was exchanged with London giving Stewart's view of events.

Foochow City

September 6th 1878

My Dear Mr. Wright,

You have seen probably, long before this, the telegram announcing the destruction by a hired band of ruffians of our beautiful new College. I had written you a long letter telling you the joyful news of its completion, and was about sending it to you, when, suddenly, this unexpected misfortune came upon us, and I had not then the heart to send it. However, I will begin at the beginning and give you in a few words a short history of the whole matter. In a former letter I told you of an offer we had received of a piece of ground on which to build a College near our house on the "U-Sioh-Sang" hill, the price named being \$2000. We wrote to friends of ours at home, and very soon the sum was collected; but meanwhile the owners increased their demand to \$3000; this we decided to guarantee, for the Mission needed a College so much, and there seemed to be no spot near, suitable for so large a house as we wanted. But this large sum was also rejected as soon as we had agreed to it, and the owners gave us to understand they would not sell for any price, the Mandarins having privately threatened them with all sorts of vengeance if they parted to foreigners their own property. In despair, then, we turned our thoughts to a little insignificant piece of ground within our own compound, which we had not thought of before; it looked so small, filled as it was with rubbish and building materials. However, on measuring it, and planning the house to lie against the side of the hill, so that the second story should be larger than the first, and the third larger than the second; and also being content with a not very symmetrical looking structure—usefulness rather than ornament being the object—it turned out that a house could be put up with 48 little rooms, each about 7 1/2 feet square, for as many students, and in addition a large dining room and a lecture hall, and a private study and lecture room for the European in charge. Giving each a little room to himself would have, we thought, the great advantage of enabling them to read and pray undisturbed, a thing impossible where all are huddled together in big rooms. The plan being made out, Mr. Wolfe and I called on H.M.'s Consul, Mr. Sinclair, to ask his permission to build; he came to see the place himself, and after some consideration, gave me his *written consent* to do as we desired, only provided I

20 See Letters from the Rev. Robert Stewart on the Recent Disturbances in Foochow, 6 September 1878. See also the Wu Shih Shan Trial, Hong Kong Daily News, 1879. (both available online).

21 Sir Thomas Wade to the Marquis of Salisbury, 23 May, 1879, *Great Britain, Foreign Office, Confidential Correspondence*, XXIII, p 170, cited in Kirby, James E, 'The Fuzhou Anti-Missionary Riot — August 30, 1878,' pp 665-679 in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 25, No 4, August 1966.

22 *DUFM*, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China'. p. 58.

23 *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 10 August 1895.

promised to stop building on objection being raised by the Literati. This was more than should have been required of me, for our Treaty gave us equal rights with the natives to build on our own ground; nor, indeed, was it *necessary* to ask his permission at all; however, to stop all questions afterwards we did so, and also made the required promise, and what more could be asked of us? The Literati Club house is higher up on our hill, and its occupants looking down could see each day the materials being carried up the hill on men's shoulders, and the walls rising higher and higher; and surely, if they had any objection, they would be expected to make it before the building had progressed many days. But not a word was said. Three months passed away, and at last the walls were finished and the roof on, and still no objection; yet another fortnight passed, the carpenters were hard at work on the inside putting up the little wooden rooms, a large number of the window frames and Venetians had been previously made, and we lying in the house; when suddenly, I got a notice from the Consul to "stop building," he not knowing the roof was on. On my replying that all was finished except this inside wooden work, he came himself to see, and acknowledged that is "certainly was not a very remarkable looking house"; that the objectors were "only children"; and that it was now "too late"; and he could "only write to the authorities and say there was now nothing to stop, for they had spoken too late." I thought that was the end of the matter, the Consul appearing quite decided that nothing could now be said in the way of objection; but, to my surprise, some days afterwards, at the instigation of the authorities, Mr. Sinclair wrote asking me to 'do him a kindness: and kindly stop the carpenters working *outside the house*, as the Taoutai had been to his house to beg him to get me to yield in this matter.

Now I am sure you will agree with me that such a request as this was not fair to be made to me. I was most anxious to behave respectfully to H.M's Consul, and carry out his wishes in everything, remembering he was my superior. But this was not a private matter, but one affecting our whole Mission work all over the country; if I sopped work in this the Treaty Port, to please a few of the Literati, who disliked foreigners and the spread of Christianity, all over the country the same thing would be tried, and with the action of the Missionary here as a precedent, it would be impossible to hold our ground. My plain duty I felt was to respectfully decline to do the Consul the favour he asked, and in this am backed by *every* European I have mentioned the matter to since.

An official despatch, sent the *same time*, I copy for your information, with my reply: —

BRITISH CONSULATE

June 28, 1878

SIR,—I beg leave to transmit herewith copy, which you may retain, of an official communication, dated the 25th instant, which has reached me from the Taoutai, Superintendent of Foreign Affairs; it contains a complaint, that has been made to the authorities, of a house which it is said you are erecting adjoining your premises, and which it is pretended is giving offence to the susceptibilities of the native population. *I am aware* that the house spoken of is being put up *within your boundary wall*, and that *you received my consent* to its being erected on the spot where it now is in *almost complete state*. On the other hand, the Taoutai's dispatch has brought forward the question as to the description of tenure under which your Mission occupies the ground upon which several European buildings have been raised in the rear and on the sides of the Tao-Shan-Kwan, Taoist Temple. You will see from the Chinese dispatch that it is asserted that ground has been enclosed which has not yet been rented to the Mission, and that a portion of it has been surreptitiously let by one of the priests of the temple without possessing authority to do so. As this is a matter which can only properly be looked into an explained by Mr. Wolfe, who made the arrangements in the first instance, I have informed the Taoutai that nothing will be done until Mr. Wolfe's return, when officers on both sides will be appointed to inspect the locality in order to ascertain whether the assertion be true that ground is enclosed by the Mission to which it has not a just right. I would, therefore, beg you to request Mr. Wolfe to call at the Consulate on his return to this port, in order that steps may be taken for the inspection of the locality.

I am etc. CHARLES SINCLAIR.

To this I replied: —

SIR, — ...In your despatch you make a request on behalf of the Chinese authorities which I greatly regret I cannot comply with, even at the risk of incurring your displeasure, which I would gladly go a long way to avoid. The Taoutai's request contained in your letter, is, I venture to think, most unreasonable; he would have the wood-work fittings inside the house stopped, because he things we

have no right to the ground on which the house is built, whereas if he were to look at the Deed by which we hold, —unless it has been tampered with, in the same manner which they tried before, viz., by cutting out certain words and substituting others in their place, —one look at the boundaries mentioned it, and another at our premises, would be sufficient to show him he is mistaken in doubting our right to the side of the house in question. Or if he admits this, but objects on religious grounds to the “Fung Chwui” being ‘affected in a southerly direction,’ how is it that now for *three months*, every brick, tile, and piece of wood comprising the house, has been carried from a distance to the hill in open day without any concealment whatever, in the sight of the native population, no objection being raised, till now nearly *one month* after the commencement of the roof, and two weeks since the whole outside of the building was finished. Numbers of people have for these three months, from day to day, watched the house progressing; I have spoken to many of them, and never saw in one of their faces an angry look, or heard an angry word concerning it, except, I think, in one case, a literary man, who was swaggering about as if the whole hill belonged to him. The wood-work fittings, windows, doors, etc., are all completed and lying in the house, ready to be inserted in their frames, which will be only a few days’ work; and even if it should come to the worst, and the house have to be taken down, whether the wood-work is lying in it as it is now, or inserted in its framework, will make no difference whatever as to money. That Missionaries in the city are not disliked by “the people,” one fact is, I think, sufficient to prove, viz., that the only places where foreigners are greeted pleasantly with the polite question, if they have “eaten their rice yet,” is about the Missionary houses. About our hill here, we seldom meet with a hard word, I may say *never*, except from strangers; they invite us into their houses, give us tea to drink, and come to see our houses, and when we preach listen in numbers, quietly standing in the streets; whereas when we go out to the Foreign Settlement, we hear nothing as we pass along but abuse—“Foreign Child,” considered a most rude remark, is the least rude greeting we get; so that to say “the people” object to our having houses, and living in the city or our hill, is simply denied by facts, which any one can test for himself; the whole thing rises from two or three members of that most idle, worthless class, the Literati; and that they should try to knock us about like this with our Treaty—giving us equal rights with other nations—straight before their eyes, seems to me, I must confess, most unfair.

I am, etc.. R.W. STEWART

From this Chinese despatch, as quoted in Mr. Sinclair’s letter, you see that the points brought against us are three in number. (1) A question of *tenure* under which we hold all our property here; (2) *Encroachment*, holding land without deeds for it; (3) Tang Chwai, the *religious* sensibilities of the people affected.

Now, as to the first two of these objections, the deeds of the land are the only evidence, and those stamped by the official Chinese stamp, so are by law held to be themselves sufficient proof of our right, without inquiring further back. They were drawn up by Mr. Wolfe, some twelve years ago, and I had carefully enquired of him before he went away whether the site of the College was certainly ours by the deed, and he said it certainly was. The Consul himself, who was here at the time of making the deed, in 1867, has also privately admitted our right. However, we have always been quite ready to leave the matter of “encroachment” tried in a proper formal manner; and the Consul had intimated to the Chinese, that if they had this charge they might summon Mr. Wolfe before him, to try the case properly. The *completing* the inside of the house made no difference whatever as to the course to be pursued, should the trial go against us, and the *not* completing it would have been put out; for this reason, as well as the baneful effect on our whole Mission work, which I have mentioned, I felt it right to refuse to comply with the request to stop the work inside the house.

And as to the third objection to the house, that it “affected the religious susceptibilities of *the people*,” I ask you, do not the facts of the case prove most clearly that this is a mere excuse of the Literati? To wilfully wound the feelings of the people in such a way as this, would be the reverse of what we hold to be right, and be the worst way, too, of carrying out the design for which we have left our homes. But it is not so; how can we be asked to believe it in the face of what has occurred? For three long months the building went on, growing higher and higher each day, hundreds coming to see it, not a word said against it. Among our visitors I saw the priests of the three temples near it; the Literati Club is right above the hill, so that the

members of the club must have seen all that went on from the beginning; not one murmur heard till this particular man named Ling returned from Canton, and he at once raises the cry, “*the people* object on religious grounds,” and by dint of great exertions and bribery, has brought all this trouble upon us. He has for years been the leader in anti-foreign disturbances here, and should long ago have been seized by the authorities; but instead of this, he is even now after what has taken place allowed to walk at large, openly declaring he does not care for our Treaty, and is “not afraid of the foreigners,” burning a house put up with the consent of the British Consul, completely wrecking another house (the old one in which Mr. Smith, C.M.S., lived) and placarding all over the city that *ours* must also be destroyed next Tuesday night. If this sort of thing is to go on we had better be told plainly that the Treaty between England and China is no longer in force, and we shall then at least save $\text{€}5$ per head for “Registration” at the Consulate, and know better how to act. If this whole matter has done us no other good, it has certainly proved to every unprejudiced mind that “the people” do not *object* to our being in the city, and building what is necessary there. In this case, beyond the fact that a *foreigner* is putting up the house, there was nothing that could be objected to. On the outside resembling a native house, it was so situated as to be *invisible* from the north (the *city side*) and the east, and only *partially* seen from the west (where there is *but this one* Literacy Club on the hill) and the south (the side of the foreign settlement); in fact, it was built in a little curve of the hill which almost entirely concealed it, and one might live all one’s life in the city and never know of its existence, unless you went to look for it; that at least it was not conspicuous, or an eyesore in any sense to any one; the fact of no one objecting till two weeks after its completion, is sufficient proof; nor would anything then have been said if Mr. Ling had not returned. So much then for these three points raised in the Taoutai’s despatch respecting tenure, encroachment and religion.

To continue the story. After my first declining to stop the inside work, dispatches came and went, no new objections being raised for about another month, when, the house being almost finished, sufficiently so as to allow the students to at once take possession on their return, in order to please these “children” I stopped work, and got thus ten days’ holiday out of the burning sun, which I spent at “Sharp Peak,” It has been the hottest summer for many years, and the looking after the house kept me most of the day in the open air, so that a good sea blowing was very enjoyable. On Mr. Wolfe’s return the Consul made an appointment with the Mandarins for an inspection of the premises, to examine into the question of encroachment. Last Friday was the day agreed on, and an officer of the Consulate, with Mr. Wolfe and myself, waited in our house here for the Mandarins and a deputation of the Literati, who had appointed eleven o’clock for the meeting. Soon they appeared, but instead of coming alone they were followed by a large crowd of Literati and roughs, and so closely the doors could not be shut upon them. Mr. Wolfe got stuck in a scuffle at the door, and immediately demanded the arrest of the offender. The Consular officer insisted on this being done before he would speak on the matter they had come about. The Mandarins either could not or would not do so, and things began to look unpleasant; the house filled with rough-looking men, who refused to go out. At last some kind of inspection was held down at the new College, but it was merely a pretence, and it was easy to see that mischief was in the wind. After a time we returned back to our house without coming to any final decision, further than the Mandarins, through their interpreter, seemed to be of opinion that our right to the place was indisputable. On arriving at the house, we found the mob much increased, surrounding the whole premises; things were looking worse. Our watchman came to tell me he feared there was trouble coming, the numbers still increasing and becoming more daring. One great ruffian, stripped to the waist, all ready for battle, who I saw going down towards the girls’ school, and ran down to intercept, gave me tangible proof he was not to be trifled with. At this period, the whole thing being an arrangement between Mandarins and Literati, the former left us, and the Consular officer also going away, the Missionaries had the mob all to themselves. The Consul had already been written to, explaining to him the state of affairs, and about 4 o’clock arrived in person, and sent for help to the Viceroy; and about 5.30 p.m. the first stones were thrown at the College. Being informed of it by a Christian, I at once gave notice to the Consul, who was up at my house; and several Mandarins, with their soldiers, make some slight show, after as long a delay as possible, of going round to interfere. But, thought there was only at this time a few men and a number of boys at work, not a hand was raised to arrest anyone. Others then seeing this joined in, and finally, in the presence of H.M.’s Consul and ten or twelve Mandarins, with their troops, the beautiful College was torn to pieces and set fire to; and also the old house next to it, built by Mr. Smith, was totally wrecked, so that it must be pulled

down entirely and built up again from the foundation. At the commencement of it the Mandarins on the spot sent for orders to the Viceroy (as we hear on good authority), who alone is responsible to the Chinese Government, and who is also an old enemy of the "foreign religion," asking him whether the soldiers should *really* interfere or not; and he replied, "Let the people do as they like;" and so these hired ruffians, brought by the Literati from a distance to do their cruel work, had it all their own way; and the house is now in ruins, and Mr. Smith's old house, occupied before by the students, is in almost as deplorable a condition. Our poor students lost, many of them, everything they possessed, to the value of some 500 dollars. I have advanced this to them myself, after carefully examining their claims and being satisfied that they were all right, and will take my chance of some day getting it back from the Mandarins.

That night, you may be sure, we did not sleep much, the verandahs filled with noisy soldiers, who stole everything they could lay their hands on, and tried hard to force the inside doors of the house, and the rooms being occupied by the poor students, who had no place else to sleep; and when near morning we lay down, it was a garb suitable for flight at a moment's notice, for we fully expected every minute the mob to leave the burning house to come to ours. However, that time we escaped, and next morning, with the daylight, came new hopes that the trouble was at an end; but this was not to be; about 8 a.m. stragglers commenced to come in to the garden, the doors having all been broken in the night before, but no attempt was made by the soldiers to stop them—they rapidly increased till our garden was almost filled. The Consul, *of his own accord*, wrote me to know if a body of "Blue Jackets" would be necessary for the "protection of the Mission property," the gunboat "Nassau" having come into the port the day before. I replied I did not think so, for I dreaded a collision between them and the Chinese, which might have had a most disastrous effect; it was better, I thought, to run any risk than this. However, things got worse and worse, crowds were around the girls' school, and the verandahs of our own house were filled by the mob; nothing between them and us but the inside glass door which they were pressing against hard; any moment and they might be in. I begged Mrs. Stewart to at once go out by a back-door with her nurse and baby, and calling at the girls' school take Miss Houston and the girls away. The passage between the houses being just then pretty clear of people, our party all got safely away from the school, and made the best of their way on foot in the burning sun, without even an umbrella over the heads, till they got to the American Church, about a mile and a half distant, between this and "the settlement." There they were most kindly treated and procured native sedan-chairs which took them to Mr. Wolfe's house. This was another strong proof that "the people" do not dislike us, for there was nothing to prevent their insulting the ladies as they walked along, and yet nothing of the kind was attempted. I felt quite certain of this myself when I asked them to go, the paid ruffians being all occupied at my house. At the same time, with a most reluctant, sad heart, I sent a messenger to the Consul to accept his offer of assistance; but it turned out the gunboat was down at the anchorage, ten miles down the river, and could not come up in consequence of the shallowness of the water; however, from some unknown cause, suddenly, just as I thought the house was doomed and I was all prepared for making the most of my way out, my luggage consisting of a knife in my pocket, a watch in another, and a couple of books ready at hand to put under my arm, the crowd left the verandahs and gradually dwindled down to some fifty or sixty, who satisfied themselves by smashing our little stable and tearing down every shrub, plant, and tree in the garden round the house, in which they were kindly assisted by the soldiers, till darkness put an end to their work; and so ended the second of two most trying days. Mr. Wolfe came in again that night and most kindly kept me company. It was not gratifying that of all the faces I have learnt to know while preaching in the streets with the students, not one was to be seen among the rioters. Those who were there did us good service, striving their very best to keep the crowds quiet; so much so that I wondered some of them did not get into trouble for interfering on our behalf. Two friends gave us assistance in a rather cunning manner. The soldiers having stolen the keys of all the outside doors the night before, while on guard, we had to barricade them on the inside; but one of these doors we could not fasten, and I did not know how the people would be kept from coming in at it. When I saw a crowd around it, and heard the handle being turned backwards and forwards in the morning, I thought the people must be coming in, and went to remonstrate with them; but I was greeted with jeers, and came back again thinking there was no help for it, and if they got in, I knew there would be no chance of getting them out; but strange to say, although the twisting and turning of the handle continued, no seemed able to open the door, and yet I knew it was not locked; however, at last I found out the secret, for as I watched unobserved inside the house I saw the door, which was a stiff one, and would

bear a good deal of pushing without opening, twice open a little and then immediately shut again, as if opened by mistake, and the twisting and twirling, and pushing went on again as vigorously as ever. The explanation was that two friends had possession of the handle, and while they pushed and pulled on one else could get hold of it, and so, from morning till evening, these two men monopolized the door, pulling and dragging most lustily all the time, and so saved the house. Next day—Sunday— we went to church in the city as usual; the city people were ashamed, I think, of what was done, and hardly a rough word was heard in the streets. Every day since we have walked and done our work in the streets, even when it was dark, and no ill-feeling shown by the people; indeed, every day there are fresh proofs that the actions of Friday and Saturday were not the actions of the free people, but only of a paid mob, brought from a distance to carry out the will of a few of the Literati; and let no one say henceforth the “the people’ dislike our being in the city. We are now promised an exhibition of the same kind next Tuesday night, when there will be a great annual festival, the only difference being that this time it is to be foreigner’s own houses, with any amount of booty for any one who likes to go and take it. The babies and girls’ schools are all to leave on Monday, and we have sent away a few things, chiefly keepsakes from home, which money could never replace; we dare not send much for fear of attracting notice; it is not a pleasant kind of existence; and the European merchants are very indignant about it; they held a special meeting on the subject the other night, passing resolutions of sympathy and support, which I believe have been telegraphed home; but we have no doubt whatever that it is all for the good and furtherance of the God’s work, though we do not know how, and so do not really repine. He let the College be built when, at any time during the three months it was in progress, one would of objection would have stopped it; we are certain that His hand guided us from the beginning to end in the most remarkable manner in the erection of it; and now He has allowed it to be destroyed. The heathen scoff at us, and ask, “Where is now Siong Ta, your God?—Hew could not stop your house burning;” but we know He is as near us as ever, and the faith of the native Christians should encourage us greatly, for they are not one atom shaken, and have behaved most bravely, confessing boldly in the crowd the other day that they were Christians, and receiving, some of them, pretty severe handling for doing so. They are now reduced to sleeping in the churches, on boards placed over the pews, without having even a change of clothes, and yet do not grumble in the least; their only grief is that they have lost their Bibles, which they had spent much labour and time in noting and writing parallel texts in, with a few commentaries and helps; this is a great loss, and one cannot blame their grief. It may be that this whole matter is sent in order to make our Home Government more firm in maintaining our Treaty, which the Mandarins have long in many cases ignored, and refused to do for us what they did for other nations in a like case; or it may that a time of persecution is at hand, such as we have never before known, for this will certainly follow if our affairs here are not strongly taken up by the English authorities; and if so, may God’s little church in this province bear the trial bravely, and be purified of its dross, and show by their lives, as well as by their words, that Christianity is a reality; that Christ is a real friend to them, to support them when they have no other friend. The north wind may be what we most need; then let it come, and it is well that we, the foreign Missionaries, should feel the cold blast first. I know many at home do not forget the Foochow Mission in their prayers; we, all of us, need them very, very much, the foreigner as much as the native.

Yours very truly, ROBERT W STEWART.

FOOCHOW CITY, September 14th 1878

My dear Mr. Wright,

You got so many accounts of our troubles here by the last mail that perhaps it is as well mine should have waited over for a week, and I can now give you the latest news, and relieve you of all anxiety as to the fresh disturbance which was expected last Tuesday night. Every one prophesied that the great Annual Festival celebrated that night on our hill would be taken advantage of to induce the people to attack the remainder of our houses. Thousands of people come up each year with torches and burn incense in a great iron cauldron on the very top of the hill, known by the name of “The Altar to Heaven and Earth,” from about nine o’clock in the evening till daylight next morning there is usually seen one long line of worshippers going up on the hill and another long line descending; we watched it from our windows last year, and it seemed as if the whole city had turned out; between the destruction of the two mission-houses on the Friday and Saturday till this last Tuesday proclamations and

inflammatory addresses were flying about the city and pasted upon the walls, written evidently, from the style, by the Literati, inciting the people against us, speaking of us as “foreign thieves,” and by other opprobrious names, and calling on the people to rise en masse, and follow the example “the boys” had shown a few days before, when they destroyed two of the “foreign thieves” houses, burning one of them to the ground. We sent some of them to the Consul for his perusal, though indeed without expecting any good would arise from it; for, if the Mandarins “could not” as they said, stop the destruction of the two houses, it was hardly to be hoped they could stop any further outrage, though in reality there is no one here but sees that it was not a question of “could not” but “would not.” However, one of our gunboats arriving just at that time at the “Anchorage,” the Consul ordered it up to the Settlement; and we think its appearance, and the prospect of some “Blue Jackets” making their way into the city, rather frightened the authorities into taking some decided step; and, on the day before (Monday) a strong proclamation was put out by the Viceroy, commanding the people not to pull down any more houses. He also sent a good guard of soldiers, with, strange to say, their arms with them. It is most unlikely they had any ammunition with them; I looked for it, but could see no signs of any; certainly they had no bayonets, still the sight of the guns was unusual, that between that and the rain which descended that night, no hostile movement was shown. We were all prepared for it in case it should have been so; Mrs. Stewart, Miss Houston, the women and girls all went out to the Settlement, and everything in the way of ornament in the house was moved out of sight upstairs, some of them concealed in the roof, so that if they only plundered the house and not burned it, we expected they would have had some trouble in finding everything, especially those secreted up the trap-door; however as nothing has taken place, we are sorry we took so much trouble in hiding them. I thought it better to remain in the city, for the sake chiefly of encouraging the poor Christians, who had been distinctly told that the churches in which they had taken shelter after the burning of the College and the wrecking of their old house, would that night be pulled down, and there would then have been no place but the streets for them. It was for the sake of the poor catechists’ wives chiefly; for themselves I do not think they had any fear. However, now all is passed over, our troubles being reduced to bad-looking men of the upper class, apparently of the Literati class, coming daily into the garden, peering into the windows, going down to the girls’ school and making most horrible remarks about the poor Bible-women, who, for lack of some other house, Mrs. Stewart is obliged to teach in one of the rooms of our own house,—only for what has happened they were to have occupied the present boys’ school. As in this the soldiers are if anything worse than the people, it is almost hopeless to make complaint, and beyond this we are told we may live in peace till the 9th of next month, which being the great kite-flying day, these “children,” large and small, some up in crowds on the hill and fly kites, on this day the soldiers quietly tell us we shall have our houses pulled down. The prestige of England has sadly fallen in the eyes of the people, every “Celestial” is bound in his very nature to suspect foreigners, and not to love them; but until now there seemed here to be a kind of indefinite fear of insulting an Englishman; but this has apparently, with strange rapidity, vanished since the day they saw our houses destroyed in the presence of H.M.’s Consul, and the large number of Mandarins also present taking the whole thing as rather a good joke, and unless the matter be taken up strongly and firmly by the Home Government, it is not easy to see where next our Treaty will be ignored. Between us here and the merchants at the “Settlement” the step is not a long one, for we are all “foreigners,” and their clubhouse is just now hotly spoken against, because of its five windows lighted up in the evening, which they say are like five great eyes looking over at the city and most injurious to the “Fung Chai” [fung shui]. The resolutions they passed the other night condemning in strong terms the actions of the authorities is not stopping the riot, and arresting the Literati leaders, we are not entirely disinterested. I hear, on good authority, that the Mandarin who, of all others, is most bitterly opposed to foreigners, and is a bosom friend and chief adviser of the Viceroy, publicly said there need be no fear for what had taken place, for that up North an Englishman (Mr. Margary) had been killed, and little notice taken of it by the English nation.²⁴

24 Pott, F L H, *A Short History of Shanghai*, (Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, 1928), Ch. X.
“The Indian Government in 1874, acting under instructions from the British Home Government, despatched an expedition under Colonel Browne to proceed into Yunnan by way of Bhamo, in order to open up a trade route

Margary Memorial, Shanghai.²⁵



This one of our leading Christians told me, and if it be, as I believe it is, true, it shows what the effect of such a lenient action on the part of England has on the Chinese mind. I replied to the Christian that I knew about that, but that England then indulged the Chinese, and willingly let them off what she might have demanded. "Yes," he said, but the Mandarin affirmed it was true because "England was afraid to do anything else." The Consul called here the other day and told me he had written very strongly to Lord Salisbury, and said he hoped the Church Missionary Society would back him up with all their power. Whether we were right or wrong in building the College (not that we have any doubt ourselves in the matter), the Consulate has been severely snubbed, for it was open for a fair trial of the case of "encroachment," and the Consul had intimated to the authorities his readiness to hear the case against Mr. Wolfe as defendant, and decide the point legally; but they, in effect,

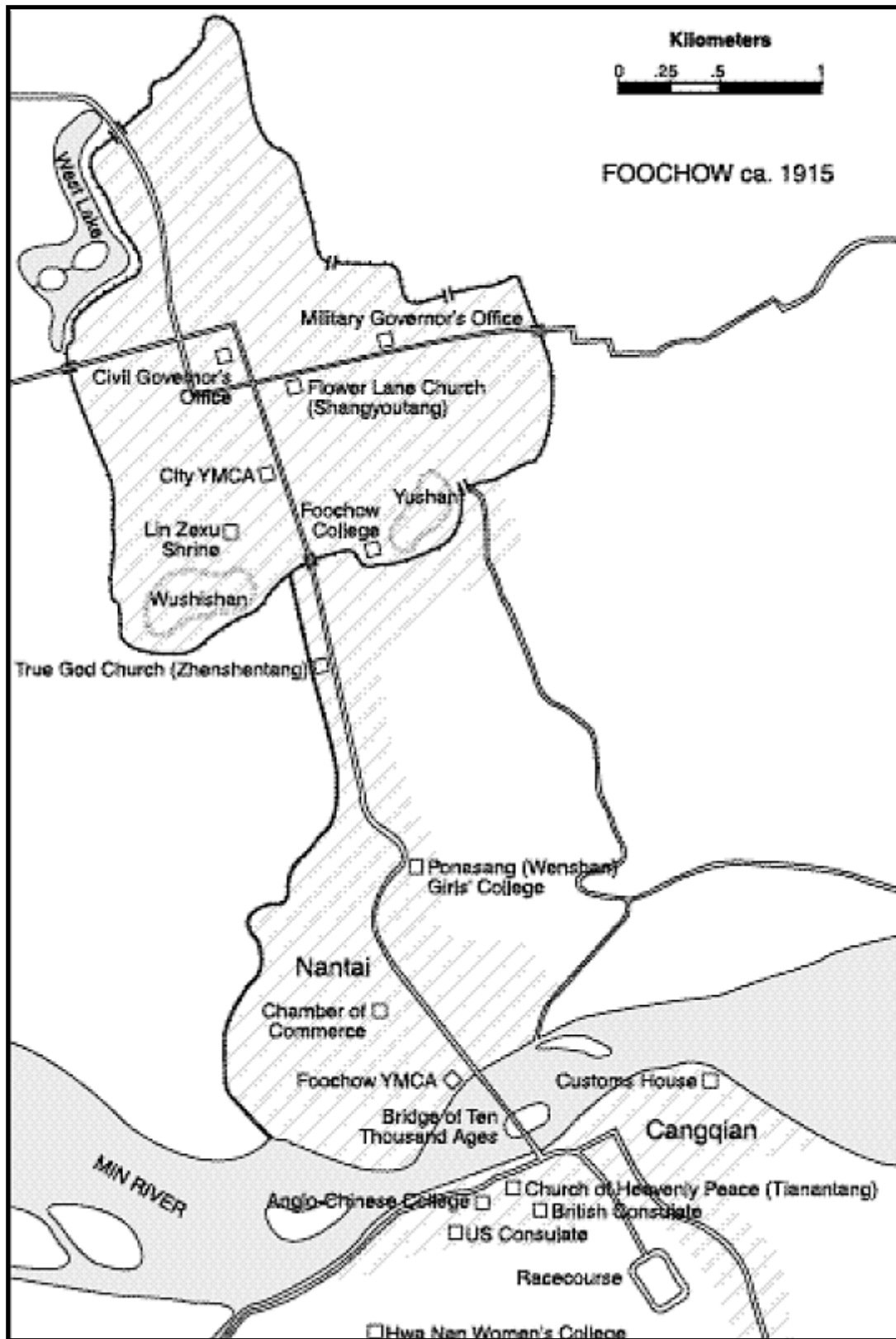
refused to descend so low as to enter an English Court, and submit to the decision of an English Judge, they preferred being judge and jury themselves, as well as the executioners, and two ruins are the result. Let me, in conclusion, make one remark as in to the confidence to be placed in dispatches from the Chinese authorities, and, so far as they are taken from these, in dispatches from the Consulate also. As far as I have seen of them—and, for my short stay in China, I have seen a good many—the only things like them in England are fairy tales, devoid only of the moral which the latter generally contain. Some "penny-a-liner" must be kept on purpose with a vivid imagination and a total ignorance of the facts; for, though you will scarcely credit it, it is sometimes difficult to see any foundation whatever for the things which they narrate in them as true. The last despatch just received on this subject is a good illustration. In it the Viceroy declares as "to some degree a reason for the late outrage, that the people are naturally irate at the girls' school being kept by the Europeans for evil purposes, for that it is *not* the custom in China for men and women to live promiscuously together." This is a fair example of the accuracy of the Viceroy's dispatches; and as many of the Consular dispatches are merely taken from the Chinese, and the Consul's ideas of the people and their feelings chiefly learned through the Mandarins, he himself not knowing a word of the language spoken, you will be prepared to hear from the English authorities in China things distinctly denied by the Missionaries, who alone mix with the people and can converse with them directly. Must stop to catch the mail.

Yours very truly, ROBERT W. STEWART.

between Burmah and China. It was arranged that at the same time Mr. A. R. Margary, of H.B.M.'s Consular Service, should travel overland through China, to meet the expedition at Bhamo, and, acting as interpreter, should conduct it through Yunnan and then overland to Hankow. At Manwyne, on the border between China and Burmah, Margary was assassinated under circumstances which were never cleared up but the British believed was at the instructions of the Chinese Government. Out of this incident came the Chefoo Convention between Great Britain and China. A memorial monument to Mr. Margary was erected by subscription in Shanghai in 1880, and placed at the division of The Bund into Soochow Road and the Garden Bridge approach. In 1907 the monument was removed to the north end of the Public Gardens, where it now stands."

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

The Missionary Establishments of Fuzhou (Foochow), c1915



Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China*,
 (New Haven, Yale University Press 2001), p 53.

2.13 STEWART AND THE ROMANISATION OF THE FUZHOU DIALECT.

Stewart produced a romanised form of writing the Foochow dialect with the aim, successfully achieved as the following letter indicate, of publishing a Bible in the dialect for use by Chinese Christians who could learn to read in about three months.²⁶

146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C. August 6, 1895.

SIR,--

The first letter I opened this morning was from the murdered missionary, the Rev. R. W. Stewart, and as it shows him peacefully at work for the good of his murderers, it will be read with deep interest by many. Through Mr. Stewart's labours and enthusiasm the New Testament was published in Roman character in the Foochow vernacular. The version was to a certain extent tentative, but its usefulness is now fully established, and Mr. Stewart in his letter pleads for the publication of a similar version in another vernacular. Your readers will notice how earnestly he pleads--and I am sure that my Committee will publish the version as the most effective weapon against such awful outbreaks as that which has now brought sorrow to so many homes. Mr. Stewart was one of the strong men in China, but he was gentle and compassionate as well as strong. He was surrounded by a band of gentle and devoted ladies. On them the blow has fallen, it will be the duty of our Government to take measures against such barbarous outbreaks,--but it is for us to remember that these misguided Chinamen never knew a God who was not as cruel as themselves, and to redouble our efforts that the Gospel of Love may be made a power among them.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully, W. WRIGHT, D.D.

KUCHENG, FOOCHOW, June 24, 1895.²⁷

MY DEAR DR. WRIGHT,--

You are exceedingly kind offering to print more for us in Foochow. Romanized Colloquial has not been acknowledged sooner because I was waiting for particulars to enable me to make another request on behalf of another of our dialects, that spoken through a large portion of the great North West Prefecture of Kiong-ning. But, before making my petition, I must say a word on the success of the system in this dialect. I always believed in it, and sixteen years ago stood pretty well alone in the matter, and yet I can truly say that the success that we are now seeing surpasses my expectations. The enclosed memo, has this moment been handed to me by a Z.M.S. lady, who has just come in from the country station of Sa-long, and as I myself examined that very class a month ago, I can corroborate what she says. My wife yesterday had in her Sunday class one of these women, naturally distinctly stupid, who for three months had, with the others, learned this system. My wife had not seen her for three or four months; she then could not read a word of her Bible, but now she held aloft one of your New Testaments, and cried, "I can read it all. I can read it all. I am so happy." You have been out here yourself, and know something of the difficulty of the Chinese characters, and so can understand what a wonderful thing this is. I know it has cost your Society a great deal of money, but I truly believe it is well spent. Well, now, instead of printing more just now in our Foochow dialect--for we have a good quantity still in stock--I want to beg on behalf of Kiong-ning. They are even worse off than we were, for they have no colloquial character, and the Z.M.S. five ladies now in the district have, in consultation with our C.M.S. men, drawn up a system, as near as the dialect will allow, to that adopted by us. They (two of them) have also given the last twelve months up to translating the New Testament into this Romanized Colloquial. This means tremendous labour, for they had not, as we had, a character colloquial for guide. They have spared no pains, keeping a special Chinese teacher for the purpose, and testing his colloquial by trying it with the native women. Fortunately too, one of these ladies, Miss Bryer, is peculiarly gifted in language, and speaks herself peculiarly well, so that I think you may without fear accept what she has done. The manuscript is now almost completed, and Miss B. Newcombe, of the C.E.Z.M.S., who has just returned Home, could give you further particulars, and could well be trusted to revise the proof. I have to ask you then if you will comply with their urgent

26 Watson, Mary E, *Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death*, (London, Marshall Brothers 1896).
27 Text contained in *The Times*, 7 August 1895. See Part Four, Part A,

request. I trust you will say "Yes." They have had a sale of work for the purpose, which realized something over 300 dols., and this will go to you with some other little money given themselves. I know of course this will go but a very short way in such an undertaking, but it may perhaps do something towards proving the reality of their belief in its being a good work. The number of copies wanted bound at once would not be large, for the ladies themselves must do all the teaching. I think these numbers would be about right: St. John's Gospel, 200 copies; four Gospels and Acts together, fifty copies; entire New Testaments, 100 copies, and perhaps about the same numbers printed but not bound. Perhaps you might think these latter numbers too small. It is hard to prophesy what the demand will actually be; it may catch hold of the people, and such a number as I have given be in a couple of years exhausted. Miss B. Newcombe's address is 12, Peafield Terrace, Black-rock, Dublin. Thanking you again with all my heart for what you have done for us,

Believe me, very sincerely yours,
ROBERT W. STEWART

The [Fujian] missionaries and their wives pleaded urgently for their sisters at home to come to the rescue. Two specially, Mr. Robert Warren Stewart, who went to Fuh-Kien in 1876, and Mr. [William] Banister, who joined the Mission four years later—were impressed with the needs of the case.

At Foo-chow a school for the women of Christian families had been opened in which, in 1886, sixteen were brought together in the hope of fitting the inmates either to teach in the villages or at least to carry Christian influences back to their own homes. But how was this to be added to the already abundant labours of the missionaries wives? And who was to be found for the children?

"The Mission," writes Mr. Stewart, "needs its stakes to be strengthened rather than its cords to be lengthened. How can this be better done than by training the children of our converts so that they may be strong, true Christians instead of baptized heathen."

Under the pressure of this anxiety, urgent appeals were made to the Committee of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society to send lady helpers to Foo-chow. In 1883, Miss Gough²⁸ went forth to answer the call, to work under the guidance of the Rev. R.W. and Mrs. Stewart at Foo-chow. From that date the story of the C.E.M. work in Fuh-Kien has been closely linked with the names of these two loved and honoured servants of God. The precious home sympathies and friendships which the young missionaries gave up for Christ when they went forth to witness for Him to the Chinese, they found again in the loving atmosphere of Mrs. Stewart's home. Wise counsels, firm guidance, hopeful encouragement, tender thoughtful consideration, the hallowing influence of intercourse with loving, holy lives were here always to be found

The five years of ill-health which separated Mr. and Mrs. Stewart from their "dear home in China" were spent in rousing the zeal and sympathy of Christian women here on behalf of their sisters, heathen and Christian, in Fuh-Kien, and it is generally known that it was mainly through their personal influence and their appeals made throughout England and Ireland that the thirty ladies of the C.E.Z.M.S, now working in the Fuh-Kien province were drawn to the mission field.²⁹

The Stewart family took furlough in 1884, returning to Kucheng City in 1888 but after a few months Stewart contracted chronic dysentery, a common disorder among Europeans in China, and the family had to return to Great Britain.

28 Miss Ellen Tunnicliffe Gough married Rev. J C Hoare of CMS Ningpo, later Bishop of Hong Kong.

29 Turner, H F, *His Witnesses Ku-cheng, August 1, 1895*. (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co; Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1896), pp 13-16.

2.14 THE STEWARTS AND MRS. TIONG AHOK OF FUZHOU.³⁰

The Stewarts and Mrs. Ahok of Fuzhou.



Watson, Mary E., Robert and Louisa Stewart; In Life and Death, (London, Marshall Bros, 1895.)

The Northern Messenger, (Montreal and New York), 20 February 1891.

A CHINESE LADY'S WORK.

Mrs. Ahok is perhaps the only Chinese lady who has appealed to other countries than her own for evangelistic help. Readers of this sketch will remember the reception this lady met with in Canada, being treated as mere freight, in accordance with Canada's anti-Chinese laws, the story of which first appeared in the *Witness*.

Nine years ago Mrs. Ahok was a heathen, burning incense to her idol, but for eight years she and her husband, who is a mandarin at Foochow, have worked very earnestly for Christianity. Mrs. Ahok has a large work among ladies of her own rank, with whom she has much influence. Wishing to present the case of China's needs effectively, Mr. Ahok determined some time ago to travel through England and America to stir the people with facts about China. He was unable to go, and Mrs. Ahok volunteered to come in his stead. She had only two days' notice. She left her home, her husband, her little boy, her mother, her friends, and all dear to her with no object but to plead for China. She had never been more than three miles from home in her life before. Her feet are so small that she cannot even stand upon them. Everything in the way of travelling was a difficulty to her.³¹

The London *Christian* called Mrs. Ahok, "that Oriental disciple." She attended the Mildmay meetings, and nearly a hundred other great gatherings in England, and everywhere through an interpreter³², appealed for help for her country. "Come over and help us" was her Macedonian cry.

³⁰ See "The Story of Mrs. Ahok" in Barnes, op cit, Ch V, pp 60-90.

³¹ She was accompanied from China by Miss Clara Bradshaw (later Mrs. E. C. Millard) of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, who was returning to China because of exhaustion. (Personal note from Dr. Timothy Stunt of Connecticut, USA).

³² Mrs. Louisa Smyly Stewart was her interpreter, at least for some of Mrs. Ahok's visit to England.

Part of her address at a meeting just before she left Britain for China via America, having received a call home, is as follows:

The most important thing I wish to tell you is that my people are idolators—as I was once myself. Here in England I see people worshipping the true God, but remember that in China millions and millions worship only idols. And out of the idolatry many evil customs have arisen in China. They have no hope, being without God in the world. They are sunk in gross materialism; yet there is a terrible fear and despair as they look forward to death. They know not what is to be then, and they dread to know. Please never to forget that millions of my people are in this sad state—without God and without hope. The out of this heathenism come many customs making the people so full of sorrow and sadness. There is the terrible footbinding, giving so much pain and misery. Then there is infanticide, the killing of many baby girls—this is very sad. There is also the terrible opium smoking, bringing ruin to tens of thousands. Also the gambling which is now so prevalent, and ruins whole families. For in China it is not as in this country, for the whole family live together—father and mother, sons and sons' wives, and so on, all living in family groups or communities. Thus, when one or two begin to smoke and gamble, it ruins the whole household. What are the people of China like? A people starving and dying. A people on the edge of a precipice, ready to fall over it, and falling over it; you can go and tell them of one who will draw them back and save them from ruin. Will you go?

In Montreal, Mrs. Ahok and her maid were informed that they could not land on free Canadian soil without the payment of \$50 each³³ the Chinese per capita tax on arrival. Mrs. Ahok was either uninclined to pay the tax or did not understand. She wished to go by C.P.R. [Canadian Pacific Railroad] the same evening for Vancouver to take passage there for China, and was sent through in bond. During the day that she was in Montreal the Customs authorities took her for a drive around the city, but this was done on their own responsibility, and was stretching the rigid anti-Chinese law.

Mrs. Ahok has always been in favor of perfect freedom for English persons in Canada and has used her influence in favor of it. However, she has had the example of one of the greatest civilized countries as to the exclusion of the natives of a sister country, and will doubtless wonder at the “progress” that while opening China to Canadians and others, closes Canada to the Chinese.

The following account of Mrs. Ahok is taken from *The Female Missionary Intelligencer*,—the magazine published by the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East³⁴, the oldest woman's missionary society in the world, formed in 1834.—

The visit to Europe of Mrs. Ahok, a native lady from Loochow (sic), has naturally excited great attention, especially to the many readers of Miss Gordon Cumming's delightful book, “Wanderings in China.”³⁵

Some years ago this same Chinese lady was a subject of much interest to the Committee of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, as she first heard the gospel from the lips of one of their missionaries. But her story shall be told, as far as possible, in the words of the lady through whose writings it has become publicly known, and the graphic descriptions she gives will render it needless for us to apologize for the length of the extracts we shall make.

First, let us hear what is said about the husband of the lady who has so bravely travelled from the Celestial Empire. “Prominent among the Chinamen who are truly friendly to foreigners is Mr. Ahok, a merchant who has prospered so greatly that he now owns large stores all over the city. He has ever made a rule of most liberal almsgiving, increasing in proportion to the increase of his business; and truly it seems that a blessing has rested on all he has taken in hand. Though not by birth of high estate, he has been created

33 The ‘poll-tax’ was used in all the British Pacific possessions, the rate varying from place to place. It was originally devised in South Africa and applied, on the recommendation of the British Government by those countries wishing to restrict Chinese immigration.

34 Records of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (Female Education Society), <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/44/1225.htm>

35 Cumming, Constance Frederika Gordon, *Wanderings in China*, (Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1888), online at <http://www.archive.org/stream/wanderingsinchin00gord#page/n8/mode/1up>

a mandarin, in recognition of his many and far-reaching good deeds; one of which has been the salvage of innumerable girl babies, by the simple announcement that he would give an allowance of rice for a certain time to every mother who, proposing to destroy her unwelcome female infant, would abstain from doing so.

The number of Mr. Ahok's pensioners varies considerable in years of plenty and years of famine. During the recent bad years he has actually allowed rice to five hundred mothers, to induce them to spare the lives of the innocents!

Mr. Ahok invited Miss Gordon Cumming to dinner (which she found consisted of twenty-five courses), and introduced her to the ladies of his family. All were small-footed. "None of their dainty little shoes exceed three inches in length," she writes, "but those of our hostess, who is a lady of high rank, and emphatically 'lily-footed,' are literally only two inches long, which is considered a superlative beauty. At the time of this visit Mr. Ahok was a regular attendant at Christian services, and some time afterward he was baptized by the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

"At length Mrs. Ahok desired to learn English to facilitate her intercourse with her husband's foreign guests, and sought instructions from Miss Foster, a missionary of the society already mentioned, requesting her to give her a lesson three times a week. Thus the friendship between them began. Subsequently, severe sickness in the house led Mr. and Mrs. Ahok to call in a foreign doctor, but he declined the charge of the case unless some English woman could be found who would stay in the house, and see that his directions were carried out. Naturally she turned to Miss Foster, and, as the school holidays were just beginning, she was free to accept Mrs. Ahok's earnest invitation. In all probability no other English woman had ever stayed with a Chinese family before."

Miss Gordon Cumming proceeds: "You can understand with what intense curiosity her every movement was watched. Not a detail of her toilet was to be missed; but what she felt extremely tiring was the extreme interest bestowed on her when she knelt in prayer, or sought a quiet time for Scripture reading. At last she felt this so oppressive that she rose one morning earlier than usual to secure the blessing of an hour alone.³⁶ At the accustomed time came the inquisitive old mother (who all the time was doubly attentive to her own devotions before the ancestral altar). As usual she stood about on watch, but when noon came she could stand it no longer. 'You have never prayed to-day,' she said. 'O yes,' said Miss F.; 'but I got up early that I might be alone.' Why?' said the old lady, 'Surely you do not mind being looked at when you pray?' Miss F. explained that she would certainly prefer solitude, greatly to the astonishment of her watchful guardian. Of course she did not lose so excellent an opportunity of working in the Master's cause; but she did feel perplexed when one morning, after they had been reading the story of Hannah's prayer and the birth of Samuel, the wife came to her and said; 'You say that God hears your prayer. If you ask him to give me a son, will he do so?' and finally made Miss f. promise to kneel every day beside her and pray for this great blessing, her heart's one desire. The prayer was heard, and the mother accepted her babe as a direct answer to the prayers offered."

"Before the birth of this Chinese Samuel," continues Miss Gordon Cummings, "all idols were banished from the house, and so soon as her infant was born the thankful mother desired that he should immediately receive Christian baptism. I am not sure what baptismal name was selected, but from the hour of his birth the poor little innocent has been saddled with a tremendous Chinese name, Hung-kau-nie-kiang; which means literally, the Christian doctrine child.

"Some months after this event, on June 18th, 1882, Mrs. Ahok, this happy mother, was herself received by baptism into the visible church. And now she has come among us to be welcomed as a sister in Christ, of deep and special interest to the friends of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East."

Mrs. Ahok's return home last summer was hastened by the news of the serious illness of her husband. All speed was made but to her great grief she did not arrive in Foochow until several days after his death.

36 A common practice among evangelical Christians is to observe a "Quiet Time" each morning, up to an hour in length, for private prayer and Bible reading.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, I, (Melbourne), Vol XXII No 20, August 1895, p 345.

LETTER FROM MRS. AHOK.

Foochow, China, 19th day 1st moon, 1895.

I earnestly thank our Gracious God that when I visited England some four years ago I was kept in peace during the whole voyage. You (my English friends) also treated me most kindly, and pitied china with all the love of your hearts. You also rejoiced to help many ladies to come to Foochow to act as light-bearers, and to induce those who were sitting in darkness to cast away falsehood and embrace the truth, and to put away all their wicked ways and evil customs. The work which these ladies are doing is of very great value and has helped many. They have preached the Gospel in all this region; they have tended the sick in the Mission Hospitals; they have opened Schools for women and girls in several places and in my own house.

In my own house there are now 39 scholars, some of whom have unbound their feet, and some have been baptized. I myself every week teach in this School, and I also go to the Hospital, and talk to the sick people. I trust that this seed so widely sown will presently bear fruit—some thirty, some sixty and some a hundred-fold. You will remember that when I was in England I told you the state of things in China, and I hope you will not forget my words, but will do your utmost to help China, that God's promised reward may hereafter be yours. To Him be Glory for ever and ever. Amen. Yours very sincerely, Tiong Ahok.

Mrs. Tiong Ahok of Foochow.



Fagg. M. Two Golden Lilies From the Empire of the Rising Sun,
(London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Marshall Bros, 1891).

2.15 THE STEWART'S RETURN TO CHINA, 1893.

The Huashan Massacre was the first major disaster to affect the Australian evangelical Protestant Missionary Movement after it emerged in the early 1890s, following visits to Australia (and New Zealand) by three leading British missionary leaders. The Rev. Dr. James Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission came to press the claims of the CIM in August 1890 following the formation of an Australian CIM Council on the 22 May, 1890, with the first being an Anglican minister, the Rev. C.H. Parsons, of Caulfield, Melbourne, who was to be followed by one hundred men and women in the following ten years. The Rev. George Grubb representing the English Keswick (Holiness) Movement³⁷ made an extended tour of Australasia from April 3rd, 1891, to July 7th, 1892.

The two "Pioneering" visits were followed in 1892 by a deputational visit of Mr. George Stock, Editorial Secretary CMS, and the Rev. Robert Stewart, representing the work of the Church Missionary Society to Anglicans in Australasia. Anglican missionary interest in Victoria was led by the Rev. H. B. Macartney, Vicar of St. Mary's Anglican Church, Caulfield, and the two men stayed with Macartney during their time in Melbourne. Macartney was also a member of the Australasian Council of the China Inland Mission.

S.S. Victoria, en route for Albany {Western Australia}
November 25th, 1892.

My dear Margaret,

I've just read through your last letter again, every word of it, and your rightly judged that I would like to hear all your doings, instead of wishing it shorter, I would like another page or two added on. Thanks for a ... (?) it is good of you, and I am so glad that you know that it will be a pleasure to me to hear anything you could tell of your life, and of all that was going on around you, and the amount of information that I got from no one else.

Your prayers were abundantly answered in New Zealand and Tasmania, far beyond our expectations, though perhaps not beyond yours. Shall I tell you something about it all as well, It will show you how prayer was heard.

At Auckland we intended only staying the day or two the steamer stopped; there was apparently nothing to be done. No one much visited us. But on arrival Mr. MacMurray, formerly of Ballarat diocese, induced to agree that one should stay till next steamer, the other going to Gisborne. So I stayed another 8 or 9 grand days; several men and women expressed desires about going into the Mission Field, a lot of Boxes were asked for, the N.Z.C.M.A. and 3 G.U.'s³⁸ started and two more G.U.'s have been set going since. At Gisborne Mr. Stock has a splendid time. Then on to Napier where I met the mother of the sick gentleman who came on board at Sydney. Did you see him? He died that same night, and next morning the Captain asked me to see the poor mother and tell her the body must be buried at sea. I read the service, it was very sudden, walking on board in the evening and dropped into the sea the next morning!

I saw the mother every day till we parted at Auckland, and then at Napier I called upon her. She was a true Christian and so was the son, thank God.

At Napier the Bishop was of course most kind and helpful, and a G.V. was left there and mission boxes. Then by train to Wellington. No meetings at all were to be held there, as we understood, but the Master had something for us to do, and brought it about in His own way—thus: at Auckland one day I met, by 'chance,' a clergyman who begged me to look up a friend of his in Wellington, a Mrs. Grant. Consequently, as neither Bishop nor clergy had anything for us to do, we went off to see this Mrs. Grant, the only person we in any way knew in the whole place. She turned out to be a splendid woman, an out and out Christian, and ready to do anything she could to further the cause. We were leaving the same night, so she sent round and telephoned in all directions, with the result that in the evening there was a great little meeting, not large but influential and we promised that I would return

37 Millard, E C, *The Same Lord: An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. George C Grubb, MA, in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand*, (London, E Marlborough and Co 1893).

Millard, E C, *What Hath God Wrought: Being An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. George C Grubb, MA, through Ceylon, South India, Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony*, (London, E Marlborough and Co, 1900).

38 GU. Gleaner's Unions, a CMS auxiliary body.

for a day or two after visiting Blenheim. This I did (meantime the Bishop having expressed a hope that we would explain our purpose in coming to the colonies and Wellington before leaving, so we had his consent.) Altogether we had 6 meetings in Wellington! And left behind a G.V. with some 30 members and a couple of dozen Box holders, and more have come asking to join since and getting Boxes. All where nothing was expected.

Then Nelson. I was only there a day or two and then left for Blenheim. There had been hard rain and the snow on the hills was melting and people said it was impossible to cross the streams. There was a drive for me of 80 miles cross country, and the Bishop the night before (Friday) sent me a note, "You cannot go to Blenheim tomorrow!" This was dreadful. I knew that the Blenheim folk were anxiously looking out for us both, and had been working so hard for the Cause for years, only more for the CMS than anywhere else, so I felt I must go if I could, possibly get a horse to take me. I saw the Bishop and asked why I could not go, "Because no man would send his horse and cart!"

Off I went with the Bishop to the Hotel, saw the Proprietor, he said it was true, "no car can cross the stream", and gave his reason, among others that a Circus was coming from the other side into Nelson but had been stuck up on the road and, etc, etc. It was all-in rain. I said I must try, and even if it proved impossible we can come back! So off we went, the 20 miles passed all right, the streams not worse than up to the floor of the car, then they got higher, and at least we got into a big one that covered our seats, the Driver's and mine> Oh, What a drenching, but the good horse 'fortunately' didn't do anything unpleasant, and pulled us through. Then our 9 miles of travelling after that, and no hope of changing garments, those in my bag being wet through, so by 9 o'clock when at last we got to the Blenheim Vicarage I felt the least thing uncomfortable. Next morning however there was only a little stiffness left, and three Services that day (Sunday) and we are all right again! God was very present with us through the day, and I felt that His purpose had been carried out. On Monday and Tuesday there were more meetings, 2 each day, and as I was rushing off to catch the steamer for Wellington, a box was put into my hand, which on opening in Wellington I found full of jewellery, not a rich persons evidently, and all the more valuable for that! Rings, bracelets, and a gold watch. "'To be sold for the Mission Cause.'" God bless the giver, and return her a hundred-fold!

Then Christchurch, no invitation to take Meetings, only the Sunday Services, but God had other plans, at the last moment a clergyman offered his schoolroom for a meeting on Monday afternoon. He was the only man would do it. Meeting was held, Bishop came, good attendance, and at the end, at the invitation to form a G.V. a whole lot came forward, a first rate Secretary or rather two first rate Secretary's were chosen, and 30 or 40 names have been enrolled, and a lot of Boxes asked for.

Then that very day, Monday, or rather the next day, Tuesday, we left for Dunedin. There was to be nothing whatever there, we purposed to spend the time in the steamer at Port Chalmers, and not going up to the city at all. There was a lot of letters to write and had we been left in peace the letters might have gone to you then instead of this long delay. (but there should not have been your lovely letter). We were not left in peace however, a telegram called us to take a Bible Reading! Were knew not who the sender of it was!

"Mr. Johnson Brown", who was he? Up we went of course, had a grand meeting. A G.V. was started to our utmost surprise and a lot of interest shown (among other sings a beautiful ring was thrust into our hands 'for China'). We enquired from Mr. Johnson Brown how he knew we were on board, and it turned out that a man I had met 'by chance' at Christchurch had telegraphed to a Mr. Todd in the Dunedin University, who 'by chance' came across Mr. J. B., and so we got the invitation. The steamer kindly going unexpectedly into dock for cleaning and giving us extra time.

Then round to Hobart, Oh! Such a crossing! The very worst I ever experienced, not a storm but a fearful motion, everyone was sick. At Hobart Mrs. Montgomery³⁹ of course gave us the kindest possible welcome, but the clergy were not much inclined to have us, still there were sermons and

39 Mrs. Maud Montgomery, wife of the Bishop of Tasmania, Rt. Rev. Henry H. Montgomery, a missionary enthusiast and supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who did his utmost to raise missionary awareness in the Australian Church, particularly in regard to North Australia, Melanesia, and Papua. Withycombe, Robert, *Montgomery of Tasmania: Henry and Maud Montgomery in Australasia*, (Brunswick East, Vic., Acorn Press Limited, c2009). Their son, Bernard, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, was the most famous, and successful, British general of World War II. See book review at <http://www.churchtimes.co.uk/content.asp?id=96511>

meetings pretty thick the week we were there, and we left behind two strong G.U.'s and a lot of Boxes and a lot of good friends, and the same may be said of three other centres in Tasmania: Ross, Campbelltown and Launceston.

So often each place we felt constrained to cry again and again, Praise the Lord, Praise the Lord. He carried out his own great purposes and in spite of feeblest instruments and against opposition. And I think everywhere prejudice was broken down, and when we went away, even those who had not before wanted us, were sorry we were going and would gladly have us longer. "The Evangelization of the World, the great duty of the Church" was our message.

Now goodbye, I've given you a fuller account than I have to any one else. I hope it will interest you a little bit. My pet verse just now is, "The Lord is good, A Strong Hold in the day of trial."

In difficulty a strong man by one's side is not enough, he must have a strong hold of us. May you and I in the day of truth feel His strong hold, Love to dear Mabel and my kindest remembrances to the Primate and Miss Smith from your loving friend,
Robert W Stewart.⁴⁰

The letter shows clearly the kind of presentations made by Stock and Stewart during the Australasian tour. The CMS deputationists were emphatic they were not seeking funds for the Society in London but hoped to establish an Australian branch to recruit missionaries. Macartney supported an active auxiliary of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in Victoria and two Australians, Ada Nisbet, daughter of a Congregational minister in Tasmania and Annie Gordon, who was among those killed at Huashan, were among the first Anglicans to go to China, joining the CEZMS in Fujian Province in 1891. They were preceded by the First Australian Party of the China Inland Mission that left Australia in November 1890.

Nellie and Topsy Saunders, with their mother, Eliza, were members of Macartney's parish in Caulfield at the time of the Stock/Stewart visit. They heard all three of the British missionary visitors and offered to go to China after hearing Stewart's first address in Melbourne in September 1892. In their unrealistic enthusiasm to go abroad as missionaries, as a family group with Mrs. Saunders keeping house for her two girls, they had originally planned to offer to the CEZMS for India. Mrs. Saunders was well beyond the age range acceptable for missionary service and had absolutely no qualifications of any kind. After the deaths of her daughters, the CMAV persuaded the CMS to accept her for service in Fujian. She proved unable to do anything except housekeeping work for other missionaries and died after only a couple of years in China.

The two deputationists returned to England and in late 1893, preceded by Lena Yellop and the younger children, (the three eldest boys stayed in school in England), Robert and Louisa Stewart did a deputation tour of Canada en route to Fuzhou, finally arriving in Gutian (Kucheng) in December 1893. Prior to their arrival the Sub-Conference delegated the Rev. J Martin to talk to the Saunders sisters about their future employment in Fujian Province.⁴¹

The two sisters were accepted by the new Church Missionary Association of Victoria⁴² (CMAV) although they were well below the normal CMS requirement of twenty-five years of age for new women missionaries and had no relevant skills or experience and received only the barest training. The London Committee was caught between the proverbial rock and a hard place when asked to sanction the appointments. The enthusiasm of the new CMAV could not be ignored nor the endorsement of Stock and Stewart. News of the new workers was cabled to Archdeacon Wolfe and placed on the agenda of the Fuh-kien Sub-Conference for consideration of where the very young women might be located.

40 Rev. Robert Stewart to Mrs. Margaret Samaurez Griffiths, London, 25 November 1892. Mrs. Griffiths was the daughter of the Bishop of Sydney, (Later 1st Archbishop) the Rt. Rev. W. Saumarez Smith (1890-1908). At the time, the convention was that the Bishop of Sydney was also the Anglican Primate of Australia.

41 The Church Missionary Society of England had an East Asian Mission, governed by a Conference of all accepted CMS foreign missionaries. It included Fujian, Guangdong and Hong Kong and any other CMS activities in South China. There was a 'sub-conference in Hong Kong as well as in Fujian.

42 There was already a Church Missionary Society of Victoria, formed independently of CMS London in 1859 to carry on missionary work to the Chinese, Aborigines and Jews in Victoria. It was merged with the CMAV in 1898 in very acrimonious circumstances. See Welch, Ian, (2003), *Alien Son: The Life and Times of Cheok Hong CHEONG, 1851-1928*, PhD unpublished, Australian National University. Online, November 2010 at: <http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/index.html>

The Sub-Conference delegated the Rev. J. Martin to discuss their placement after their arrival in November 1893 while they were waiting in Fuzhou for Robert and Louisa Stewart to arrive from a deputational tour of Canada. When they finally arrived in China in late 1893, Martin was surprised that the decision of the Sub-Conference was ignored by the Stewarts.⁴³

Lo Nguong, Foochow, 26 December 1893.

My dear Mr. Fenn,—Herewith I enclose my annual letter for this year.

Miss Goldie arrived while I was writing it, but I am sorry to say, without having seen the Misses Saunders, Before I left Foochow I told them of the proposal of the Conference, and they were both quite willing to join Miss Goldie and did not want to go to Ku Cheng. In fact they wanted to leave Foochow for Lo Nguong before the Stewarts arrived but I told them they could not do that as the Conference had decided that the Stewarts and Miss Goldie were to be consulted as to what ought to be done. The Misses Saunders said they did not want to go to Ku Cheng and wondered why the arrangement was made.⁴⁴ When Miss Goldie reached Foo Chow two or three days after the Stewarts and Misses Saunders had left she was disappointed to find they had gone. Evidently the Stewarts had persuaded them to go to Ku Cheng, but I think it is a great pity and may lead to difficulties in the future if individual members of the Mission do not carry out the unanimous decisions of the Sub Conference.

Thank you for writing to me re the Boys' Boarding School and my Chinese Teacher. I am sorry the Committee are not allowing grants for Teachers. Not having a teacher will interfere with my work, so I shall try to get a few friends to help me to meet the sum necessary.

Asking for your continued prayers for the work.

Believe me, very sincerely yours, John Martin.

When the Stewart family, with the two Saunders Sisters, arrived in Gutian they found a mission managed by single women of the CMS and CEZMS under the generous and open leadership of the Rev. William Banister who soon left to take up the leadership of the Theological College in Fuzhou. Stewart and Banister had identical views on the worth of single women missionaries so there was no significant change in the operations at Gutian.

There can be no doubt that Robert Stewart, having met the sisters and their mother in Melbourne, felt himself responsible for their presence in China. He knew that they were inexperienced and naïve young women driven by religious zeal above any understanding of the situation of foreign missionaries in Gutian. As the only married woman in the Kucheng mission, Louisa Stewart was necessarily a role model for the single women at Gutian, who were all younger and psychologically and conventionally under her oversight as the wife of the supervising missionary. Nellie was 22 years old and Topsy just 21 years old at the time of the massacre lived in the Stewart's home and were treated as daughters rather than professional colleagues. Louisa Smyly Stewart took the inexperienced women into her home as both mother figure and chaperone. In the foreign missions in China it was almost invariably the case that older women usually cared for younger, and all missionaries of the same gender shared rooms when travelling together.⁴⁵ Semple remarks that the "parenting" of younger, single, missionaries was a feature of missions, resulting from traditional age and gender related roles in British society.⁴⁶ Europeans social convention at the time meant that Louisa took precedence over all single women, irrespective of their age or experience. As the socially prominent wife of an equally socially prominent husband, Louisa took precedence over all the other Anglican married women and was usually the chairperson of the CMS Fukien Women's Conference, the first regularly constituted female consultative group in the male dominated Anglican foreign missionary field. The Fujian women's committee was so successful that the CMS later mandated women's committees for all its mission fields. So

43 Rev. John Martin to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 26 December 1893. CMS East Asia Archives.

44 In light of the subsequent placement of the Saunders Sisters at Ku Cheng and their murder on 1 August 1895 this is a key document.

45 Today this might raise the question of female sexuality. Female propinquity in the 19th century is discussed in Hunter, Jane, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in turn-of-the-century China*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984).

46 Semple, Rhonda Anne, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism, and the Victorian Idea of Christian Missions*, (Rochester, NY, Boydell Press, 2003), p 205.

small part of the credit for the success of CMS women's work in Fujian was due to the initial leadership exercised by Louisa Stewart.

The Rev. H. S. Phillips from Kien Ning, northwest of Gutian, who narrowly avoided being killed at Huashan, described Louisa as having: 'a peculiarly sympathetic nature, which made her a real mother in Ku-cheng; she seemed so essentially to make her own the troubles of another.'⁴⁷ Nellie Saunders said that Mrs. Stewart was: 'one of the very sweetest women you ever saw.'⁴⁸ She wrote:

You would be lost in wonder and admiration to see how well and systematically the work is carried on. One or two of the people here are unusually clever and gifted. Mrs. Stewart, of course, heads this list — no one here can hold a candle to her in any way — and she is by far the best Chinese speaker we have.⁴⁹

Elsie Marshall of the CEZMS, another of the Huashan martyrs, wrote to her father:

Mrs. Stewart is indefatigable; she teaches her own children and the third class in the boys' school every day, and now the women's school is being built up so fast; it is just close to us in the compound, and Mrs. Stewart will have the charge of that too.⁵⁰

The CMS archives and publications about the mission point to her contribution being as important as that of her husband.⁵¹ The Rev. William Banister said that Stewart could not 'be looked upon as very strong physically and the strain of the work might be too much ...at any time.'⁵² Nellie Saunders wrote to her mother:

The work will be very heavy for Mr. Stewart. The Ku Cheng and Penang districts are simply enormous. They want a chief each; but as they can't have that, one man has to do the work that could be easily divided among six.⁵³

Nellie later remarked that: 'I don't see how one man can continue at what he has to do without breaking down.'⁵⁴ Despite his history of ill-health, Robert Stewart undertook several lengthy supervisory visits to schools and Anglican congregations across his district.⁵⁵ His performance under stress during the Vegetarian troubles of 1894 and 1895 suggest that regardless of early opinions about his well-being he was fit physically and mentally. Louisa was often left with the children and during Robert's absences had informal responsibility for the oversight of the CMS and CEZMS staff in Gutian. Her family responsibilities were lessened by the employment of Lena Yellop, assisted by locally employed Chinese staff.⁵⁶

Stewart was viewed, because of his long service and personal characteristics, as the natural leader of the Irish contingent in the CMS/CEZMS mission in Fujian, another focus for Archdeacon Wolfe's concerns.⁵⁷ Wolfe's view was that the Anglican work was already unnecessarily divided administratively by having the CMS and CEZMS and was hostile to a group of Irish university graduates establishing yet another unit in Fujian. Had Stewart lived, he was to be the authority figure for the Dublin men.

Robert was the CEZMS Corresponding Secretary from 1893 and was described by the leading lay CMS missionary in Fujian, Dr. Birdwood Van Sommeren Taylor, as the 'one man in whom they [CEZMS ladies] have confidence.'⁵⁸ By 1897, the CMS/CEZMS had 42 single women missionaries in Fujian Province, an increase of twenty-five percent over the previous year.⁵⁹ More than half were influenced by Robert and Louisa Smyly Stewart and not all were actually Anglicans, a sore point with Archdeacon John Wolfe, the senior CMS missionary. The four Newcombe sisters, for example, came from an Irish Baptist background.⁶⁰

47 Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, op cit, November 1895, p 528.

48 Berry, op cit, p 98.

49 Berry, op cit, p 195.

50 Marshall, op cit, p 121.

51 Bradshaw, H, 'Louisa Stewart' pp 19-26 in *DUFM*, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China.'

52 Rev. W. Banister to Rev. C Fenn, CMS London, 6 March 1894. CMS East Asia Archives..

53 Berry, op cit, p 49.

54 Berry, op cit, p 210.

55 Berry, op cit, p 166.

56 *Erin's Hope*, pp 11-13. (From Smyly Home, Dublin, April 2006).

57 The Dublin University Fukien Mission. The Dublin University name is synonymous with Trinity College, Dublin.

58 Dr B Van Sommeren Taylor to Rev, Baring Baring Gould, CMS Secretary, London, CMS East Asia Archives.

59 Statistical Table in *The Chinese Recorder*, August 1897, p 365.

60 Barnes, op cit. p 167.

2.16 THE STEWARTS AND VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

The varied work of the Stewart's in Gutian and Ping Nang Districts is mentioned many times in this collection but a few words should be added about his work as an educator. Both Robert and Louisa had worked with the Irish Church Mission, a venture of the Anglican Church of Ireland to convert Catholics. Louisa was a major money-raiser for a network of day schools in Gutian District that were financed by donations solicited from family and friends in England and Ireland.⁶¹ A cousin, writing in 1976, said that Robert and Louisa modelled their system of day schools in Fujian Province on the Dublin schools for the poor and destitute established by Louisa's mother, Eliza Smyly.⁶² Nearly half of all CMS day schools in Fujian Province were in the Gutian District, a clear demonstration of the enthusiasm of Robert and Louisa Stewart for education but a major cause of envy and irritation to others, notably Archdeacon Wolfe, who ensured that no CMS funds were diverted to 'Mr. Stewart's Schools'.⁶³ The extensive network of schools initiated by the Stewarts involved Louisa in endless letter-writing.⁶⁴

Anglican day schools in other districts were fewer in number and financed directly from grants provided by the CMS.⁶⁵ The schools were usually taught by Chinese males with district level Chinese examination degrees. Some graduates from the CMS College in Foochow became teachers in day schools when they proved unsuitable for work as catechists or clergymen. Many day schools also operated night classes although it seems these were entirely resourced from Chinese local sources and usually enrolled adult males. A small number of girls' schools taught by women who had received a good Chinese education or had come through the CMS Girls Schools.

There was also some support from Australia, as the following letter from the Australian Branch of the Ministering Children's League indicates.

Ku Cheng, July 27th, 1894

I am so glad that your 'Ministering Children' ⁶⁶ are thinking of Fu Kien. You ask whether we are in need of help of one of the Christian Day Schools which I wrote about in the *Gleaner*. Well, the state of the case is just this: At our last Native Conference requests for these schools came from a large number of new places, begging us to send them teachers, and agreeing to these rules:—(1) That Christian books should be read every day. (2) that the teachers should be all converts. (3) That £4 should be the total amount of annual help from outside sources, the scholars supplying all else. A list of the names of those who would attend and a promise of money was in each case sent in, and the demand was so pressing that I allowed an increase of 30, making a total of 94 for which I am responsible! Some old friends have fallen off, so with these 30 new schools, I leave it to yourself to imagine how pleased I am when new friends come forward. I believe thoroughly in these little country Christian schools as an *evangelising* agency; for this purpose they are invaluable, reaching each year many hundreds of children whose parents are heathen; in them they learn in their heads the fundamentals of our Christian Faith, the great facts of the life of the Saviour, and the way to heaven.

61 Archdeacon Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London 20 August 1895: "You are aware that our 170 Day Schools were principally supported by money raised by Mr. Stewart." CMS East Asia Archives.

62 Smyly, Vivienne, *The Early History of Mrs. Smyly's Homes and Schools*, (Dublin, Smyly Homes, 1976), From a private communication to the author by Dr Maria Luddy, Warwick University, England, 2004. DUFM, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China', p 15. See also Luddy, Maria, "Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland", *Voluntas*, Vol 7 No 2. (revised and extended). Luddy, Maria, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955), A list of Irish subscribers to Stewart's Day Schools in Fujian Province is given in the attachments to a pamphlet published by the Rev. Robert Stewart to his friends in the United Kingdom seeking funds for his network of day schools. Robert W Stewart, 28 August 1893, Dublin attached to letter to Wigram, CMS London, 31 May 1894. CMS East Asia Archives. The money raised for the schools was remitted to Louisa's sister in Dublin and forwarded direct to the Stewarts in Gutian and did not go through the CMS financial system although Robert gave an audited statement to the Fujian Sub-conference of the CMS each year.

63 Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, In Memoriam, *The Chinese Recorder*, November 1895, p 528.

64 There is a selection of undated correspondence in a book edited by Louisa's sister, Mary Smyly Watson. See Watson, op cit.

65 Details of schools and curriculum will be found in items following this introduction.

66 The Ministering Children's League still exists under that name in Australia. See an account, including a brief history, at: <http://www.cottagebythesea.com.au/history.htm>

Now and again I hear of that knowledge reaching down even to the heart. One dear boy in a far off spot, where the school was the only centre of light, had a bright death-bed quite lately. His parents were beaten, but they could not rob him of his peace.

You say that you would like to know the *name* of your school, but up to this I have had to ask my friends to be content to support 'one of the Ku Kien Christian Day Schools' and to pray for them all, without specifying. The fact is the effort is so thoroughly evangelistic that any place I might now name might have no school next year; it may have been found wiser to move it to the next village. Besides, the difficulties are tremendous in keeping the friends posted up in the details of each special school. You must picture me with two huge districts, each large enough for a Diocese, all in my sole charge, covering some 5000 square miles, and as thickly populated as any part of China. This great region is divided up into 12 sections, each with several Catechists, and all of these day schools scattered over them. Our travelling is all on foot, no flying about in trains, or even on horseback!⁶⁷ So you will see the difficulty of superintending. Together with any amount of work at head-quarters, I am in everybody's black books for not writing more letters, but I positively can't help it. When you receive this explanation, I am sure that you and your 'Ministering Children' will be content to know *that you have a school in the Ku Cheng District, in the centre of the Fu Kien Province*. You will pray, I hope, not for it only, but for all the others too,—the scholars, the teachers, and the friends, and I will certainly try to let you know about them once a year.

I read your Second Annual Report, which reached me last mail, with great delight. So many of the Gleaners' names were familiar to me, and each brought me back in memory to the place where we met; I travelled all over again that most delightful journey round the Dioceses of Melbourne and Ballarat. I have so often prayed for those G.U.'s that it was delightful to see how they were getting on, and I am fully expecting a most universal blessing through the prayers of the friends whom China won to itself amongst you at that time. Our prayer together here often is, 'May God bless those who are remembering us.' It is truly a 'working together.'

67 See Welch, Ian, (ed), (2006), *Women's Work for Women: (Experiences of single women missionaries in Fujian Province, China, 1890s)*. <http://anglicanhistory.org/women/> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>

2.17 ANNUAL LETTER FROM REV. R. W. STEWART. The Christian Day Schools.⁶⁸

(NOTE: This item repeats a little of the material in the preceding note. They were presumably written about the same date. It was common practice to copy key passages in missionary correspondence)

A year has passed since my wife and I returned from our long absence on sick leave. On arrival we found ourselves appointed to the charge of the two inland Districts of Ku-Cheng and Peng-Nang, my predecessor, Mr. Banister, being compelled by the exigencies of the Mission, to move to Fuh-Chow, there to take charge of the Training College. ...

Christian Education is advancing rapidly. There is now a Boys' Boarding School, and another for girls, and a Foundling Institution for castaway girl babies, at our headquarters in Ku-Cheng City, ... and better than that, to my mind at least, is the great increase in the Village Christian Schools scattered over these two Districts; then there were about a dozen, and now there are forty-four for boys, and twelve for girls; and of these fifty-six, forty-four are being supported by individual friends. ...

I may just mention the three simple Rules which govern them.

Every teacher must be a baptised convert.

The children must study our Christian books for the greater part of the day, and pass examinations in them frequently during the year, proving thus whether or not they are being taught the meaning, as well as the letter, for upon *that* special stress is laid. Once a month they are inspected by the Head Catechist of their Pastorate, and twice a year I go round them myself.

The third Rule is that no more than £4 per school per annum shall be allowed from foreign sources; all else needed for the salary of the teacher, rent of the house, furniture, books, etc., must come from the children themselves.

My pleasantest, and I think most profitable, itinerations were spent in hunting up these little schools, often miles away from any chapel; indeed in the great majority of cases they stand isolated from all Christian help, as little sparks of light in dense darkness.

Crowds thronged the room, while for two or three hours I catechized the scholars on our simple Christian books and the great fundamental facts of our religion, making it as practical as I possible could; my thoughts were as much for those standing round as for the bright faces so eager to answer....

One strong point is that they are thoroughly *evangelistic* in character, nine out of ten of the children coming from heathen homes....

The desire to learn the Doctrine is sometimes shown by the difficulties these children overcome. As an instance of this I was told by a Catechist of a boy whose parents were poor and who had daily to take the cattle out to the hills. He took his books with him, and when he came to a character he did not know, he would stop some passer-by and ask. I had forgotten the story, but coming one day on a school in a mountain village, no chapel anywhere near, a boy at the time of the form answered peculiarly well, especially in the inner meaning of the books. He had read the whole course required for the three years, and as I wondered about the boy, I remembered the story and found he was the very one I wanted to meet. Thank God for these village Christian schools.

⁶⁸ DUFM, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China'. pp 29-

2.18 STEWART: REPORT OF THE FUH-KIEN DAY SCHOOLS, 1891-93.

[28 August 1893)

DEAR FRIENDS⁶⁹

Through absence in the Colonies last year, I was unable to send a Report at the usual time, and am now reprinting my articles on the Schools from this month's GLEANER.⁷⁰ I am returning (D.V.)⁷¹ to Fuh-Kien the beginning of September, and my sister, Miss Smyly, 35, Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, has most kindly promised to receive contributions, and give information:—

Some fourteen years ago we in Fuh-Kien felt that an attempt should be made to establish Christian schools throughout the country, and on a more distinctly self-supporting basis than had yet been attempted.

We had then about half-a-dozen little schools, but on stating our intention, to in future confine our pecuniary assistance to £4 per school per annum, all above this for all purposes connected with the school, or with the salary of the teacher, to be found by the scholars themselves, several of these teachers sent in their resignation.⁷²

However, we persevered in our determination, and made it a constant matter of prayer, both in public with the Chinese converts and among ourselves, that if it were God's will He would bless these little schools; and the result was that, to our great delight, the demand for them increased, and the number gradually mounted from those first three or four up to ninety-six last year. Our other rules regarding them were, that the *teachers should all of them be converts*, and that scholars should learn our Christian books, written in the simplest and most direct language by ourselves, treating of the vital doctrines of Christianity, and also of course the Bible, and give half their school-time *each day of the week* to the study of them.

The annual examination of these schools was perhaps the happiest part of my work, and they proved themselves to be an *evangelistic* agency beyond our expectation; for not only was light brought into many dark homes by means of the children, but also many adults came to the schoolmasters to be taught in the evenings when their day's work was done. Also at our examinations crowds of the heathen thronged the room, listening attentively as we catechized the children on the great fundamental doctrines of the true Faith. Of course we took care that these listeners should understand the questions and the answers, and thus we preached to them in perhaps the most effective of all ways.

These ninety-six schools are distributed over an immense tract of country, often five or ten miles, or even more, from one another. Sometimes you find one in a far outlying district, the only centre of Christian light in a wide area of heathenism; and there are places in the Province now, where the thriving little church that exists there owes its origin to the establishment of one of those tiny schools.

Mr. Lloyd,⁷³ writing some time ago from the district of Hing-Hwa, gave a striking illustration of this. A request came to him to establish a Christian school in the village; he did so, and through the instrumentality of the schoolmaster, who was a 'very earnest man, with a good influence outside the school,' and interest began at once to spring up; this steadily increased, till in the short space of two years the number of converts had grown to 150. He added that the converts had proved the reality of their faith by subscribing liberally towards the erection of a much needed church, school room and catechist's house, having given ninety dollars in money, and about 1,500 days' labour, and various gifts of tiles, etc. 'It is built,' he writes, 'of red brick, entirely in the Native style of architecture, and as I came in sight of it I could have cried with joy at what God had wrought by His grace in the village. What a joy it was to examine a school in that nice building, knowing as I did, that only two years before the Christians could have been counted on the fingers

69 Much of the text of this Report deals indirectly with a belief that operating ancillary missionary institutions such as schools, hospitals, etc was a diversion from the primary evangelistic task of missions, the preaching of the Christian message direct to Chinese adults through street preaching and street chapels. A very clear exposition of the value of education and other ancillary tools of evangelism is given in Anderson, Rufus, (1869), *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims*, New York, C Scribner Co.

70 *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, a regular publication of the Church Missionary Society.

71 D.V. is an abbreviation for Deo volante: Latin for "God willing."

72 The funding of Anglican mission schools in Fujian, following the decisions outlined, resulted in two categories of CMS schools in Fujian Province. Those funded, as noted in paragraph 3 above, by grants from the CMS in London as part of the overall working of the CMS in the province, and those funded by the Stewarts through appeals to relatives and friends in Great Britain.

73 Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, CMS Missionary, Fujian Province.

of one hand, and that, humanly speaking, *but for our little school all would still be in heathen darkness.*'

A good illustration of the usefulness of one of these little day schools in a far outlying district, and the way in which it becomes a centre of Christian instruction to those seeking it, is given by Mr. Collins.⁷⁴

Rev. John S Collins,
CMS, Ireland.⁷⁵



His experience, too, shows how much good may be done on the journey to the school; he writes:—

'There is a great interest awakened at A-Cai,' said the Native clergyman to me, 'I went there and stayed two nights and all the village came to listen.' 'Where is A-Cai?' I asked, as the name was unfamiliar. 'Down by the sea — it is the village to which the schools was moved this year,' he answered. Directly he said that, I remembered that the schoolmaster was a very earnest man, a true Christian, and a keen student of his Bible, and I had been expecting to hear further news of him. I had heard that he had twelve scholars coming to his school every day, and sixteen at night — boys whose work prevented them coming at any other time — so I was heartily glad when I found myself seated in the large boat that sails daily down to the sea coast villages. There was no limit to the number this boat could contain apparently — today it was particularly crowded. As soon as I got on board I was greeted at once by a cheery 'Ping Ang' ('Peace to you') from two men, and found that there were two or three Christians on board. The people crowded around me, and I resigned myself to my fate. I knew what was coming and gave myself up at once to silent prayer, for it is a very real trial to me to be overhauled and mauled by a crowd on a hot June morning, and to answer with perfect equanimity a thousand questions, each more extraordinary than the one before; to have every garment priced and felt by every hand than can reach it, and to be

catechized on the state of the tea market, and the value of a dollar in England. Presently an old man came and sat down near me, an din answer to a question as to where he was going, said, 'To A-Cai.' So at once we struck up a friendly talk. He had heard the Gospel from the schoolmaster, Mr. Ding, and at once, to my complete surprise, asked me to read some of it to him, 'as Mr. D. does every evening.' Out came my Testament, and the fire of questions ceased as I read, St John iii, 1-18. I thought this old man promised well for A Cai.

A crowd of coolies with their loads joined us from another boat, and the noise and confusion preventing conversation, I opened my ink-bottle and letter-case to write. 'What's he got there — is he eating opium?' shouted a man who was too far off to see, and took the pen for a pipe-stem. That gave me an opening, and they carried away a very distinct idea of what English Christians out here think of the opium question. I overhead one man say reflectively to his friend, some time after, 'He says what they hate most is opium.'

Shortly after, another man took the ink for morphia; for some reason it was connected with opium in his mind. They then conversed about foreigners in general, and some of their ideas were new to me! That there was one kingdom which no ship built with iron nails could ever get to, and so on. At length I made a last effort, and quoting St John iii.12, caught their attention, and with the help of the little 'wordless book,' had a capital time with them.⁷⁶

A welcome midday rest was obtained in the little church at A-Ling, and in the afternoon I started for A-Cai with the A-Ling catechist. He told how some new inquirers had come over to him, influenced by the A-Cai schoolmaster.

74 Rev. John S Collins, CMS Missionary, Fujian Province. Picture from family genealogical site.

75 Collins later drowned in the Min River 20 April 1897, aged 37. He was buried in the British Cemetery, Foochow, with other CMS & CEZMS missionaries. His widow, Mary, their two children Ethel and Philip and nurse, Margaret Hogan, drowned in the wreck of the P&O ship "Aden" near the island of Socotra at the eastern end of the Red Sea on 9 June 1897.

76 The original *Wordless Book* had three pages---black (=sin), red (=Christ's blood) and white (=clean soul). On January 11, 1866, Charles Spurgeon, the famous Baptist preacher of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London, gave a sermon "The *Wordless Book*," and this is believed to be the origin of this approach.



A Western artist's impression.
Women are shown in the image, a most unlikely event in a Chinese village or town.

Leaving the coast we began slowly to ascend the steep little range of hills. Once at the top we saw before us a narrow glen, with steep rocky sides that even these industrious Chinese could not cultivate, and beyond it another range of hills, bare, rocky and precipitous, with scarcely a tree to be seen. One, indeed, there was, at the hill foot on the opposite side of the glen, a tree that has a history of its own. Further along the shore is a farmhouse, owned by a man who has been long a Christian. He held to his faith stoutly in spite of bitter persecution, and Sunday by Sunday came along this lonely glen on his way to church. One Sunday a part of opium smokers lay in wait for him, caught him and tied him to this tree, and cruelly beating him left him there. But the beating had not the desired effect, for he still continued to go to church. Then his heathen neighbours seized some of his land and the trees planted on it. Having full proof of legal possession, he took the case to the law court, but the mandarin was no friend to the Christians, and gave the man his choice between imprisonment and freedom, but the latter only on condition that he burnt incense before an idol. This he refused to do, and chose the prison.

As we passed the corner of the cliff that shuts in the glen there opened to our view a beautiful little cove that reminded one of Devonshire, and the likeness increased as the tide came in and covered the mud flats. Skirting the foot of the hills, we followed the path to the right of the little bay, and turning another corner came suddenly on the place we sought, the village of A-Cai.

This was the first time a foreigner had been there, and the news soon spread. The first old man we met, holding up both hands in astonishment, exclaimed, 'Why, some of them arrive at the age of fifty or sixty years, do they?' This was a compliment to my supposedly grey hair! He was more dumbfounded still to hear I was only thirty.⁷⁷ The villagers treated us with marked courtesy, and not once did one hear an objectionable expression. Politeness like this is not unusual in remote places away from the high roads.

The sun was setting behind the mountains, and the cool sea breeze which the incoming tide brought with it made a welcome change after the hot day. The little schoolroom, evidently once a shop, was densely crowded, so they placed a table outside the house, with a lantern on it, and the preaching began. It was a thoroughly Chinese scene, the audience sat on doorsteps, windowsills, benches and chairs, and on the low wall that bounded the little terrace were sixteen children, evidently the night school. The sky was dark, and only the stars lighted the scene, if we except our flickering candle. I began with a few words, but gave way to the schoolmaster.⁷⁸ He spoke well and to the point, the audience interrupting freely with questions, some showing earnest thought, and none of the flippant questions so usual in street preaching. Only half a dozen of the foremost men could be seen in the light, but now and then a voice would come out of the gloom, or a smart discussion would spring up resembling a duel, and sounding not unlike a quarrel to unaccustomed ears. Then the preacher would go back to his subject and silence would reign.

As the catechist preached, suddenly two men shouted out, 'Then the worship of idols is useless,' and a tumult of voices arose which ceased as suddenly, while he gave a clear and decided answer.

Meanwhile the schoolmaster was not idle. He had gone into the schoolroom, which was full of people who preferred a seat in the light, with a pipe and a cup of tea, and there was holding an animated discussion on some subject of which I could catch a word only now and then.

Looking in from the darkness, one could only judge from the shadows on the mud wall thrown by the light that the argument was a hot one, it looked once or twice as if more than moral persuasion was being resorted to, but it was all perfectly good natured.

The catechist's voice failing, my load-bearer, a fine old Christian, came to the rescue, and his rough voice broke the silence, evidently making some telling points which the audience much appreciated. The old charges that the missionaries take people's eyes and knee-caps to make medicine of were brought forward, and talking continued for over three hours. It must have been quite eleven o'clock before the last men went off, and the Christians had prayers.

To me this was the most interesting evening I had spent since landing in China.⁷⁹ The courtesy of the people and their earnestness, with the evident spirit of real inquiry that they showed, made me most hopeful for the future. The schoolmaster's humility and reality mark him as a man whom God the Holy Ghost can use.

77 The inference is that Llewellyn Lloyd was fair-haired.

78 Lloyd spoke the dialect of Hing Hwa district

79 Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd arrived in China in 1876. This event took place nearly twenty years later.

I talked to the children at prayers the next day, and found them very bright and intelligent, and well up in the main facts of the Gospel story. Surely it is a cause of great thankfulness that thirty little ones should be learning something of the way of life at that little country day school. It is our best school in that district, but what one is all may be in time, and they will prove no mean instruments in freeing this enslaved people from the bondage of Satan.

**Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd,
CMS, England.⁸⁰**



Of the schools in the wide district south of Foo Chow, far removed from the district just spoken of, Mr. Lloyd gives some very interesting particulars:—

Chia-yang. At the beginning of the year we started a school in this village at the request of a man who had heard the Gospel at Sieng-lu, and had walked ten miles to Sunday Service for some months. He had induced some eight or ten of his neighbours to join him in petitioning us to send them a teacher, and assured us that numbers of the people were anxious to hear about the ‘Religion of Jesus.’ The result has surpassed our most sanguine expectations. I visited the village some weeks since, and was both pleased and surprised to find some eighty persons assembled to meet me with every token of respect, all of whom had enrolled their names as desirous to serve Christ and forsake their idols. Two old men especially attracted my attention. One of them, a village elder, very old and feeble, hobbled to the school, and was with great difficulty prevented kneeling down to me; he insisted that he wished thus to honour me as the representative of Christ, and was a little displeased when we pointed out that this must not be. Will not supporters of our day schools sometimes think of this little company of disciples in this remote mountain village, nestling among the hills 3,000 feet above the sea level, and pray that the little school may be a centre of light to the whole neighbourhood.

Ieng-tau-Kiang. Our attempt to open a school at this village two years ago met with such violent opposition that we were obliged, perforce, to close it. Two of our ‘voluntary exhorters’ who went thither and endeavoured to quell the disturbance, were bespattered with unmentionable filth and sent whence they came. This year the attitude of the people has quite changed, and sixty or seventy of them are attending the Sunday services. The schoolmaster is allowed to carry out his work unmolested, and we are deeply thankful that animosity has given way to glad acceptance on the part of many.

Here is one other illustration of the good work these little schools are doing, also from Mr. Lloyd:—

Leng-Tie, This village is situated in the Sieng-iu plain, about three miles from the city. I am glad to say that the establishment of the school has led to an increased interest in Christianity, and some ten of the villagers have joined us. One man among these recent converts attracted my attention at once, as being evidently in good circumstances, and quite above a majority of the people. I had a long conversation with him, and we read the New Testament together. He really seems sincere, and I trust his influence may be felt.

These cases show, I think, what valuable work these day schools are doing, not only in reaching the children, but in bringing the Gospel message to their adult friends as well, and the faster we can scatter them through the length and breadth of the country, the sooner will it be evangelized. The small amount of help, too, that comes from outside sources for their maintenance, £4 per annum, as I mentioned above, tends to foster a spirit of independence and self-support. Why the heathen priests and literati allow the children—for most of them are from *heathen* homes—to attend and learn our Christian books, it is hard to understand, except that, in answer to the prayers of those supporting these little schools, God is graciously protecting them and blessing them. Out of the ninety-six only fourteen are paid from the CMS general funds; the rest are supported privately, and this means a good number of true friends specially interested in this work, and whose prayers are being abundantly answered.

Yours very sincerely

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

Robert W Stewart
Aug 28, 1893
6 Leinster St. Dublin

[Several pages of individual donors and amounts are attached]

A year after drafting the report above, Stewart wrote another note about his work and the schools.⁸¹

KuCheng,
August 9th, 1894

My dear Margaret,

I did indeed like to get a letter from you, and I thought it downright kind of you to write such a good long one, and about every one, such lots of news I don't hear from someone else. You were starting soon for England and I know by the papers that you have safely arrived there.

How delicious getting home. I can imagine your feelings seeing everything again. Didn't it feel a little as if you were getting back into a former state of existence? I know it did to me! The eight years felt so long. The ...was almost surprised to find the houses not yet in ruins and then did it look to you as if there had been a ...storm which had settled more or less at everyone's head. Dear me, there is no place like the old home land! But one must not allow oneself out here to wander off into these channels but rather keep saying to oneself, the Home Land is up above, not away in the West. Today in our Morning Reading together we have the mind of our Lord in Mark that in Heaven there is to be no marrying or giving in marriage⁸² but all will be as the angels. I have often thought of this passage as being one of the most striking descriptions of Heaven, it opens up such a field for thought. These are those we are separated from whom we would love to have with us, some we cannot love as we would like to here on earth but there will be such absolute sinlessness and nothing to sully love. God is love, the essence will be left, our earthly dross gone.

I found on arriving from Canada that Kutien District as well as Ping Nang was to be under my charge. It is huge. You must fancy a country about half the size of Wales and one Englishman out to work it. There is also two Americans, one of them, a Doctor fixed to the hospital. And this is thickly populated as any part of China. It is more than 50 miles ...and this is my parish! I have in one District 11 catechists, and in the other 26, also 47 Schools scattered all over this rich region and besides any amount of office work. All the accounts of C.M.S. in the Districts at to this all the Z.M.S. accounts for the whole province, so I am kept busy.

If one could get over the province as in a Western land it would be easier, but here all travelling is by foot, either in a sedan chair—other people's feet—on your own (much the pleasantest). And yet when I am asked if I want a man from England to help me, I can only say 'Yes' if he is just the right man, if he is thrust forth by God I will be glad indeed to have him, but if not, 'No'. The Harvest is plenteous, the labourers are few. Oh Lord of the Harvest do THOU and only Thou, thrust forth the labourers. The climate seems to have affected this paper and turned it into blotting paper. But I have not said anything of the lady workers. We have a splendid little Band of them, every one of them good, they are showing the men how to work. I believe that verse in Psalms, you remember, "the women that publish the tidings are a great host," and the "Kings and their armies flee," is being fulfilled here.⁸³ Ten years ago we had two ladies, now we have 29! And for every one of them we say, "Thank God." Here in my District for our share we have 9. But spread them over half Wales and say they are too many! Would that we had double the number.

This year the demand for our little country Christian Day Schools was such that I allowed an increase of 30 over last year. You know about them, I think. I'm sure I must have mentioned them long ago. They have three great rules:

All the teachers must be Christians;

All must use the Christian books every day;

Pay £4/- to go to them from foreign sources for the year.

81 Rev. Robert Stewart to Mrs. Margaret Samaurez Griffiths, 9 August 1894, CMS East Asia Archives.

82 Gospel of Mark 12:25, (Authorised Version)

83 Psalm 68.

All else must be provided by the scholars themselves, e.g., rest of room furniture, books, etc. and also all else needed for the teachers salary.

At our Annual Native Conference at the beginning of the year, when some 400 leading Christians from the various little stations in my District met at Headquarters in Ku Cheng for consultation and mutual improvement, we ended up with a great baptismal service and 87 men and women that day entered the visible church. God keep them firm to the end. I think the two branches of our work most being used are: 1. The Ladies work. 2. These country day schools.

I have such faith in the latter as an evangelizing agency. Often the only little show of light in a wide region of darkness is the school and some places where there now there is a native church is encouraging work. A few years ago there was but a little school from which all has sprung. But there is a great need for prayer for the two branches specially. And this may ...help., 'Helping by Prayer,' as St Paul said.

I am writing this up on a hill in the neighbourhood of Ku Cheng, a cottage put up for the hot season. This little study is a funny little room, 4 feet wide by 11 long, and six and a half feet high. It was an outhouse. I was having it transformed and this is the first letter written in it.

I must say goodbye, Will you remember me most affectionately to Mabel and Miss Smith if she is with you. The ... will have returned doubtless to his Diocese but you will be remaining in Believe me always yours affectionately, Robert W Stewart.

2.19 FINANCING SCHOOLS IN FUJIAN PROVINCE.

The funding of CMS village schools in Fujian Province in the 1890s came from two sources. The CMS General Fund and private sources mostly associated with the Stewarts. At times the income stream became confused, with money intended for the Stewart schools being paid into the General Fund. Stewart wrote to the CMS Committee.

Kucheng,
31 May 1894

My dear Mr. Wigram

We notice from time to time sums acknowledged in "The Intelligencer" under appropriated contributions for our Fuhkien Day Schools.

Of course we understand the principle of this branch of the Funds; it is stated as plainly as could be in "The Intelligencer" ... but many do subscribe this paper and they do not understand it. They think the gift goes to the place or person indicated and benefits them?

And in many cases it does where the object is supported from the CMS General Fund, but where it is not so, but the support comes from parish sources, there the gift never reaches its intended destination.

This is the way with our "Fuhkien Christian Day Schools," and I want you to pity them and induce the Lay Secretary to allow many sent in for them to come to them.

I will not take up your time telling their history, enclosed last year's Reports give it but I want you, if you will, to allow these Fuhkien Day Schools to have a place for themselves in the accounts, like the Osaka Girls' School, for example, and thus gifts for us will not be appropriated to some one else.

I have written pleadingly to the Lay Secretary more than once but have received no reply, else I would not be troubling you.

From the beginning of these schools 15 years ago I have found the greater part of the Funds. From 2 or 3 then my share has gradually increased year by year till this year I have 109 to provide for! 30 more than last year.

It would be easy for us to make an application to the PC for a big grant for this purpose, and I dare say we would get it but we don't want this. We all together at the recent Finance Committee talked over the matter and decided unanimously to leave them as they are, supported by individuals and friends. The definite prayer thus secured accounts for the blessing that has all along rested on the schools.

The Schoolmasters are not like the 'Catechists' in this particular that their posts are not permanent. The latter cannot be dismissed easily but the Schoolmasters only hold their appointments for the year. At the end of each year they as a matter of course retire unless invited again to take a school. If our privately given funds fail therefore, there will be no obligation resting on the Society to continue them.

I have said all this to make the case a little plainer to your mind, but all we want is that gifts sent to Salisbury Square for this purpose shall either be returned with the request to the donor to send through "Missionary Leaves" or that the Fuhkien Christian Day Schools should be given a place among your many "Special Funds."⁸⁴

Believe me always, Most faithfully and affectionately
Robert W. Stewart

March Intelligencer has £8 from [Gerry Cathie Fund?] which for years has regularly come to me from personal friends there. I am sure if you ask him Gen, G, Collingwood won't mind forwarding it

84 Church Missionary Society *Missionary Leaves*. London, "For more than fifty years Missionary Leaves has regularly placed before its readers these letters from missionaries appealing for help. Faithfully have friends responded, often with considerable self-denial, and God alone knows what encouragement and real usefulness these gifts of incredible variety have afforded to those in the mission field. Support for living agents, aid in times of crisis and a volume of prayer for definite objects have been called out and freely given." Notes from Yale Divinity School Library, Missionary Periodicals Database.
URL <http://research.yale.edu:8084/missionperiodicals/viewdetail.jsp?id=149>

to me, and also in the December number there is £20 from Miss Elliott. I do not know if there were others last year. I ought to say that I am Secretary for the Fund, and also that it is officially audited with our Mission accounts.

We were both truly thankful to hear of the recovery of your Harrow son from his serious illness, and Mrs. Wigram too gave a better account of yourself in spite of the special thing that has come to try you. We thank God for this.

I am to thank Mrs. Wigram very much for her letter to my wife.

Funding of Day Schools, Fujian Province.

Kucheng, 2 June 1894

Secretary, Wm Chas Jones Fund,

Dear Sir,

I have this year taken over from Mr. Banister the two Districts of Kucheng and Ping-Nang in the Fukien Province, and wrote now to apply for the two grants each year sent to him for these Districts, via,

Kucheng Women's School 94

Kucheng Native Council 72

I shall feel most grateful for them.

Yours very sincerely

R W Stewart.

2.20 ANGLICAN CURRICULUM IN FUJIAN PROVINCE.

The 21st Annual Meeting of the Fuhkien Sub-Conference was held at Foochow on Thursday-Friday-Saturday November 8th, 9th and 10th 1894.

Present: The Ven. Archdeacon Wolfe (chair); Rev. R W Stewart; Dr B V S Taylor; Rev. W Banister; Rev. J Martin; Rev. C Shaw; Rev. J S Collins; Rev. H S Phillips; Rev. H M Eyton-Jones; Rev. T McClelland (Secy) Rev. L H Star.

There is a clear distinction between ‘Mr. Stewart’s School Fund and those funded from general CMS funds. All private donations to be kept by the missionary concerned.

para 46. CMS funded Day Schools.

The Day schools for the following year were appointed as follows:

Hook Chiang 24 schools
Ieng Kong 10 schools
Foochow 4 schools
Nantai 4 schools
Lo Nguong 9 schools
Ning Taik 15 schools
Hing way 27 schools
Funning 8 schools.

A total of 91 schools of which 65 were funded by the Stewarts.

Para 47 It was agreed that the grant for 15 schools from the Local Fund be applied to the Hingwa District and the CMS fund for 11 Schools be applied to the Hook Chiang District.

CURRICULUM IN DAY SCHOOLS.⁸⁵

Para 13. The Course of Instruction shall be as arranged last year and published in Chinese, with the following amendments;- In the 2nd year course the Gospel of St Mark is omitted, and ‘1st year’s work added’. The course will thus be as follows:—

1st Year.

The Creed; Lord’s Prayer; Ten Commandments; — reckoned as one subject.

Hymns - Repetition

[Chinese] 3 Character Classic (*Sandi Jing*)— Repetition

(Note. Mr. Stewart proposed that colloquial be used in Kucheng and Ping Nang Districts but this was not the wish of *Native Church Councils*)

Ong Dak (Wenda)-Anglican Catechism

3 Character Classic – Examination of Characters and Meaning

Doctrine of Creed, Lord’s Prayer and Ten Commandments

Dai Hok (Dazue) “Great Learning” and Dung Ung. (Zhong yong)-"Doctrine of the Mean." two of the "Four Books" of Neo-Confucianism.

2nd Year

Bible History, New Testament.

Picture Book

100 Texts (From Irish Church Missions).⁸⁶

85 The references to Chinese works, in small print, given in the text in Foochow romanised form, were provided by Dr. Ryan Dunch, University of Alberta, the authority on the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Fujian Province. See Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China*, (New Haven, Yale University Press 2001). Dunch R., "Science, Religion, and the Classics in Christian Higher Education to 1920," in Bays Daniel H. and Ellen Widmer, *Chinese Christian Colleges, Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp 57-82.

86 “One of the spiritual achievements of Irish Church Missions in this era was the appearance of the ‘100 Texts’. These texts, arranged in ten groups of ten for children to learn, formed the basis of doctrinal instruction in the

1st Year's work (presumably review/revision)
Doctrine
Siong a Laung (Shang/Xia Lun, i.e., Lunyu (Analects) in two parts.)

3rd Year

Bible History, Old Testament
St Luke
Siong A Maing (Shang/Xia Meng i.e.. Mengzi (Mencius) in two parts.)

4th Year

St Matthew
St John
Catechism on Creed
Si Sing and Si Ung.

CURRICULUM IN THE CMS (TRINITY) COLLEGE FOOCHOW

Para 17 FOOCHOW COLLEGE: COURSE OF STUDY

Mr. Banister presented his report on the Foochow College, and submitted the following course of study (prepared by the Bishop which was approved of by Conference.⁸⁷

1st Year

Old Testament. Books of Moses, taking Old Testament manual as guide.
New Testament. Gospel of St. Mark and St Paul's earliest epistles 1 & 2 Thessalonians.
Prayer Book – Creeds and Articles.
Martin's Evidences, 1st Part.
Semonizing
Lun qii – 1st part

2nd Year

Old Testament. Joshua and Solomon – Old Testament Manual
New Testament. 1 & 2 Corinthians. Galatians. Romans
Prayer Book. The ordinary services used in worship.
Martin's Evidences. Second Part.
Sermonizing.
Lun Qii – 2nd Part.

3rd Year

Old Testament. Division of Kingdom to close of Israel and Judah.
New Testament. St Luke and Acts. Ephesians. Colossians. Phillippians. Philemon.
Prayer Book. Collects, Epistles and Gospels.
Martin's Evidences, over again, or some other book on same lines..
Sermonizing
Mencius, 1st Part.

4th Year

The Prophets of the Old Testament.

schools of ICM. They originated from the work of the first Superintendent, the Rev. Charles F. McCarthy and were designed to teach the doctrines of sin, the Saviour, the Holy Spirit, and the Scriptures, as well as to inform learners how to combat the errors of Roman Catholic theology from Scripture. They were first gathered together by Henry Cory Eade, Mission Secretary to Dallas and later Rector of Clifden, County Galway. The first full publication to the 100 Texts was not actually an official publication of ICM, but was issued by the Rt. Rev. Henry Cheetham, Bishop of Sierra Leone in West Africa in his book 'The One Hundred Texts of the Irish Church Missions briefly expanded' (London 1880) for use in the local schools in Africa! It was the Rev Henry Fishe, Superintendent of ICM in 1883-84 and 1902-09 who first wrote a commentary on the Texts, which T C Hammond used for his complete commentary issued in 1939. <http://www.icm-online.ie/documents/icmnews-spring2006.pdf> The core elements of *The Hundred Texts* were published by a former Clerical Superintendent of the ICM, the Ven. T.C. Hammond as, *In Understanding Be Men*, (London, Inter-Varsity Press, 1936) and the book is still in print after many editions in English and Vietnamese.

87 Rt. Rev. John S Burdon, Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong

New Testament. Gospel of St. John, John 1,2,3. Revelation.
Prayer Book. Psalms (selected). Ordination Services.
Martin's Evidences. (or substitute).
Semonizing.
Mencius, 2nd Part.

2.21 EVANGELISM v. EDUCATION

Not all the CMS missionaries were totally committed to, or as enthusiastic about, the use of education as a means of evangelism. Archdeacon Wolfe was ambivalent, particularly about any project in which Robert and Louisa Stewart took leading roles. Part of the difficulty may have been in the conflict over leadership and status, hinging on the superior social status of the Stewarts, their financial independence of the CMS, their prominent role in bringing CEZMS women to Fujian and, perhaps most of all, Robert Stewart's status as a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. Wolfe was from a lower middle class family in Ireland with no higher education other than the course at the CMS College, Islington.

Foochow, 24 December 1893

My dear Mr. Fenn

I have received your two letters ... Schools in the Fukien Mission. I fully and entirely agree with what you say as to the danger of relying on the Schools and Education rather than on the divine method of preaching the Gospel to Adults, and I beg to assure you that as far as I am concerned there is no danger that the Fukien Mission is to be transferred from Class B to Class A. I hate the system that you hint at as much as you do and I have even, and very recently too, raised my voice against it. But I do not at all consider that which I have ever aimed at in this Mission and am still striving after comes under your condemnation or my own. What I want to be accomplished here is that all our Christian children at as early an age as possible, shall be able to read the simple style in which our Scriptures are written and be able to repeat the responses in church and enter in intelligently into our beautiful and Scriptural church services. This is all I want for our boys and girls generally. Capable of producing these results, they are also important contributory agencies for evangelistic work which I for one would not like to see abandoned. I earnestly hope for no other reason thru this letter to see them indefinitely increased all over the Mission and surrounding country.

But then as a Mission we want something higher than this for those who aim to become teachers of others, and who are to be we hope the Pastors and Teachers of this rapidly increasing Native Church! My wish therefore is to have in each Hsien [Chinese administrative district] a school into which the brighter and most promising boys in the day schools of that Hsien shall be allowed to come at the age of 12 and get a better education than they could in the day schools, and fit them for entrance at the age of 16 into the Foochow schools where they would remain until the age of 19 (Chinese). Of course the boys thus educated would only be those who are thought fit to become schoolmasters, pastors, or teachers or medical students. I cannot see how we are to get on if some such system as this is not adopted by the Mission, and encouraged by you at home. I must confess if we are not allowed to do something of this sort, I for one would despair of even placing the Mission on any solid foundation for the time to come, and should with deep sorrow and regret come to the conclusion that our dear friends in Salisbury Square completely fail to take in or understand our circumstances in this mission. I do not go in for the system carried out in some of the Indian Missions and indeed in some Missions in China, wherein missionaries spend thousands of pounds and their whole time in teaching the natives knowledge to fit them for posts in the world in which they may become rich and influential, with the hope of getting one in 30 of them a Christian man.

Hitherto, as far as my experience goes they have failed even in this for everyone that has been thus education have not only not become Christians, but have become the greatest enemies of Christianity, and many who were Christians when they entered those schools and colleges have turned out if not absolutely unbelievers, certainly not Christians.⁸⁸ Of course I speak only of China and of what I know. I consider all this a prostitution of missionary work and missionary money and an absolute waste of time as far as real missionary work is concerned. After this I hope you will have no alarm as to my encouraging the transformation of the Fukien Mission from Class B to Class A. I hope therefore you will help us in our legitimate efforts to raise up an Educated Class of teachers and pastors, educated not in England but in purely Chinese Christian learning. We have neither the time to waste nor the desire to see anything more carried out in this Mission.

88 Wolfe's remarks are not unfounded. Wolfe wanted changed lives through conversion. See Xu Yihua, 'St John's University, Shanghai as an Evangelising Agency,' pp. 23-49 in *Studies in World Christianity*, Vol 12, No 1, 2006,

2.22 FOUR ANGLICAN MISSIONS IN FUJIAN PROVINCE.

Church Missionary Society; Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Dublin University Fuh-Kien Mission, Female Education Society.

While Wolfe supported education as a means to creating a small cadre of educated Chinese to be church leaders he strongly disliked the separate operations of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, overseen by Stewart who reported directly to the CEZMS Committee in London. There were also two women missionaries from the Female Education Society working a small girls in association with the CMS who apparently followed Wolfe's requests without question.

Wolfe wanted just one Anglican mission in Fujian Province and as CMS also sent out single women missionaries his preference was that all women missionaries be placed under his direct authority as the senior Anglican clergyman in the province emphasized by his status as an Archdeacon of the Diocese of Hongkong.

His objection to a divided mission really centred on having Stewart exercising authority as secretary of the CEZMS in Fujian Province and answering only to CEZMS London, came to focus on the issue of CEZMS women wearing Chinese costume. In fairness to Wolfe, this was also debated in other missions. If there was a dividing line, it was that missionaries in the Treaty Ports generally retained European costume while missionaries in the interior (although not all) tended to adopt Chinese dress. The practice of the largest Protestant mission in China, the China Inland Mission, was to adopt Chinese dress when working closely with Chinese but to adopt European dress within their own major centres. Photographs of CIM missionaries often show a mix of European and Chinese costume.

In a series of letters over a long period, Stewart found it necessary to defend the distinct role of the CEZMS, and its methods, against ongoing criticism from Wolfe to the CMS committee in London. Wolfe's complaints were made know to the CEZMS committee resulting in this letter.

Kucheng, 22 April 1894

.About the Archdeacon's demand for the Coast District! It is really too bad. Lo Nguong, one of them is occupied by your Society, and a house actually built for them there at the Mr. Martin's request, he being in charge of the district. Foochow, also on the coast, has of course been worked by the ZMS from its first entrance into the country (at the invitation of the CMS) some 12 years ago, I suppose. Hing Hua is also touching the sea, and you have two stations there at the request of Mr. Shaw in charge of the District. In fact, Hok Chieng on one side of Foochow and Lieng King (very small) on the other, are the only Coast Districts that have not got your ladies actually living in them or as far as the Fuh Ning Prefecture.

And these two districts are so close to Foochow that they have always been worked from Foochow and might well continue to be so, and then at Foochow you have now actually 7 ladies! Several of them only too ready to go off tomorrow and work among the poor women of these districts.

That as the ZMS ladies insisting on the native dress! I really don't know how to comment on such a statement. Not one of the 7 ladies at Foochow has ever worn the dress! Neither of the 2 ladies in Lo Nguong have ever worn the dress and none of 4 ladies in Hing Hua have ever worn it! They have one and all just acted as gentle Christian ladies would at home, and yielded to the wishes of the men.

Then in another letter I learn that the Archdeacon wishes to have ladies "who would work on his lines". You would suppose from this that these ladies of yours had refused to do this! And yet what is the fact? Foochow is the Archdeacon's district, and in it your ladies have been working these years entirely "on his lines." Miss Mead and Miss Leslie in the City, the former living there a great part of her time, and not a word has been said of their not working "on his lines." His lines would be very bad indeed if the charge was true. Outside the city and in the suburbs the other ladies have been and are still working entirely on his lines, and this year Miss Strong has been through the Hok Chiang district with Miss Wolfe, with his expressed approval, and not a word said about "lines." There is not one of your ladies who would wear the dress in his district, even though forbidding them to do so is against the Resolution of the General Committee of the CMS reported in last month's Intelligencer.

God cannot prosper a cause supported by such statements or insinuations as these.

There are now, outside Fuh Ning Prefecture, six CMS Mission stations manned by Miss Wolfe, Martin, Shaw, Collins, Phillips and myself, and of these six, 4 have begged for your ladies and got them, and are full of praise for them. A 5th, Phillips, married one of them, and is plotting hard to get a band for his district. And so out of all the missionaries in charge of Districts only one has any complaint and you now know how much respect to pay to that complaint! Does it not appear rather significant that all should be so utterly satisfied except one!

And if you take the only two remaining men, Banister and McClelland, they are on school work in Foochow and have not districts. The latter following the example Phillips had set, and the former who had these districts, Kucheng and Ping Nang before me, told me he intended writing to you to express his great gratitude for the way your ladies had all along, without exception, helped him, and I do not of the eight of us only one grumbles! And the grumble is that they insist on wearing native dress, a grumble not founded on fact, as I have shown.

The debate over Chinese costume became a larger issue with the arrival of Australians such as the Saunders sisters, who, nominally members of the CMS Mission, had a distinct national preference for wearing Chinese costume no doubt associated with the fact that the earlier Australian arrivals, all working with the CEZMS, had adopted Chinese dress. It was something which Wolfe would not approve for any CMS woman missionary but something on which the Saunders sisters were not willing to compromise. It became an issue sufficiently important for the CMS Committee in London to review the arrangements for the placement of Australian women in Fujian.

Kucheng 23 August 1894.⁸⁹

I feel that Mr. Stock is troubled how to manage about a Miss Oxley, and other ladies from Australia who want to come to Fuh Kien and yet belong to the CMA.⁹⁰ So I have written telling him very much what I said to you recently, as to the misfortune it would be sending CMS ladies to Hok Chiang; that this would absolutely certainly lead, within a short space of time, to the other Districts having them, and thus your “raison d’être” for being in the Province would be gone. But God will not allow this. Those good men at Salisbury Square would not force this great wrong on the ZMS.

Mr. Stock in Australia wished Miss Oxley to come to Ku Cheng and this was almost promised her. Now I tell him that unless she is lent while in the Field to the ZMS this cannot be done, and I quote the rules of the Ladies Branch of the DUFM under which, you know, they will not send ladies out here to work under your direction, though of course letters and reports to their own CMA. And suggesting that the Colonies should adopt this method and thus those CMA’s would have absolute freedom to send their ladies to ZMS fields as well as CMS.

I assume, of course, that you would heartily approve of this: if not, the matter ends. Do the Societies ever lend workers to one another in this way in India?

Even though it could not be done from England, where everything is on so large a scale, it might easily be done in the Colonies and there they would gladly agree, I believe, if the PC approved.

I feel that if the CMS have ladies in Hok Chiang, as a matter of course whatever they say to the contrary now, they will be in Foo Chow and Lieng Kong (also under the Archdeacon) and almost at once, also in Hing Hua and Lo Nguong, and in a word all Fuh Kien except Ku Cheng will be open to them. Then Lloyd (or someone) goes round holding meetings, ladies come forward, “May I go to Fuhkien?”. “Yes, all except Ku Cheng, apply to CMS.” What a cruel blow that will be to her younger and weaker sister Society. Think of the effect in Ireland! Those devoted women there working so hard, their plea, that (practically) Fuh Kien depended on the ZMS for its ladies work, now robbed from them. Lloyd goes over there and proclaims that the CMS is doing this work. We shall be looked upon as deceivers, subscriptions to you will fall off, and yet there will scarcely be any gain to the CMS.

And then the misery and heart-burning and friction out here! The Missionary of the District encouraging this Society and slighting that, the poor ladies struggling to win his approval! Cruel!

89 Rev. Robert Stewart to CMS London, 23 August 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.

90 See Welch, Ian, ed, (2006), Amy Oxley: Australian Missionary Nurse, Church Missionary Association of Victoria, Fujian Province, 1893-c1920. http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_oxley.pdf

The potential for serious discord, not only in Fujian Province, but in every field where the CMS and CEZMS were working together is made obvious in Stewart's letter. In Fujian, it took the form, as Stewart warned, of a series of ongoing discussions about the allocation of workers of the two societies to various locations. Stewart had the prescience to see that the control that Archdeacon Wolfe was seeking would also produce conflict in Ireland, not only over the CEZMS workers but also over any women who might be directly sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the Dublin University Mission.

The pressures of the war with Japan and the problems being caused by the Vegetarians in the Ku Cheng District did not deter Archdeacon Wolfe from continuing to press his objections to the divided administration of Anglican work in the province. Throughout the Vegetarian challenge to the District Magistrate at Gutian and letters from Stewart describing the serious risks involved Wolfe had dismissed the Vegetarian movement as no more than 'slight' episode but by the end of November 1894 he was aware that he needed to take the issue seriously and to urge that all workers temporarily in Foochow remain until the situation was resolved. He seems to have taken the advice of an American Methodist minister (see following letter) as more reliable than that of Stewart.⁹¹

Foochow

c7 November 1894

My dear Mr. Stock,

You have not yet decided to send us CMS ladies for Hok Chiang but I trust you will delay this matter no longer. I cannot work happily with Z Society and I trust the CMS will not place me in the position of that Society or none at all! . . .

Ku Cheng district is at present in a very disturbed state [compare with previous letter to Wigram, above] apparently: no doubt Mr. Stewart has informed you . . .

I have taken upon me the responsibility of advising all the CMS ladies and children to remain here for a month and to see what will turn up. Though the country is perfectly quiet at present it is better to be on the safe side in case of any break out of lawless fellows. One never can tell in this country especially at a crisis like this, what will happen. Of course all male missionaries here will stay at their posts at all risks! For any of them to leave would indeed be a calamity as it would discourage our dear Native flocks and destroy all confidence on their part if the missionaries should be taken away. Methodist minister has already sent in a letter warning us to retire, (especially wives and children) from the interior and to open no new missionary work. I think a most prudent advice under all the circumstances.

Wolfe had not changed his mind about Stewart and still had reservations about the Vegetarian threat to the mission at Ku Cheng.

Foochow

30 December 1894

Nothing whatever has happened at Ku Cheng! Stewart has written to me saying, "All quiet." This was after the dreaded day! I confess I am completely puzzled about the whole affair. The Revd. Mr. Wilcox of the Methodist Mission at Ku Cheng was down here yesterday having just arrived from Ku Cheng. He told me there was no such trouble and he ridiculed the idea and the native story about the Vegetarians intending to pull down churches and houses, etc. etc. Yet we can hardly doubt but that something serious was going on at Ku Cheng and that Stewart and the Native Pastor would not write in the alarming way they have done without good grounds for doing so. We must only wait until time will unravel the mystery. We all rejoice however that nothing has happened or is likely to happen to harm our friends and brethren there! I now believe that the trouble was local and confined to this village where the accused Christian lived. Whether his crime (adultery) was a fact, or whether he was falsely accused we cannot now decide. This was confessedly the origin of the entire trouble and as the Christian appealed to the Magistrate for protection, and as the Magistrate took the matter up, the people jumped to the conclusion that the foreign missionary, as a matter of course they thought, was helping the accused Christian by using his influence with the Magistrate. This feeling being in their mind, no doubt determined them to resist the police who came out to investigate the affair. It was, as I

91 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, CMS London, 7 November 1894, CMS East Asia Archives.

said before, entirely local and the persecution confined to the Christian, as the immediate neighbourhood of the village in which the accused Christian lived! Of course these poor Christians would come in to Stewart with the most alarming accounting of the trouble, which I have no doubt they felt very much, poor peoples. It was quite natural on Stewart's part to believe them, especially when they would be confirmed by the Native Pastor and the catechist. This is the only way I can explain it or reconcile the conflicting accounts.

The Methodists say that none of their converts were in the slightest degree disturbed or alarmed. At least now the whole difficulty is over and no further need of anxiety or alarm on account of it.

The officials here still persistently assure H.M. Consul that there is no need of alarm, that in fact, the little affair about the Vegetarians helping their fellow sectarians has been exaggeration to a very serious degree, and there is not the slightest signs of any rising whatever against the foreigners or the Government. The officials of course would be disposed to make light of any trouble of the sort but looking at it all . . . I am inclined to think our dear brethren at Ku Cheng were unduly alarmed.

Excuse this long account and explanation of the matter as far as I can see. I thought you might like to be satisfied that there is no real danger at the present as far as we can know, nor is there likely to be.

Louisa Stewart was keeping up her correspondence and in a letter to a former American Methodist missionary friend, reflected on the difficulties facing missionaries in Fujian Province, not least the Vegetarian movement.⁹²

16 December 1894

My dear Mrs. Baldwin—

Your kind suggestion that I should send you now and again topics for special prayer has been in my mind much today, and I feel that I must write and tell you of our great need.

You will, of course, have guessed that owing to the war between China and Japan, Chinese people are in a state of great unrest, and hardly know what to expect from day to day. In this part of Fuh-kien Province a new source of danger has arisen. A secret society, [*Vegetarians*] which has been slowly growing for two years, has suddenly become very active, and is rapidly increasing in numbers: some hundreds have joined them within the last few weeks, and they are daily growing in numbers. The Mandarin has no power to check them; he made an attempt a few weeks ago, and his house was soon surrounded by an angry mob, who said they would pull it down if he did not agree to all their wishes. At last the poor man yielded, as he was quite terrified, and actually allowed his own secretary to be beaten, merely because the mob demanded it, and then liberated a few of their number he had imprisoned, and sent them home in state in sedan chairs. The victory over the Mandarin has made them very bold, and they say quite openly they can now do as they like. They have many times threatened to burn down our houses, and either kill us or drive us away; but the Lord has kept us in perfect peace; we realize fully that we are safe in His keeping, for we have no human power to trust in. The Mandarin can no longer help himself, so there is no protection from him, and the officials at Foochow are powerless; such consternation prevails owing to the Japanese victories. But we know nothing can hurt us without our Father's will, and we feel quite content.

Our little girls, aged ten and twelve, sometimes feel the strain rather, and when people begin talking of possibilities they feel rather frightened; but even this the Lord is using for good, as it is teaching them to turn to Him for help and comfort, as they never would in peaceful days.

We feel most for our poor Christians, and it is for them I want specially to ask you to pray. Even now many are having a time of severe testing, and much worse may come if the war is prolonged. The heathen think they have now a good chance of injuring them, as the government is quite unable to take their part at present. Some have had their crops of rice cut down and carried away before their eyes; others have been beaten; and one poor man had his shop attacked, and everything he had carried off. We know that those who are grounded and settled in the faith will not be moved, but we feel so much for the inquirers, and those just lately come out of heathen darkness. "God is able to make them stand."⁹³ Will you join with us in asking that all this trouble may lead to great spiritual blessing, and that the Christians may be given courage to bear whatever may be the Lord's will to send them?

92 Mrs. Louisa Stewart to Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, cited in Watson, op cit. P 38.

93 Epistle to the Romans 14:4.

Will you also pray that this secret society, which is doing so much harm, may be in some way broken up, and not allowed to injure the Lords' work in this place? They are going to have a great gathering of conspirators at this city in about a fortnight, and we are praying much that the Lord will keep them from doing any harm. They threaten all sorts of things, but we know they cannot carry them out unless God permits them. The Consul is anxious we should all leave these inland stations, and go down to the Treaty Port [*Foochow*] for safety, for he thinks that if Peking is taken there may be a general rising of the people, and then the 'foreigner' would be the first to suffer. But so far we cannot see that it is the Lord's will that we should leave our posts, and we fear it would much discourage the Christians if we did so. The Lord will guide day by day, and we want simply to follow His will.

Will you pray especially for two dear men, leaders in the Church here at Kucheng? The first is named Ling Sing-mi; he is an ordained clergyman, the pastor of our church in the city, and head of the Kucheng district work under my husband. . . . The other is a man named Li Daik-in, also a leader, and also a very good man. . . .

We are all well in health, thank God. My husband has had one attack of illness since the summer, but is now well again; he is constantly busy, and indeed, can hardly get through the work of these two great districts.

Robert Stewart was conscious of the need to keep the CEZMS committee well informed about the work of their missionaries and to emphasise their cooperative spirit when working alongside members of the CMS—countering Archdeacon Wolfe's constant criticisms. The following letter provides a good coverage of the kind of work being undertaken by the women missionaries of the CEZMS, and in particular, the emphasis being given to the provision of education for married women, while recognizing the risks involved when husbands objected.⁹⁴

Ku Cheng, Foo Chow, China

20th November 1894

My dear General Robinson

I have been wishing to tell you something of the work of Your ladies in the Fuh-Kien Province which I myself seen in the past year.

My wife and I reached Foo Chow from Canada, just a year ago, and before coming up to our inland station, we spent a week at the Treaty Port of Foochow.

Here we found five of your ladies hard at work, three of them living at Z.M.S. 'Olives', Miss Mead, Miss Strong, and Miss Stevens.

To the first-named is committed the work among women in the city of Foo Chow; there are in the city about half a million people and she is the only one of your ladies that can be spared. She has rented a small house in one of the main thoroughfares, in the lower part of it she has a Girls' Day School, and in the upper part she spends four days out of each week, returning to the 'Olives' for the other three days. In the city, she finds a great number of houses open to her, more than she is able to visit, the women receive her very gladly but their husbands too often on finding their wives being really influenced take fright, and forbid further visits. There are good possibilities in this work but it has peculiar difficulties, and calls for your prayers.

Miss Strong's sphere has been the Women's Training School in Foo Chow. She has had generally as many as twenty women almost all from the Hok-Chiang District, the more distant Districts having their own institutions.

No work is more important than this of training women, fitting them to be themselves teachers. Miss Strong has devoted herself to it with the greatest energy. I may say courage, for owing to her failing eyesight she has often been tempted to give it up but has yet bravely held on till Alas! the doctor would allow her to stay no longer in the country, and she has returned home, everyone in the Mission hoping it may be but for a short time.

The third inmate of the 'Olives,' Miss Stevens, sent by the Tasmanian Y.W.C.A, Mrs. Fagg formerly one of our lady missionaries here, being one of the leading spirits in the Association. Unable to return to the work she loved so much she has sent already two substitutes, and we are grateful. Miss

94 Rev. Robert Stewart to Major-General C. G. Robinson, Chairman, CEZMS, CMS East Asia Archives. Also cited in Watson, op cit, p 94-96.

Stevens divides her time between village work on the Nantai Island, and attending to the needs of the up-country Sisters who now number more than 20, and who get all their home correspondence, stores, etc. through her. What time she has left from these she gives to visiting in the large Foo Chow Hospital.

In Foo Chow you have also a Girls' Boarding School, rapidly increasing in numbers under the charge of Miss Leslie with whom Miss Lee is living while learning the language. This little school is intended to reach the upper class children whom Miss Mead is able to influence in the city, and some Christians belong to this class, though not all, the rule is for them to pay the greater portion of the expenses of their food and clothes but Miss Leslie is sometimes obliged to relax a little. From about 20 children last year, it has increased to nearly double that number now, and who can tell what good may come from the messages these children will bring back to their homes, dark heathen homes in that most sinful city, Foo Chow.

You have two more workers in Foo Chow, Miss Barr and Miss Chambers. They are stationed in the Native Hospital which is in the care of Dr. Rennie. Although it is not a mission Hospital, Dr. Rennie gives the ladies full scope for influencing the patients, and were it actually a Mission Hospital they could not have more freedom in speaking to and teaching the inmates. Although they only reached Foo Chow last March they are able to make their ideas known in Chinese very fairly, and when I saw them the other day they told me how happy they were and what a splendid sphere of work they found theirs to be. On their arrival, at Dr. Rennie's suggestion, a Sunday Service was commenced and now so many come it is often hard to find room for them. On Tuesday too there is a service now conducted by Mr. Banister, and our old friend, Mrs. Ahok, holds a weekly meeting for the women patients in the room where her good husband used to get the men together. I ought to have said that I found Mrs. Ahok giving much assistance to Miss Leslie; her house is close by the school, and very day she takes a class of the girls, and is also instrumental in bringing the greater number of them to the school.

The next District north of Foo Chow is Lo Nguong. Here your new house is just completed, and I think will be one of the most suitable in the Mission for the purpose. It is entirely native in its external appearance, while within is slightly altered from the ordinary Chinese building. It will take the three ladies easily, and the entire cost, including furniture will not exceed £80. Miss Hook and Miss Cooper are just about moving in, and it is intended that your new lady, Miss Wedderspoon, will join them. Miss Hook has already been itinerating frequently through the District and speaks of it as very happy work, and full of opportunities for usefulness. Up to the present there has practically been no itinerating by ladies in that important District. There are a good number of new converts but the women have had nothing done for them.

Mrs. Martin, whose death the whole Mission so deeply regrets, had a Women's School in the city. This was an excellent institution but beyond this there was nothing, for there were no ladies to take up the work, till your Society came to its aid two years ago.

Travelling south from Foo Chow between two and three days journey you reach Hing Hua. In this District you have two Stations, the one at Dang Seng and the other a day and a half distant, at Sieng Iu. The District is unique among all the Districts of the Mission, for it is practically self-supporting, there only being at present one Catechist paid from Mission Funds. The other Catechists being supported by the Christians themselves who have put up their own places of worship, and who flock to them on Sundays in large numbers.

The opportunities for work among the women at those two stations of yours is quite wonderful. Miss Hankins has written telling you of it, she with Miss Witherby at Dang-Seng have given most of their time that they could spare from learning the language to iterations through the surrounding country, and holding weekly classes for instruction. Now they are about to start a Women's School where Christian women will be trained and then sent back to their own villages to work among their countrywomen, in the first place utterly unpaid, possibly later on one or two may be selected as Biblewomen. The Society has excellent premises here, and recently Miss Hawkin's friends have provided funds for the building of the Women's School.

Your other station in the Hing Hua District, Sieng Iu, is occupied by Miss Lloyd and Miss Tabberer, both from the town of Leicester and here too a Women's School has been started in a small

way. Next year it is to be enlarged, and the expense will be borne by a good friend to the Cause in Leicester.

Three days journey west from Foo Chow is our station of Ku Cheng, to which is joined the District of Ping Nang, the two together covering an area equal to about half the size of Wales, and as populous as the rest of China. In this region you have two fixed stations, Ku Cheng and Sa Tong, a long days journey separating these places and two other stations which for the greater part of the year have ladies in them.

Ku Cheng. Here Miss Nisbet is in charge of the Foundling Institution, which takes in poor little baby girls cast off by their parents. The numbers have increased till we had to give notice that no more could be taken in. Miss Nisbet gives nearly all her time to mothering these little things. There are in all about 30, some of them out at nurse. There is also a large District allotted to Miss Nisbet covering some 200 square miles, with little bands of Christians dotted here and there through it. Women sorely needing looking up and teaching, but they can get very little.

Another Institution here is the Girls' Boarding School in charge of Miss Weller. This too has so increased that though the school as enlarged considerably last year, it is now again quite full, and this too in spite of a new rule by which they must each pay a fixed portion of the expenses, and also must all of them unbind their feet. There are now close on 60 of those girls, and if they fulfil the hopes of their teachers, they will do much towards elevating and Christianizing the country.

I ought to say that the Foundling Institution was built at the expense of an Irish clergyman and is being supported entirely by individual friends. And so this Girls' School was erected, and is supported in a similar manner, neither institution drawing anything from the Society's funds.

The three other ladies who regard Ku Cheng as their headquarters are Miss Gordon, Miss Marshall, and Miss [Lucy] Stewart, the last named is still working for her examinations, and when she has got through them her work will be in the country, in the western section of the District.

Miss Gordon's station where she spends the greater part of the year is Dong Gio, the Mission's chief centre for the Ping Nang District. This great District, or as we would say in England, county, has no other lady workers but this one, and I need not say that though she work ever so hard, she cannot barely touch what is waiting to be done. At that one station of Dong Gio, there is a usual attendance of 80 to 90 women at the Sunday services. We have to thank Rev. H. B. Macartney [see earlier mentions] for this valuable missionary. I only hope he will be able to send us some more like her.

Miss Marshall's work is also in the country, only returning now and then to Ku Cheng as Headquarters. Her section lies north of Ku Cheng, and covers more than 500 square miles. She has several centres in this region where she stops of a few weeks or two months at a time, collecting the women together, and visiting from house to house. The plan is for the sisters to travel in twos accompanied by a Biblewoman and a Christian servant and to put up at chapels where there is stationed a married catechist. Just now she is at a place called Sek Chek Du, with Miss [Topsy] Saunders of the Australian C.M.A., who is stationed with us while learning the language. A letter has come to us today from her telling of the great encouragement they are having in that place which hitherto has been utterly dead, although we have again and again endeavoured to arouse an interest. Thank God for these sisters, wherever they go God gives His blessing. Their secret is quiet, unwavering trust in the Saviour by their side, and He does not fail them.

Your other fixed station in this Ku Cheng District is San Iong, where Miss Codrington and Miss Tolley are located, the latter still learning the language but at the same time doing many useful little bits of work.

I took the Bishop here on his recent Confirmation tour, and he seemed especially impressed by the good work ...

The chief features in Miss Codrington's work is her "Station Class." This is a new departure in our Mission and she is the first to try it. The idea is to gather a class of women from neighbouring villages, and keep them for 3 months at a time with her in her house, teaching them day by day assisted by a well instructed Biblewoman, the great fundamental truths of Christianity, and the chief incidents of the Bible, and then sending them back to their homes to be voluntary workers among their people. It was thought by many that three months teaching would be of little use for these ignoramus minds but

experience has shown quite the reverse. I examined one of her 3 month classes, and was delighted at their answering, so utterly different from the ordinary untaught women. They had learned not only a number of facts, but they had learned to think, and it was a delightful surprise to find how thoroughly they understood the Truth, and how intelligently they were able to answer.

Then besides the "Station Class" Miss Codrington visits regularly the surrounding villages within a radius of six to eight miles, sometimes travelling even further holding little classes in these places, and thus Sa Long being so hopeless a station that we had actually withdrawn our catechist from it, has now a congregation of from 50 to 100, and the interest is steadily increasing. There is a little Girls' School here too, daily taught by Miss Tolley, and they answered well at their examination.

Ten miles still further east across the mountains lies the town of Sang Long, and here Miss Maud Newcombe, and Miss Burroughs have been working for a year. Here too have "Station Classes" been held, a girls' day school established, and villages visited. Just as have described at Sa Long, a visible and wonderful success has in some day followed. The work is really done in their little room upstairs where the two sisters kneel together so many times a day.

Miss Newcombe's furlough is due, and she has not been very strong, and many think she should take a rest, but the Christians hearing of it have drawn up petitions, one of which they laid before the Bishop, begging that she might stay on among them yet another year, and I rather think she is going to yield. I trust it may not be at the expense of her health.

So far from European intercourse one would suppose their lot must be a sad one and yet like the other sisters, they firmly maintain that they never, even in the dear homelands, had before such happy work. "Go and Lo, I am with you always,"⁹⁵ accounts for this otherwise inexplicable fact.

There only remains to speak of the far North West, where Nang Way is the Mission centre for your ladies. It is four days journey over high mountains from Ku Cheng. I visited them at the beginning of the year and found there Miss Johnson, Miss B[essie] Newcombe, Miss Rodd, Miss Bryer, Miss Fleming. They have also among them a Miss Sinclair, who has come from England independently and is making herself useful in various ways. These devoted ladies are living as nearly like the native women as possible, no knives or forks are seen in the house. I am told there is one knife kept for any unhappy guests who cannot manage with chopsticks, and though the locality is far from a healthy one, and our C.M.S. missionaries have one after another felt the effects of the Malaria, your ladies have wonderfully maintained their strength. You know the kind of life they lead, visiting from village to village, sometimes at long distances from home, putting up, not at chapels, or Christian houses, for alas, there are none, but in the native Inn, or the house of some hospitable heathen woman, and God is using them. It is truly invigorating to the soul to sit down and listen to these devoted ladies telling of the spiritual work they have themselves witnessed.

Oh for more of these "women that publish the tidings."⁹⁶

They have too a little Hospital here in Miss Johnson's charge, and they have also been able to start a small 'Station Class' though in doing so they have had to face difficulties which were not met with in the other Districts.

And now in drawing this long letter to a conclusion, I must say that with all these ladies are doing before one's eyes, and the utter devotion of their lives, it was a disappointment to observe in Annual Report that your "China Fund" was at so low an ebb, the receipts last year being less than the expenditure by £900, so that the balance in hand is almost gone. What is Fuh-Kien to do this coming year? Unless funds come in quite unexpectedly there will be a great deficit. Do your readers know that China only gets money sent in especially marked as for China? If they did I don't believe they would leave the "China Fund" to languish like this.

These dear sisters, who as your know, are all of them on reduced rates of salary, wrote to me on observing this in your Report that they felt they must themselves try to help still further. One said, "I will pay our Mission Messenger myself." Another, "I will pay my teacher." Two others. "We will pay the rent of our Mission house." And they will not lose by it, "There is that scattereth and yet

95 Gospel of St. Matthew 28:20.

96 Psalm 68:11.

increaseth.”⁹⁷ “The Lord knoweth a cheerful giver.”⁹⁸

One good result is this, your “China Fund” is being remembered in prayer as never before, and He who has the silver and the gold will certainly give what is needed.

Believe me very sincerely yours,
Robert W Stewart.

Meanwhile, the ongoing conflict centred on the wearing of Chinese costume continued unabated but Stewart now sought to unify the women’s work through requiring all Anglican women missionaries to be initially accountable to the Women’s Conference, a policy for women that he did not pursue in regard to the work of male missionaries. It is difficult not to feel that he had a blind eye on this imbalance in his approach perhaps generated by the enthusiasm of his wife for a significant role for women missionaries less controlled on a daily basis by men.⁹⁹

Foochow, 8 December 1894

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

Allow me to take advantage of your being here to express an opinion I have held strongly for a long time, it is, that for all matters regarding their work in their Districts, the ladies of the CMS and ZMS should regard themselves as responsible in the first instance to their Foochow Ladies Conference. There they have an opportunity of stating their own case fully, and answering questions, and the decision arrived at will, as a matter of course, come before the Sub-Conference, where our right of veto can, if needful, be exercised.

Yours very faithfully

R W Stewart.

P S I need not go fully into the reasons for this, but you know some of them already and I think agree with me that this will be a very valuable help to the Sisters and their work. The Ladies Conference rules are already drawn up but Salisbury Square has not yet fully recognized them.

While returning from a mission meeting in Foochow, Stewart took the opportunity to write to the Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, the CMS Secretary responsible for the East Asia mission. Stewart clarified his ideas on the Women’s Committee arrangement. Baring-Gould had visited Fujian Province in the previous months. Depending on the time of the year, the upstream journey to Shuikou from Foochow could take up to three days or more. Stewart had ample time to reflect on the discussions in Foochow and to write his own account to London.¹⁰⁰

River Min, 25 December 1894

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

We have paused for the night in this little boat, and I will take advantage of the quiet to write to you.

I hope you got my letter advising that the Ladies Conference be officially regarded as the refuge for the Sisters in all matters bearing on their work in their Districts.

I think this will solve many difficulties, and it was in fact our chief object when years ago we first advocated the LC [Ladies or Women’s Committee]. Among other good things it will remove the danger of that terror of the District Missionaries, “Dual Control”, by which he [Wolfe] means himself and the Corresponding Secretary (of the ZMS i.e., Stewart).

You doubtless obtained a copy of the LC Rules. They are not perfect; in more cases than one they practically contradict one another! The reason for this is that after they had been drawn up they were “touched up” by a strong hand, who felt that “those ladies must not be allowed to rebel, a thing they will every one do if they can.”

The great majority of us would like to alter 2 or 3 of the rules but just at present that might be

97 Proverbs 11:24.

98 2 Corinthians 9:7

99 Rev. Robert Stewart to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 8 December 1894, CMS East Asia Archives.

100 Rev. Robert Stewart to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 25 December 1894, CMS East Asia Archives.

difficult.

Just before starting on Saturday Banister showed me a proposition he had sent round, viz, to solve the Hok Chiang problem by leaving that district to the ZMS but asking them to appoint the Archdeacon their Corresponding Secretary for that particular District.

The objections to this seem to me, (i) that the Archdeacon would not work happily with the ZMS Corresponding Secretary after all that has passed. (ii) The proposition does suggest that the Society should appoint some of the DM's {Dublin Mission) Corresponding Secretaries. But what would those not selected think? If it were done for 2 or 3, surely it must be done for all, every man would put in for being Corresponding Secretary, and in some cases, if this was done, the Sisters would suffer. There is no suggestion that the CMS ladies should be similarly treated.

The object of the proposition is good but it is accomplished more simply in the other way. (i) by handing over Hok Chiang to the CMS ladies, (ii) by making the Ladies Committee their haven of safety.

Certain points will arise, e.g., to whom should they appeal between the meetings of Conference. For this L Committee might be formed of say, 4 or 5 ladies and the same number of ZMS, would form the Cabinet, and when the House was not sitting, could act in pressing cases.

The Resolution of the LC will, as we know, come before the Sub-Conference for review. I thoroughly believe in the Second Chamber with power of veto.

I have been thinking that perhaps the simplest thing will be to leave the Misses Clarke where they are.

The CMS under the Memorandum we signed can send ladies now into the Hok Chiang, Lieng Hong, An Kwang and Ming Kaing Hiens¹⁰¹ (supposing of course the Home Societies agree). These have probably at least 3 times the population of the 4 Hiens of Fuh Ning, and though openings for women's work are of course not to be compared. You know the work of the ZMS here in An Kwang and Ming Kaing Hien, and they will not be likely to extend here, more likely the reverse; so that practically these are CMS as well as the other two.

But though I see all this as proof that the suggestion I ventured to make and which I suggest was not an inadmissible one, I still think it may be simpler for the ZMS to keep out of Mr. Eyton-Jones District, and not work in the Fuh-Sing region, but only in the Ning Taik hien.

You know that Ning Taik and Lo Nguong are at present worked as the CMS District, Mr. Martin being in charge. In a few months he is returning home, when it will come to Mr. McClelland, who having married a ZMS lady, may be taken to thoroughly believe in them. It will in every way be appropriate for that whole District to be worked by ladies of the same Society.

This will work better than the other plan, the ZMS only taking the one Hien District of Ning Taik, and retiring from the claims to Hok Chiang and Lieng Kong etc.

I will put his strongly before the ZMS and if they agree, you I know will, for you approved of the Memo and the ... contains the less, thus all will be well, and ZM will not have come to Foochow in vain.

Even though all this fail, you will not have come in vain, for some us have been helped, I am thankful to be able to say, and will not mind knowing.

"The Beloved of the Lord,"

"Safely by Him,"

It has been ringing in my ears.

You are remembering Ku Cheng folk I know. God will bring good out of it. The converts will learn that it is no use trusting a man, they have been accustomed to run to their foreign friend for everything, now they see he can't help them, try he ever so hard. They are ... up to looking to God first and only, and leaning all their weight on Him.

May God guide and bless you all the way Home. Please remember me to Miss Baring-Gould. I remember her message for Miss Tolley.

Yours very sincerely

R W Stewart

101 Commonly spelt HSIEN. A Chinese administrative sub-district.

P.S. I have been thinking since writing above that it will be decidedly better not to disturb the Clarkes. It would lead feeling among some and trouble. But Ning Taik by itself is enough. You have no workers there, and a house nearly built (Would you like to give it to the ZMS?), a “Thank Offering for Peace.”

Anyway, the Archdeacon won't object to this, neither will the Z's, I think, and all will be happy, and may both Societies send as many labourers as the can. May dozens come, of the right sort, from the dear old CMS.

It is not surprising, given the respective temperaments of Stewart and Wolfe, that the debate over the role of single women missionaries was carried on without extensive consultation with their colleagues. The Rev. John Martin, who had previously objected to what he saw as Stewart's high-handed behaviour in regard to the placement of the Saunders sisters, wrote to London and raised some serious questions about the recruitment of women for the CEZMS, notably among Stewart's recruits from Ireland. Martin also expressed reservations about Stewart's personal attributes, his management style and competence, an issue that he was to raise again as the issue continued to fester within the Anglican missions.¹⁰²

Lo Nguong

27 December 1894

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

To my great surprise I have just heard that Mr. Stewart after he saw you in Foochow sent a proposal to the CMS Committee to give up their ladies' work in Fuh Ning in exchange for the privilege to work in Hok Chiang. This seems to me a rather strange proposal, and I cannot understand how a member of the Mission can make suggestions about another Missionary's district without first consulting him. From what Mr. Eyton-Jones told me he was not consulted and certainly Mr. McClelland and myself were not. If Fuh Ning includes Ning Taik, I think I have cause to complain, more especially as I prefer CMS Ladies working in my Districts. I have CEZMS ladies in Lo Nguong but then it was merely because Mr. Collins had asked for them before I took on the district. He had not done so, I should have asked for CMS Ladies. I feel I must object to the CMS ladies in Ning Taik being exchanged for CEZMS Ladies, and therefore cannot agree with the proposal as far as Ning Taik is concerned. I know that Mr. McClelland prefers CMS Ladies and I think he will agree with me. It is a thousand pities when the ZMS cannot possibly send out sufficient ladies to work even the half of this Province that it objects to the CMS Ladies working in Hok Chiang. It seems to me to be a 'dog in the manger' affair! Perhaps you may ask why do I prefer CMS Ladies to ZMS. My reasons are:

1. I know the dual system won't work with every missionary. The ZMS Corresponding Secretary may be a difficult brother to get on with.
2. I don't think it fair to the Ladies to have to refer things to their Corresponding Secretary when a CofE clergyman who is on the spot and in charge of a district where the ladies are working.
3. The missionary in charge of a district may have work to do for the ladies and is therefore working for the ZMS when he should be working for the CMS, e.g. the house in Hong Puang has given me more trouble and has kept me from itinerating more than any other house I have built. One reason being Mr. Stewart had charge of the contracts and chose a cheap builder who has given me no end of trouble.
4. The districts in which the ZMS ladies work belong to the CMS and the Church Council, the CMS and the missionary in charge go to the expense of fitting up a room in the chapels for the itinerating ladies.
5. The SPG and most of the American Societies have mission boards or branches to their Societies, and do not, as far as I know, depend on other Societies for lady workers.
6. It would seem a much wider plan for the ZMS to let their ladies work where the CMS does not, or could not send ladies.
7. When Mr. Wigram was with us in 1887 a petition from all the CMS Missionaries was drawn up and sent to the three Societies, CMS; CEZMS, and the FES¹⁰³ not merely the ZMS asking them to

102 Rev. John Martin to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS London, 27 December 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.

103 Female Education Society. Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. A non-denominational Christian body formed in London in 1834. See Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, (1850), *Female Agency*

send ladies as soon as possible. Why then in the face of that petition does the ZMS think its ladies should be the only ladies to work in this Province which is more than large enough for the three societies.

8. I can trust the CMS, whereas I cannot feel the same confidence in the CEZMS. We all want ladies full of love to Jesus and to furnishing souls but as Churchmen we do not want ladies who are “Salvationists” or ‘Baptists.’ Some four years since, my beloved wife in hearing Miss Newcombe¹⁰⁴ views from herself said to her, “I cannot understand how you can with those views work in the Church of England Mission, it is not honest.” Miss Hook did not believe in infant baptism. I have done I all can to teach her and she confesses she thinks somewhat differently now.

Yours very sincerely

John Martin

The future role of Australian women missionaries remained unsettled at the end of 1894, largely over the question of whether they were to work with CMS, under Archdeacon Wolfe’s overall supervision and following his methods—which rejected wearing Chinese dress, or with the CEZMS, following, in particular, the more liberal CEZMS approach to costume, which the Australians had previously indicated was non-negotiable.¹⁰⁵

Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 9 Salisbury Square, London, EC.

1 January 1895

My Dear Mr. Higgins

Would you kindly let us know whether the ladies going out from Australia to China will be sent to the Fuhning Prefecture of the Fuh Kien Province, working in the CMS sphere of ladies work?

I ask this as our Secretary, Mr. Stewart, is very anxious should they be sent to any other parts of Fuh Kien that they be attached to CEZMS and we would like to press this before the CMS Committee.

Yours sincerely, C G Robinson

At the same time as seeking Mr. Higgins advice, General Robinson wrote to the CMS putting forward, in very clear terms, its support for Stewart’s position in relation to the Australian women.¹⁰⁶

Church of England Zenana Missionary Society Office, Salisbury Square

1 January 1895

My dear Mr. Wigram

As the Committee of the CEZMS will be meeting on the 2nd inst. It will be impossible for any of the CEZ Secretaries to be present at the CMS Committee of Correspondence when para. 7 of the Agenda will be brought up. We ask that the consideration of the question of allowing ladies appointed to the Fuh Kien Province from Sydney, Australia, to proceed thither, may be deferred to another meeting when we could be present but in case this would be inconvenient, we would ask that this letter may be read at the Committee and the accompanying extracts from letters from Revd. R. W. Stewart our Corresponding Secretary in China.

We would plead that the following rule may be established with reference to ladies appointed from the Colonies for Mission Service:

“When Lady Missionaries from the Colonies are appointed to serve in spheres occupied by the CMS for women’s work, they shall be attached to the CMS but when working in spheres occupied by the CEZ that they shall be attached to the CEZMS.”

Our Corresponding Secretary, Revd. R. W. Stewart, CMS, earnestly presses that the above rule shall be adopted. He points out that there are various differences of working which would make it inconvenient to mix the Ladies of the two Societies in the same sphere.

Our proposal is based on the plea that the two Societies are both working in cooperation, and we should agree to any rules which are for the best interests of either Society. The CEZMS originally

among the Heathen, London, Edward Suter. (National Library of Australia microfilm)

104 The YWCA in Ireland sent four Newcombe sisters to Fujian with CEZMS. The family had Baptist connections in Ireland and in New Zealand.

105 Major-General C.G. Robinson, Chairman, CEZMS, to Mr. Higgins, CMS London, 1 January 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.

106 Major-General C.G. Robinson, Chairman, CEZMS, to Rev. Frederick E. Wigram, CMS Secretary London, 1 January 1894. CMS East Asia Archives.

occupied the Fuh Kien Province at the invitation of the CMS and it seems vital to us as a Society, now the CMS are accepting Ladies in such large numbers, to be able to show that we have certain distinct spheres such as the one in the Fuh Kien Province.

Our principles being identical with that of the CMS, our foreign work being directed by the Missionaries of the CMS, our income being derived from the same evangelical body as the CMS, the *raison d'être* of the Society in the eyes of our supporters would be certainly lost if Ladies belonging to the CMS occupy the same Districts in which for many years the Ladies of the CEZMS have been employed, we therefore trust that the Ladies appointed to the Fuh Kien Province from Australia may not be directed to that part in it which is now occupied by the CEZMS

I remain, Yours sincerely,

C. G. Robinson, Secretary.

The CMS Committee quickly agreed with the "Stewart" proposition that the Australian women, although nominally attached to the CMS, would be seconded to the CEZMS in Fujian Province when appropriate.

Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 9 Salisbury Square, Lond, EC.

3 January 1895

My dear Mr. Stock

I send our hearty thanks to you for the kind way in which you have met our difficulty of having a CMS lady posted to our Station at Ku cheng where we have so large a band of ladies already.

Mr.. Stewart must evidently have changed his mind since his visit to Australia as his letters to us certainly show his desire has been very strongly expressed that Ladies coming from the Colonies into ZMS spheres shall be ... on the Rolls of the ZMS; he wrote to us on this subject very strongly before we had mentioned it to him ourselves.

It is our great regret that we have ever to appear to oppose any of the arrangements of the CMS Secretaries, but is only done under a clear sense of duty to our Society, and it is our happiness to feel that we will always be met by the CMS Secretaries with every consideration to help.

With kind regards

C G Robinson

Other members of the CMS mission were expressing their views on the CMS/CEZMS relationship and not everyone felt that Stewart had made a good case.¹⁰⁷

Foochow

15 January 1895

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould. ...

On the general question of the division of territory I only want to say that I feel strongly with others that a division is very embarrassing. And from the point of view of the work out here most undesirable. However it is useless now entering upon the question, and I confine myself to the one point which affects the Missionary in charge of Ning Taik.

I understand it was part of the proposed compromise that Hok Chiang be given exclusively to CMS in exchange for Fuh Ning Prefecture (which includes Ning Taik) and that afterwards Mr. Stewart said he would be content with the Hien of Ning Taik for the CEZMS.

I do not know how you regard the proposal but it is one so as far as I am concerned I could never agree to. To my mind it has no element of fairness in it. Mr. Stewart and the CEZ Society will exhaust their ingenuity in establishing their claim and a disputed claim over a district in which they have no work, in fact, which they have never entered, in exchange for a district to which admittedly they have no claim whatever and in which the CMS have work, workers, and buildings. This is the offer of the CEZMS. I don't think I am called upon to their cause why all this should be given up. It is the part of

107 Rev. Thomas McClelland to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 15 January 1895. At the time of writing, Mr. McClelland was teaching in the CMS Boys School at Fuzhou. He was supported by the Dublin University Fukien Mission. His removal to Lo Nguong followed the death of Mrs. Martin. The Rev. John Martin had two children and his sister-in-law, Miss Goldie, wanted to become his housekeeper and care for the children. This was not possible, for Chinese cultural reasons, in Lo Nguong, and Martin and Miss Goldie had moved to Fuzhou with the intention of returning to England to ensure the future of the children. McClelland's remarks need to be taken against this background.

the CEZMS, or those acting for them, to make good their claims. Surely in a field so wide, wider than they can ever possibly hope to occupy, it is ungenerous, to say the least, to break up CMS work and introduce an element of controversy in a district to which they have claim, simply in order to remove a deadlock. They are asked to relinquish their claim over another district in which they have never worked and never could have worked adequately as ... to the other districts in which they are working which as you know are far from fully occupied.

The spirit which proposes such a bargain I cannot understand, not can I understand the object arrived at. For it is impossible now for the CEZM Society to say at home that they alone occupy FuhKien. Foochow and its two Hien are common. Hok Chiang (under the proposed arrangement) is exclusively CMS. Fuh-ning prefecture, (i.e. five hien) is exclusively CMS. Lieng Kong has a CMS worker (Miss Power). Besides, in all the districts (including those admittedly restricted to CEZ workers, such as Kucheng, Nangwa Lo Nguong, Hingwa) there are married CMS missionaries and so there is women's work done by CMS ladies. For instance, when we go to Lo Nguong (which is restricted to CEZS) my wife will have charge of the Women's School and women's work generally. So it is utterly impossible, without deceiving the public, for the CEZ Society to represent that they alone are in the field ... The exceptions are so many (enough to destroy the exclusive occupation of the field when contending about the remainder ... (there is enough unoccupied locations) to swallow up all the workers they could send within the next ten years.

The CMS Committee may give up Ning Taik but, if they do, it will be in the face of my most earnest protest. I have no objection whatever personally to CEZ Society lady workers but the system of supervision in the field as well as the other points, make me much prefer CMS agents, and while I will loyally adhere to the position in Lo Nguong now that this has been yielded, I will certainly resist to the last the proposal to give up Ning Taik.

Yours faithfully
Thos McClelland

By the following year, the CMS and CEZMS had arrived at a solution to the divided situation in Fujian Province and perhaps a reduction in the growing tension between the Anglican clergymen in the province.¹⁰⁸

Church of England Zenana Missionary Society,
8 Dennington Park Road, West Hampstead NW
5 April 1895

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

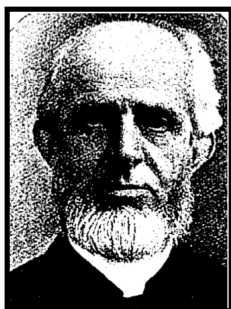
In forwarding to you the Resolution passed by our Committee after considering the Resolution of the CMS in regard to that paragraph of the proposed arrangements for the division of territory which suggested the surrender of the Hsien of Ning Taik to the CEZMS I wish to assure the Committee of the CMS that our Committee desires to give due weight to the principle on which the CMS bases its appeal to the CEZMS to allow the CMS to retain the Hsien in question. But we feel it due our Corresponding Secretary, the Rev. R W Stewart, who has from the first taken so deep and interest in the work of our Society in China and has given so much careful thought to the proposed scheme of territorial division in the Fuh Kien Province, that he should have fairly stated to him the reasons which were urged by the CMS in favour of the retention of the Hsien of Ning Taik by them. In the scheme, as submitted to us, it was originally proposed by Mr. Stewart that the Fuh Ning Prefecture should be transferred to the CEZMS. In his letter to us he gave reasons why the present arrangements, as far as Fuh Ning was concerned, should not be disturbed, but he was still of opinion that as Ning Taik has now for some time being worked in connection with Lo Nguong, it would secure unity of method in women's work (which in the case of Hok Chiang had been urged as a reason for CMS rather than CEZMS ladies working it) if Ning Taik, as well as Lo Nguong, were worked by CEZMS ladies. While fairly stating to him the CMS contribution we are also expressing our own impression that, under all the circumstances of the case, it may be the right course to accede to the request of the CMS. But we should wish him to have an opportunity of expressing his views and of making any suggestion which might meet the difficulty of the CMS and CEZMS ladies working in two contiguous districts which

108 Rev. George Tonge, Corresponding Secretary, CEZMS London to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 5 April 1895, CMS East Asia Archives.

are both at present under the same CMS Superintending Missionary.

Whether Ning Taik be retained or not by the CMS the result of the division will be the recognition by both Societies of definite spheres of work in which they may work according to the methods adopted by each, independently, and yet in loving sympathy.

The field is so vast and the need of workers so urgent that we feel each Society will have enough to do for several years to come, to supply the women workers who are needed in their several spheres of influence in this one Province.



It will not be forgotten that the CEZMS began women's work in the Fuh Kien Province of China at the express invitation of the CMS and that in withdrawing two workers from Shanghai, and refrain in ... still sending workers to Ningpo when Miss French married, they wished to leave these stations to the CMS and to concentrate their strength in Fuh Kien in order to supply, as far as God gave them workers for China, women in that province where they were needed to those who were willing to accept their help.

Believe me, with kind regards, Yours very sincerely,
George Tonge (picture).

With the CEZMS seeking a compromise that would minimize offence to everyone, Stewart was seen by others as persisting with his own goals irrespective of the effect on the wider work of the Anglican missions with a suggestion that some of the CEZMS women were less than happy with his actions.¹⁰⁹ He had now raised the possibility of a more or less autonomous Women's Evangelistic Band, including both CMS and CEZMS, that would respond to the Women's Committee under the overall direction of the Fuh-Kien Sub-Conference. Everyone in the missions was troubled by the tension between Wolfe and Stewart and some sought compromises that would recognize the significant contribution of the Archdeacon and his family. The Rev. John Collins, at the time on leave in England wrote:¹¹⁰

27 May 1895,

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

After leaving Salisbury Square it occurred to me that Miss Wolfe might be a very good head for the Women's Evangelistic Band, especially if it were to be located in Hok Chiang. Miss Wolfe has already been working well for 7 years though only recently put on the CMS list. She was born to the language, and has already that intimate knowledge of the District which would be necessary to direct the work of so many newcomers.

Any other leader would have to learn the District and its opportunities before being able to place out workers or lead them to advantage.

If Miss Wolfe was not strong enough some one else might be associated with her pro tem until the others had made some way with the language. Miss Boileau again, will be better able to estimate and wisdom and practicality of this plan.

Lieng Kong offers some good opportunities for such a band—and I suppose it is also a CMS District to the exclusion of CEZ workers.

A letter from Stewart by this evening's mail tells of their preservation during 3 days investment of the city of Kucheng by the Vegetarians who assembled marched on the city and shut them in.

Yours very truly

J S Collins.

His view was supported by the Rev..John Martin, also on home leave.

4 Lansdown Crescent, Bath

28 May 1895

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

In answer to yours of the 27th I think such a band of workers might be most beneficial but much would depend on the lady chosen as Leader.

109 Rev. J.S. Collins to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 27 May 1895.

110 Rev. John Martin to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 28 May 1895.

I should suggest that such Leaders be chosen by the Sub-Conference and that those working under them should be responsible to them alone, subject to the Sub-Conference. [Note: this implies a lady missionary having parity with the males].

I do not know what the Archdeacon would think of such a plan but I feel sure he would welcome any workers who would work under the Sub-Conference.

His dislike to the Z Society is chiefly based on the fact that their ladies are responsible to a Secretary outside his own district.

I am sorry when I left Foochow there were rumours that the Ladies Conference was likely to be a nonentity. Even the Zenana ladies were feeling their Secretary was taken too much upon himself and they could not carry out the wishes of the Ladies Conference. Miss Mead, who has just come here, felt Mr. Stewart's interference with her without any reference to the Ladies Conference or even to the Archdeacon in whose District she was working. The two ladies in Lo Nguong told me they did not want to write to their Secretary more than was necessary because when they did he sent them such queer letters and made them uncomfortable. I am more and more convinced that the Dual system will not work in the Mission. Most of the Missionaries feel it and are wishing to have CMS ladies.

In reference to the associated Evangelistic Band of Female workers I think, if you have not already done so, it would be advisable to consult Miss Boileau.

Believe me, very sincerely yours

John Martin

The Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, also in England, stated:¹¹¹

Lynton, Basingstoke,

3 June 1895

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I am glad indeed to hear that you hope to send a band of Female Evangelists to Fuhkien. I am quite sure they will have splendid opportunities for work either in Foochow itself or in any of our Districts, especially perhaps in Hok Chiang and Hing Hwa where as you know there is a large number of women and quite anxious to be taught.

It is quite necessary that they should be under the direction and control of an experienced lady missionary and responsible to her alone in the first instance.

With kind regards etc., Llewellyn Lloyd

The debate became increasingly personalized with Stewart and Wolfe systematically trading insults.¹¹²

Foochow

11 May 1895

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould, ...

There is great dissatisfaction in the Mission because we have heard that Ning Taik is to be given to the CEZ Soc and that a new element of discord will be thrown in by the determination of Mr. Stewart and the Z ladies to wear the Chinese costume there in spite of the wishes of the Missionary in Charge and notwithstanding that all the ladies working in the neighbourhood prefer to wear their own English dress. I cannot understand the wish on the part of Mr. Stewart and his ladies to force their unfavourable practices on others in the way anticipated. I hope and trust however should they do this that the other party will not oppose but in kindness patiently endure it and work together in Christian harmony.

Miss Mead has been sent home contrary to her own earnest desires to be allowed to remain for another year. The Missionary in Charge of the District in which she worked was never consulted on the matter, and never knew a word about losing his lady helper till the order came to her that she was to return to England at once. I mention this simply to shew you how inconvenient it is in every respect to have things done in this way. I am sure every lady in the Foochow Mission felt indignant that Miss Mead should have been sent off in this way. The Missionary in Charge was asked to interfere but did

111 Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 11 May 1895, CMS East Asia Archives.

112 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 11 May 1895, CMS East Asia Archives.

not feel inclined to enter into dispute with Mr. Stewart and his alleged rights with reference to the work of these ladies in whatever district they may happen to be working. Dual control will not certainly produce harmony of action. But now we must all bear with each others weaknesses and I am sure we shall have . . .

Yours very faithfully and sincerely

John R Wolfe.

Miss Boileau will resign CMS and join CEZS rather than leave Ning Taik should CMS decide to give it up to CEZS. The CMS will then lose a first rate missionary.

Baring-Gould was finally able to inform Stewart that the future of the Australians, and their preference to work on similar lines to those of the CEZMS was acceptable to all, except, perhaps, Archdeacon Wolfe.

16 July 1895

My dear Mr. Stewart,

Mr. Tonge tells me that you have kindly withdrawn your objections to CMS ladies continuing to work in Ning Taik. At this I greatly rejoice as helping greatly to remove causes of possible strain in the future.

Knowing of your strong feeling on the subject I specially appreciate your kindness and I gratefully thank you.

After taking counsel of our friends at the office of the CEZMS we asking the Victorian Administration of the CEZMS to allow the Misses Saunders, while remaining on the list of CMS missionaries, and receiving their allowances as heretofore, to lend their services to the CEZMS and thus come under the administration of the CEZMS. Similarly, the CMS proposes that Miss Oxley with the consent of the New South Wales Association remain on our CMS list, receive an allowance through our Secretary, Mr. Bennett [Hong Kong] and will add her services to the CEZMS and work under their administration.

This is a very happy suggestion, as it seems to us. It was made by the Secretaries to the CEZMS and approved by the Committees of both Societies.

Your very devoted band of ladies have been much in our thoughts and prayers during the Season of Anxiety through which you have recently passed.

With kindest regards

B Baring-Gould, Secretary, CMS.

As an increasing number of Irish clergy and Irishwomen joined the ranks of the Anglican mission in Fujian, pressure in Ireland mounted for the DUFM, like the CEZMS, to have specific territorial missionary responsibilities in the province. It was argued that Irish Anglicans would be more inclined to contribute to an Irish enterprise than an English controlled missionary effort. Among the Irish clergymen were Stewart, who was the natural leader, the Rev. Thomas McClelland, the Rev. Leonard Star, and the Rev. John Collins. True to his belief that there should be a single Anglican mission, viz., CMS, at work in Fujian Province, Wolfe was opposed he accepted the proposal with his usual misgivings but perhaps with the hope that once identified with the DUFM, Robert Stewart would cease to be associated with the CMS and thus Wolfe would be free of what he regarded as an irritating influence.

Foochow

29 June 1895

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould, ...

Looking at the scheme in the abstract for myself I do not see any very serious objection against it, although I would very much prefer for the work in this Province of Fukien, one united undivided Mission, wholly CMS. ...

A mission within a Mission as this scheme appears to me to bring into existence cannot I fear work smoothly. ... it ought to be made unmistakably plain in black and white that the teaching and the work of this TCD band will be conducted on distinct Church of England evangelical lines and not on CIM [China Inland Mission] lines and methods nor on the lines of the Plymouth Brethren.

I have not seen Mr. Stewart on the Subject but no doubt you will hear from himself on the subject. I think he will consent to be leader of the band, I see no reason why he should object...

Let us have Fukien manned with a united phalanx of CMS men, whether English, Irish or Scotch.

This is really what we want, and not a mission within a mission. Already the introduction of a distinct and different Society [CEZMS] and Mission intending to work in harmony with CMS in Fukien has caused by its uncalled for and unnecessary adoption of practices and methods hitherto unknown in the Mission and Province, too much disharmony and party spirit, both among natives and foreigners; so that we are rather shy, most of us, of encouraging further development of these practices or disturbing elements.

Even when accepting, reluctantly, the possible new, distinctively Irish and academically qualified Anglican presence in Fujian, Archdeacon Wolfe continued to press London with his views on the CEZMS.¹¹³

Foochow

1 July 1895

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

Referring to your private note of May 10th and the enquiry made therein with reference to the Chinese dress in connexion with CMS ladies: I very much fear that there is no place where the dress would be welcomed as all the brethren who are in charge of districts open to CMS ladies are strongly opposed to ladies wearing it. The native agents also in these districts and indeed in all the districts, are much opposed to ladies wearing it. Just recently the natives at Ning Taik and Lo Nguong have asked Mr. McClelland not to bring any ladies wearing the Chinese Costume to work in their districts. I certainly am very strongly opposed to the practice, especially in case of ladies wearing the Chinese dress but if I thought or could be convinced that by wearing of it I could win soul to Christ more than in my own English costume, I would adopt it tomorrow, tail and all.

I have once worn the dress years ago hoping thereby to conciliate the Chinese more easily. This was before I had very much experience. I found however that it hindered me in the very object which I wanted to effect, and I threw it off for ever! I am therefore opposed to it as a dress, although it makes a man look like a woman; and hinders one's activity. I am opposed to it simply and solely because if am convinced by good reasons that it is doing much harm, especially in the cause of ladies wearing it, and I deplore night and day the fatal fascination of these dear and earnest ladies who adopt it which closes their eyes and ears to every objection against it, and not only this but if you attempt to say a word against the practice, you are looked upon as a personal enemy to be avoided at all risks.

Here the Chinese dress is being made almost an article of faith, and rather than give it up they (some) are prepared rather to abandon the Master's work and return home. This spirit to my mind is sad beyond measure, and unworthy, I cannot help thinking, of a true missionary.

I confess I cannot appreciate the feelings of people at home who can know nothing whatever of the circumstances of the case out here and make up their minds and decide before they leave England that they will wear the Chinese costume at all risks and make it a matter of conscience. I do not think it in the true spirit of a candidate for missionary work.

All I can say in a case of this kind is this. Let them come out here free to see and judge for themselves on the spot, and if they find after reasonable experience that their own English dress is any or even the slightest hindrance to the fullest and freest intercourse amongst all classes of Chinese women, or in any other way a hindrance to their work for Christ in this place then will be the time for them to state their feelings on the subject and they may be assured that every fair consideration will be given to their desires and feelings in the matter. I think you will consider this a fair and reasonable course to take and I believe no occasion will arise after a reasonable experience has been made for changing the Chinese for the English lady's costume. Take for example the CEZMS ladies both at Hing Hwa and Lo Nguong. They came out under the strongest feeling that the Chinese dress was the right thing and their desire to adopt it at once was very determined but they were appointed to districts in which the missionary in charge would not tolerate it. The result now in the case of these ladies after a short experience is that they are thankful that they did not adopt the Chinese dress and they are among the strongest against it. Miss Hankin I am bound to say is one of our most excellent and zealous and successful lady workers and I am also bound to say that one of the most determined to do what she thinks right. She came out determined that the Chinese dress was the one to wear but she

113 Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 1 July 1895. CMS East Asia Archives. Baring Gould had written to Wolfe seeking clarification of his objections to Chinese costume.

soon found out that she was mistaken. The native Christians at Hing Hwa asked her, and Miss Lloyd, not to appear in Native Costume. These two ladies and their colleagues find that they have the freest intercourse among all classes of women in the English dress, and now say openly they would not think of wearing the Chinese.

I am sure we have no lady in Fukien who has had more success amongst Chinese women and men too than Miss Hankin.

The one great objection which those ladies who wear the Chinese dress have against their English costume is that in it they are taken for men, but is true only in a very limited degree and only where European ladies are not well known. After a very short acquaintance the mistake is never made. But the objection tells tenfold against the Chinese costume when worn by English ladies with their big natural feet and big shoes and bare above the ankles, they are naturally taken for men, and what is worse, they are openly said as men to adopt this dress to facilitate their entrance into women's houses for bad purposes.

Our ladies in Chinese costumes are simply a parody of a Chinese lady's dress. I can say with the greatest confidence that a lady in her own English dress has ten times great respect among the all classes of Chinese than in this parody of dress. Think of the these ladies going about the country in this sort of dress with a big sun hat, and in one or two cases dressed up in Wellington boots, and you can imagine what the Chinese would think of such a condition of dress. If they wear their own dress they can wear sun hats and Wellington boots too if they are so disposed and no one will think bad of it. They profess to come down to Chinese habits and ways to conciliate them and gain free access to them, but the dress they wear and the way some of them at least go about is opposed to all Chinese ways and habits.

But if I were to enter in o all arguments and objections I would weary you too much. When I began I never intended to say half so much. I am aware our dear friends, the Misses Saunders, seem determined to wear the Chinese dress at all risks. Now suppose they are appointed to a district where their colleagues have been wearing the English dress, the missionary in charge is opposed to the Chinese dress and the native helpers and Christians too are opposed to it. Will it be a true Christian spirit for them or anybody else to say, "I don't care what you all think or what you all in the district say, I will wear the Chinese dress at all risks." Though I am opposed to the dress, I should condemn at once any one who would think so going to a district where the custom has been to wear Chinese dress and where all in the district were in favour of it. I say I would at once condemn any one who would determine in the face of all this to go on wearing the English dress. We must in a case like this for the sake of peace and the good of our work, make compromises and sacrifice our feelings for the sake of peace and good will. I feel I have taken too much of your precious time on this matter, but I hope you will excuse and forgive me. I only wish we had never been troubled with the matter. No other mission in Fukien has been so troubled and it has been very hard upon us, but there is a reason no doubt if only we could see it. Perhaps we shall one day and perhaps too we shall be grateful for it, but certainly at present we can't see the good of it.

Believe me, dear Mr. Baring-Gould, Yours very truly and faithfully

John R Wolfe.

It is apparent from the exchanges above that the Anglican mission community in Fujian, although united in their common desire to see the Chinese accept Christianity, incorporated a variety of different personalities, values, and methods of approaching the Chinese.

What was not apparent was the imminence of the murderous attack on 1 August 1895 which ended the lives of seven missionaries, two children, and the family nurse and left two of the Stewart children seriously injured.

2.23 ANGLICANS AND THE CHINESE LEPERS.

An *Occasional Paper* from the Mission to Lepers in India and the East contains the following: —

After their return to China two years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart added to their onerous duties the superintendence of our Leper House at Ku-Cheng...¹¹⁴ The Leper Village was established by the Rev. William Banister while he was superintendent of the Anglican Mission at Gutian, before the return of the Stewarts and Banister's transfer to the CMS College in Fuzhou.

CHINESE LEPERS



Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia (VCEA), University of Lyon, France.

114 *DUFM*, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China', pp 66-67.

2.24 LOUISA STEWART'S EDUCATIONAL WORK.

The education of older women began with the training of Biblewomen.¹¹⁵ The main drive for the adoption of the Biblewoman model in Fujian Province was Louisa Smyly Stewart. She wrote in 1886:

This we felt to be the best hope for reaching the vast numbers filling the numerous towns and villages throughout our province, and accordingly some eight years ago we commenced a small Training Home in the city of Foo-chow. At first only three women could come, but after some years the effort was so successful that we had to build a house to hold twelve, and later on, to our great joy, we were obliged to put up for them a still larger house, to hold twenty-four, and it has since always been full. Our first object in the Home is to teach the Christian women themselves the truth 'more perfectly,' and then to train them to teach others, and to express their thoughts clearly. Practical training they also get by visiting in the heathen villages round about. This work originated with themselves.¹¹⁶

Mrs. Van Sommeren Taylor, wife of the CMS doctor in Fujian, wrote:

The natives loved her. My own Bible woman, has been associated with me in Fuh-ning for over twelve years, was one of the first trained in Mrs. Stewart's school for women, so that I can speak of her training as no mere surface knowledge, but deep into the mines of that Holy Book had her teacher taught her to search; her love and admiration for Mrs. Stewart was beautiful to see. ...¹¹⁷

In the Fuzhou school, the first established by the CEZMS in Fujian Province, women remained in residence for up to two years.¹¹⁸ The concept of Biblewomen emerged in England, where working class women were trained to help poor families where middle class women were unwelcome.¹¹⁹ The Chinese trainee Biblewomen were taught to read and write in a romanised form of Chinese.¹²⁰ Nellie wrote to her mother:

Now, if you get the Romanised, which every one can have (only some of these people are dead set against it), you can see exactly how to pronounce the character, and then somebody can tell you the English, and there you are. You never forget that, but how can you remember a hieroglyphic of which you can't remember the sound, and never knew the meaning? My teacher waxes eloquent on the subject. He says it is not of the slightest use to read on and on till you nearly turn into an automaton. (He did not say exactly these words, Chinese teachers are a wee scrap like automatons themselves). He wants very much to learn Romanised. Topsy has taught him a little, and when we get on a bit we will teach him some more.¹²¹

The 'Station Class' was an innovative evangelistic and training tool introduced in 1893 at Sa Yong by Flora Codrington for married Chinese Christian women.¹²² Codrington wrote:

What is a Station Class? A question often asked me. Well! We owe the idea to our American sisters, and the plan of getting women enquirers together for a period of three months to 'teach the outlines of Gospel truth and then send them back to their own homes to be voluntary workers among their

115 See discussion of Chinese women and Christianity by Kwok Pui-lan, 'Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,' pp 194-208 in Bays, Daniel, *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1996) p 197.

116 Barnes, op cit, p 43.

117 *DUFM*, 17 October 1895, Memorial Number, 'Massacre of Rev. Robert Stewart and family and companions in China'. p. 21.

118 Barnes, op cit, p 48. This report came from Miss Strong, who commented that this arrangement was 'not considered peculiar.'

119 Davins, Delia, "British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China," in *Women's History Review*, Vol 1 No 2, 1992, p 260.

120 Topsy and Nellie Saunders both mention using Romanised Chinese in teaching, as does Frank Burden of the China Inland Mission.

121 Nellie Saunders, Berry op cit, p 74.

122 The Fujian model of "Biblewomen" was developed by missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in Fujian, and probably had its origins in the teacher education of quite a number of American female missionaries. In turn the idea of using poorer women arose from experience in the United Kingdom in the early years of the evangelical revival as converted middle and upper class women found they were culturally far removed from the everyday lives of poor women and their families.

own people has been tried with marked success in Southern Fuh-kien and other parts of China by lady missionaries of various societies.¹²³

Nellie Saunders outlined the origins of the station-class concept at Gutian and how important the model had proved in reducing the fear of foreigners that was so common and widespread in China:

Miss Codrington had been having a station class, or rather a series of them. For a station class, you get from twelve to sixteen young women and feed them for three months, getting them either to live in the house with you or renting one next door. They make nothing by it, so as to offer as little outside attraction as possible, so that those that come, will come, as far as we can tell, solely for the purpose of being taught the doctrine. They may bring one baby — no more — and they just get their rice, and their chairs paid in and home again. Mrs. Stewart says it shows how god has worked here in opening thee way for missionaries to work, because a few years ago you could not get any women at all to come and live like that, or any way approaching to it, for love or money. The suspicion and dread of foreigners has decreased so much. It means a most unusual amount of trust, when the Chinese men will allow their young wives to come and live in the Kuniongs' house for three consecutive months; but the fact that they do it, shows God's power over the 'unruly wills of men,' does it not?¹²⁴

Topsy Saunders description of a station-class at Sek Chek Du was published in Australia in Macartney's influential missionary newsletter, *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*:

There is much need for a 'Station Class,' the people are simply longing for one. 8 is the number — there are reasons for the limit — but we could have quite 20. I must explain. A 'Station Class' only lasts three months; there is work to be done, and books to be read, with an examination at the end. We go round, look out suitable women, take their names, selected the few best fitted afterwards to lend a helping hand, and call them in when the time comes.¹²⁵

In an account of CEZMS work in Fujian Province an English missionary, Marion Hook, described how married women could be spared from their homes for three months to attend a station class. It is clear that family approval was an important part of the attendance of women at the classes.

It is not so difficult as it would be in England, for many members of a Chinese family live together, often three and four generations under one roof, and in large houses even as many as one hundred persons. Thus there is always a relative who will undertake to care for the husband and children and cook and food, and so set the wife and mother free.¹²⁶

Topsy Saunders outlined the curriculum of what may have been an atypical class, given the supposed limitation on numbers and the requirement for residential status:

The women came — nineteen or twenty in the morning and twenty-one in the afternoon. Some that are now beginning to profit by last term's teachings we got to help the other women. The women, whom for want of knowing her name, we always call the 'nice woman,' is getting on so well, and she can read fairly well, and knows the Lords' Prayer, and is reading the Picture Bible, and is so earnest. The next-door woman, that was so hard when we first came, is softening wonderfully, and there is a funny old one that that almost lives here, just like a rag-bag. She looks like an old Irish washerwoman, and has such wicked black eyes and no teeth. She always shuts one eye when she talks to you. We didn't like her at all at first, but she is getting quite nice now.¹²⁷

Marion Hook described another class and the circumstances of the women who attended:

Many of the women when they first come to us are deplorably ignorant. They have never had any education, and most of them have never left their own village. One who came knew absolutely nothing, except how to cook the rice and do a few things about the house. She had spent all her life away in the hills, and when we spoke of the Emperor, she had never heard of such a being, and equally ignorant was she of such a place as Pekin! In the Bible lesson one day came the story of the boats by the sea of Galilee; but she had never seen one, and could not imagine what a boat was

123 Barnes, op cit, p 54.

124 Nellie Saunders to Mrs. Eliza Saunders, January 1895, Berry, op cit, pp 183-184.

125 *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, (Melbourne) Vol XXII, No 23, September 1895, pp 353-354.

126 Hook, Marion, 'Save Some': C.E.Z.M.S. Work in Fuh-Kien, (London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society/Marshall Bros, 1900)p 30.

127 Topsy Saunders, Berry op cit, p 203.

like.¹²⁸

There were risks associated with the station classes in the Gutian District, especially in regard to the attitudes of the husbands of the women invited to attend. The connection of the controversy to the Vegetarian movement is an indication that it was seen by the local people as a countervailing force in the area. Nellie Saunders reported:

But a little while ago, a girl, who had only been married a few months, asked Miss Codrington if she might come into her station class, and seemed so earnest, and just longing to learn. Of course Flora was very anxious to have her, and made many inquiries about her, by which she found out she was not living in her husband's home, but with her parents, who seemed very nice and friendly, and said she might go... But one fine day a man, who said he was her husband, came and claimed her; but as there had been no previous business with the husband, Flora did not like to give the girl up to anyone but the parents, who had given the girl to her. So she refused to let the girl go with this man. He was her husband all right, but Flora could not be sure that it would be right to give her up to him without the permission of the parents. So then there was a row. The man went off and joined the Vegetarians, and threatened to bring a crowd of them and storm the place, and carry the girl off. Flora did not know what to do. Of course they committed it all to God, and they felt, after praying about it, that the best way would be to communicate with the parents if it could be done, as these Vegetarians were trying to prevent anything of the sort. For two or three days they were in a very uncertain state, not knowing what would happen next, and the husband proved his authority, got an agreement from her parents, and appeared in state at the Kuniong's house again, and demanded his wife. Of course, this time she had to be given up.¹²⁹

Nellie Saunders wrote of the wife of a CMS Chinese catechist and her female reprimand to male behaviour should be noted:

There are no Christian women: even the man's wife knows very little, for I am afraid, her husband does not teach her much. He ought to, of course, but it is hard to get a Chinaman to think that women (of his own country) are capable of the reception of any ideas beyond what are necessary to enable them to cook rice and mind babies.¹³⁰

Nellie did not make the common missionary mistake of blaming such problems on sinful and heathen beliefs. She was in no doubt about who was responsible for the oppression of women as illustrated by the following terse comment:

Chinese men think women can't do anything; their own women are so helpless and incapable that I don't wonder, but it is the men who make them so.¹³¹

Nellie had similar views about gender issues in her own culture and commented on the decline in the number of men offering for missionary service. Eugene Stock quoted a letter from her shortly before her death:

I do think the men ought to be ashamed of themselves. I'm going a tour on women's rights soon. I think men will have to resign their honours soon if they don't carry their responsibilities better.¹³²

Although Nellie spent most of her time studying the language, helping Mrs. Stewart educate and care for the children, with whom she became very close, as demonstrated by her murder, with Helena Yellop, at the door of the children's room on 1 August, she itinerated from time to time in the villages closest to Kutien. She wrote of one visit:

Calling at a village the other day, we met some women who asked us what we had come for; and I told them — 'To preach the Jesus doctrine, to tell them about God.' They said they had not heard anything about it, or at least, only the name; so when I asked if they would like to hear they said, 'Yes, very much.' Here a man who had been walking about the tiang-dong (guest hall) behind them,

128 Hook, Marion, (c1900) 'Save Some': C.E.Z.M.S. Work in Fuh-Kien, London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society/Marshall Bros, p 33.

129 Nellie Saunders to Mrs. Eliza Saunders, January 1895, Berry op cit, pp 184-186.

130 Nellie Saunders, 26 November 1894, Gutian, Church Missionary Society, London, Extracts from Annual Letters, pp 323-324.

131 Berry, op cit, p 272.

132 Letter from Miss E M (Nellie) Saunders, April 15th 1895, cited in Stock, Eugene, Reports Memorial Service, Kucheng Martyrs, Exeter Hall, 13 August 1895, in *Church Missionary Gleaner*, London, September 1895

carrying a baby, interposed and not very politely said, 'You are very stupid, why don't you ask them in; they can't preach to you standing out in the street.' They then hastened to invite us in and gave us chairs to sit on. We sat down, the Biblewoman and I, and were shortly surrounded by women and children . . .¹³³

Topsy Saunders spent far more time than her sister visiting villages and described the confusion some Chinese women experienced when meeting a foreigner for the first time:

Yesterday we went to a village five miles away, and, judging from our reception, I should think we were the first foreigners they had seen. For some time it was quite impossible to say anything to them of the Gospel; the noise was so great that I could not make out whether the baby with its face all screwed up, quite close to me, was crying or not; and Elsie and I had to scream at the top of our voices when we wanted to say anything to one another. After a bit they quieted down, and then we talked to them.¹³⁴

In another note Topsy Saunders told her mother not to expect a letter from Nellie because:

Nellie went to Dong Gio on Wednesday, and has not turned up yet. The coolie was sent up for her on Monday, but he returned without her this morning, as she has decided to stay on with Annie Gordon, and go to a place called Dong Kau, the extreme station of the Church Missionary Society in this district. A house for the mission has just been bought there, and they have been visited by Mr. Banister and Mr. Stewart, but never before by the Kuniongs. They are to stay there until Saturday next, and return to Dong Gio for Sunday, as there is a Hiong Hoi, that is, a meeting for all the Christians around the district. Mr. Stewart is to be there, too, to lead the meeting, preach, and have Communion service for the people.¹³⁵

The education of women and girls by the CMS and CEZMS in the 1890s and early 20th century in Fujian province was not as well resourced as that for boys. Missionary attitudes to girls, fenced in by the gender conventions of the times, was a by-product of the sensitivities of women missionaries rather than a policy pursued with enthusiasm by male missionaries. Clare Midgley cites one writer, with later reservations, that: "Missionary was a male noun; it denoted a male actor, male action, male spheres of service,"¹³⁶ and, notably, points to the primary concern of male missionaries with creating a future male leadership for the Chinese church. Foreign missionary women highlighted the education of girls, care for abandoned children, homes for the blind, arranging 'suitable' marriages for young women and various but very basic arrangements for the education of adult women such as station classes and Biblewomen's training.¹³⁷

Some information about attitudes and outcomes towards Chinese females can be gleaned from the books published by women missionaries, and their reports to the mission societies at home.¹³⁸ Most Chinese women

133 Berry, op cit, p 246. Single women did not walk around Chinese villages unaccompanied. A married Chinese Christian female worker, or Biblewoman always accompanied the foreign women missionaries. For a short account of the work of the CEZMS with abandoned babies see Macgillivray, Donald, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, (1807-1907)*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), p 57.

134 Berry, op cit, p 262.

135 Berry op cit, p 75.

136 Valentine Cunningham, "'God and Nature Intended You For a Missionary Wife': Mary Hill, Jane Eyre, and Other Missionary Women in the 1840s," in Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener, eds. *Women and Missions, Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), pp 85–108, quotes on pp 89, 97, cited in Midgley, Clare, "Can Women Be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth-Century British Empire," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol 45, (April 2006), pp 335.

137 Amy Oxley was awarded one of the highest honours of the Chinese Republic when, about 1915 or so, she was awarded the Order of the Golden Grain. See Welch, Ian and Ellen Hope, (2004), *LETTERS FROM CHINA: Amy Oxley, Australian Missionary Nurse, 1895-1903*, http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_oxley.

138 Examples will be found in Barnes, Irene H, *Behind the Great Wall: The Story of the C E Z M S Work and Workers in China*, London, Marshall Bros. c1896), Codrington, F I, *Hot-Headed: Some Women Builders of the Chinese Church*, (London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1910). Marshall, Elsie, "For His Sake", *A Record of a Life consecrated to God and devoted to China*, (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1903),. Darley, Mary E, *The Light of the Morning*, (London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1903), Dawson, E C, *Heroines of Missionary Adventure*, (London, Seeley & Co. Stevens, 1909), Stevens, Emilie, *Station Class Sketches: Stories of Women in Foochow*, (London, CEZMS and Marshall Bros., 1903). Stock, Eugene, (1917), *Beginnings in India, London, Central Board of Missions and SPCK*, Chapter X "The First Work Among Women." http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/india/stock_beginnings/10.html For a more general discussion see Lee, E M, (nd), 'My Experiences as a Lady Missionary in China, pp 230-236 and 376-380 in *Wide World Magazine*.

had low expectations for their lives. Many, perhaps most, were promised in marriage as babies and very young girls. Missionaries tried to arrange 'suitable' marriages, i.e. to Christian men, for girls in their care but were obliged to fit in with local customs, including in many cases the very definite views of the girls' relatives.

This is a brief account of Robert and Louisa Smyly Stewart's life in China and highlights the leadership role Louisa exercised in Gutian. The gender attitudes of the times meant that she did not get the same level of recognition in missionary archives as Robert although it is clear that her influence was very strong.

2.25 AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE MASSACRE.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1895), Vol XXVI, p 436-438.

The HWA-SANG MASSACRE BY REV. P. W. PITCHER.

[American Reformed Church Mission, Ku-liang.]

[As space is limited, and a complete but condensed account of the tragedy appears in the Diary of Events, the particulars supplied by Mr. Pitcher are omitted.—Ed.]

AMID the awful gloom of this terrible storm let me tell of some gleams of eternal brightness that flashed through the rifted clouds.

First, the faithfulness of Miss Hartford's servant. He may have been a teacher, or colporteur, or something else; but servant is an honorable name, so this gentleman may never be ashamed of being called a servant, whoever he was.

Miss Hartford, when attacked with the trident spear (now in Dr. Gregory's possession) grabbed the ugly weapon, and quick as a flash threw it aside, and it just grazed her left ear. The force of the blow knocked her down, when the villain began beating her. At this moment her servant rushed in and grappled with the fiend, and while the two were rolling over each other in the struggle Miss Hartford escaped and hid away in the brushwood. The old servant also escaped, although he was severely beaten. If a man ever deserved a crown he does.

One of Miss Hartford's female servants also deserves much praise. While Miss Hartford was being attacked this servant begged of some of the mountain people to help. No one would. This servant only got kicks and blows for her prayers.

Second, when the wretches approached the house where the Zenana ladies were living the ladies hastened out of the back entrance of the house, hoping to get away unobserved, but they were immediately surrounded. They begged for their lives, asked what injury they had ever done; if it was money they were after they could have it. Then an old man of the place got down on his knees and just begged for the lives of these ladies. It was the only instance of any native of the place who raised a finger to help. No one seems to know who he was; perhaps he was a hearer. More than one of the wretches were moved by his appeal, and seemed about to acquiesce, when the leader appeared on the scene, and with unfurled banner yelled: "You know your orders—kill"! And thus they were struck down.

Oh the heartlessness of some of the people. When the survivors started to leave Hwa-sang not a man would help carry the chairs or coffins. Dr. Gregory, who had come up from Kucheng, very firmly told the magistrate that he must secure men to help them. The magistrate had to have one man beaten with forty stripes before assistance could be secured. There were plenty of helpers after that. Just one other instance of this kind. "When the party reached Foochow they first landed at a jetty to let some of the people off, and when they started to a jetty lower down the river, in order to land the wounded nearer the hospital, the boatmen refused to do so without more cash being guaranteed.

Two worlds ought to know of Col. Hixson's (U. S. Consul) gallant conduct in this most distressing event. England, as well as America, has much to thank Col. Hixson for. Night and day, with untiring energy, he has worked on this case, and he took measures at once to rescue and to provide every possible comfort for those who had escaped the horrible massacre at Hwa-sang mountain. Without wailing on ceremony he rushed into the august presence of the Viceroy and (as I understand) requested that a launch be made ready to proceed up the Min River to bring down the survivors. Whether it was a request, or whatever it was, the launch was made ready, and in due time started.

There is a time for ceremony and there is a time for prompt action without ceremony.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

After giving some heartrending details regarding the bringing of the killed and wounded to Foochow the writer continues:—

Only a faith firmly fixed on the "Everlasting Rock" can withstand such a shock. Thank God for a faith

that stands here and can pierce this black thunder riven cloud and see the King on the throne and hear His divine declaration, proclaiming both the efficiency and the abundance of the Gospel " to the uttermost." And because the Gospel is divine and Christ is with us it must and will prevail here. No one believes this more fully than myself. At the same time, our Christian government should stand by us in such a time as this. Aye, Christian governments should more heartily support us in this work of evangelizing China. And try as I may I cannot banish the feeling that our government in some measure is to blame for this another outrage.

We may talk about the brutality of these ignorant Chinese as much as we please, and it is very true, but what must be thought of an enlightened nation that seems, at least, to rest the value of human life on indemnities? I may be speaking strongly, but on account of this atrocious crime I am moved to speak strongly.

Human life cannot be figured up in dollars and cents. Indemnities pay—*the officials*. Everyone of such adjustments just fills the coffers of these avaricious Shylocks. How long is an enlightened nation going to sit still and see such things go on?

They have been going on, and once more, with ten Jives slain, we are confronted with the same query: "What will you do about it?" Do about it? Are we going to sit down again and figure up the cost in money values? God forbid. Something more than this should be demanded and given. This nation should be made to open the doors everywhere, not only to merchants but to missionaries, and guarantees given that missionaries, as well as merchants, shall be protected. *The officials* should be made to open these doors; for they are the ones who are making the stupendous effort to keep them closed, in order that they may keep out the light, and *keep in the darkness* and the superstitions, so that they may in the old pharisaical spirit squeeze out of an ignorant people filthy coin. In all such troubles as the present the poor people are the sufferers. The government has compelled them to suffer; now it is about time the government suffered. Let it show the world what every enlightened mortal under the sky already knows—its rottenness to the core.

The one action necessary now (and it was just as necessary before) is to make these officials understand that the Christian governments of the world will not endure such shocking and revolting outrages, and we will see a new order of things.

It will be a burning shame if our government does not help to institute a new policy in dealing with China after such a slaughter. No matter if they are British subjects. The voice of thy brother's blood calleth. And may we hope that public sentiment at home will demand of their respective governments the very highest type of truth and righteousness, and that these governments in turn shall demand that their subjects all over the world shall stand with them. The money policy prevails all along the line. Too much so. It has not been—alas it has not been—how many lives can be saved from everlasting despair, but how many shekels can be wrung out of a heathen people. It is rum in Africa. It is opium in China. Out with them! May this fearful wreck of human life shake the Christian world to its very foundation and arouse it as it has never before been aroused.

The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, Once more has that holy baptism fallen upon the Church of Christ in China, while our friends wear the martyr's crown, rejoicing before the throne—resting from their labors. So may rich blessings be visited upon the Church universal and Christ's kingdom more quickly come.

**2.26 IN MEMORIAM. REV. ROBERT AND MRS. LOUISA STEWART.
Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, Church Missionary Society.**

**Phillips helped to recover the bodies of the Huashan victims,
accompanied the dead and wounded to Foochow,
and stood at their graves on the day of burial.**

The Chinese Recorder, November 1895.

The terrible blow which has fallen on missionary work in the Fuhkien Province, and which has almost stunned every English heart in China, has brought into prominence one of the most retiring and at the same time one of the most able and useful men in China.

Robert Stewart was reading for the bar, with no thoughts of Sinim nor many of Sinim's God when he was drawn one evening into the Rev. Evan Hopkin's Church at Richmond; here he met God, and in one short hour the aims of his life were changed. No-where was the news of the conversion of Robert Stewart more welcomed than in the Smyly¹³⁹ family in Dublin.

Mrs. Smyly is well-known throughout Ireland for her love and zeal in earnest work among the Roman Catholics, and her orphan homes have been the salvation of thousands.

In scenes of work such as these Miss Louisa Smyly, who afterwards was so well known to many as Mrs. Stewart, was brought up.

Mr. Stewart after his conversion gave up his reading for the bar and took a brilliant course through Trinity College, Dublin, and then consecrated his all to the Master for China.

Mr. Stewart was married shortly before leaving England, and sailed in the autumn of 1876.

When he arrived the work of the C.M.S. was still in its infancy. During Archdeacon Wolfe's absence, and while the mission was seriously undermanned, many districts were under his charge, and he was indefatigable in his itinerations.

Mr. Stewart had charge of the educational work for some time, and many a man, who was then a boy in the school, acknowledges his deep debt to his firm but loving hand.

After an illness that brought him close to death's door he went home, and had a long tedious recovery, but as soon as he was at all fit he was about hither and thither pleading for China, and was greatly used to draw out special offers. Mrs. Stewart too was a constant speaker, and those who have heard her once could never forget it.

It was entirely owing to the representation and influence of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart that the Church of England Zenana Society took up women's work in the province. At present, counting our sisters who have just laid down their lives, there are thirty lady missionaries of this Society in various parts of the province, and a large proportion of these have first consecrated themselves for China at one or either Mr. and Mrs. Stewart's meetings, or as the result of personal conversation.

One of our lady missionaries told me the other day that the Stewarts used to keep a prayer-list to remember in earnest prayer those who, while willing to come out were prevented through opposition of parents or other causes, and added that she herself was on this list for over two years before she came out. After a short time of further work in China, the Stewarts were again obliged to return, and so severe was his sickness that it seemed that, even if spared, he would never again do any hard work; but much prayer was made in many places, and he firmly believed his wonderfully complete recovery was really owing to this.

After Mr. Stewart's recovery many greatly interested in the work of the Church Missionary Society in the Australian colonies asked the home Society to send out a deputation, with the result that Mr. Eugene Stock, the editorial secretary, and Mr. Stewart went.

Following in the steps of the Rev. G. Grubb, the well-known missionary, and his party's appeal to practical consecration was specially well timed, and God greatly used their visit. "Associations" sprang up in every colony, and seven or eight are actually now in the field as the result among the Australian missionaries were the two Miss Saunders, who were killed at Hwa-sang, and who first decided to offer for China on hearing Mr. Stewart's first sermon in Melbourne. Mr. Stewart returned from this difficult service

139 In the original text Mrs. Smyly's name was given as Singly. The copy above uses the correct form.

none the worse for health, and this clearly pointed to the door being open once more for China. On their way to China Mr. and Mrs. Stewart took a tour through Canada on behalf of the C.M.S. with the result that here too "Associations" have been formed, and the first Canadian C.M.S. missionary to China (D.V.) sails this autumn. Only a short time ago Mr. Stewart was talking to me about deputation work; his idea was that a deputation should certainly tell of the work being done in his field, for it was not fair to call a meeting, say, to hear about China and then hardly say anything about it; but still personal consecration of self, money, and work must be the meeting's ultimate aim. With no pretensions to be a popular speaker he was perhaps one of the most useful because resultful of any deputation the C.M.S. ever had.

On arriving in China Mr. Stewart was appointed to take up the important districts of Ku-cheng and Ping-nang in the southern part of the north of the province, districts over half the size of Wales and more populous, where there was an important native Church, numbering over two thousand. Mr. Stewart was led on coming out this time to adopt native dress and to do everything in his power to bridge the chasm between native and foreigner as had the lady workers who were already there.

In his quiet earnest way he threw all the enthusiasm of his being into the Ku-cheng work; doing everything in his power to press self-support, believing firmly that foreign money was more often a curse than a blessing to the native Church.

With a happy mixture of firmness and love his administration of the Church in Ku-cheng must leave its mark there for all eternity.

His interviews with natives about the work always sent him to his knees, and his power in prayer was the greatest secret of his life.

While being an excellent judge of native character he relied not a little on trusted natives, and was greatly influenced by them.

People who met him at first were apt to think him a little stern, but this was merely manner; while never allowing himself knowingly to be humbugged, few, if any, missionaries had a deeper love for the Chinese.

A special feature of his work was the interest and pains he took about day-schools; in England he collected funds to support a large number; there are nearly two hundred of these schools connected with the C.M.S. in the Fuhkien province.

He was a warm supporter of the Romanized, and to him Foochow Romanized, as far as it has advanced, owes more than to anyone else. See letters dated 24 June and 6 August 1895 (above) concerning Stewart's work on Romanized Fuzhou dialect.

In addition to his work at Ku-cheng, he was the Hon. Corresponding Secretary of the Zenana Society's ladies, and in this he indeed excelled; he had the work of each sister at heart, and what was more he regularly took the work of each to God.

The home at Ku-cheng was indeed a happy one; anything like friction among the missionaries being unknown.

It was my happy privilege to spend the last week with the Stewarts, and I have never had such a breath of heaven on earth; all seemed so full, so ready, so taken up with the King.

Mrs. Stewart had a peculiarly sympathetic nature, which made her a real mother in Ku-cheng; she seemed so essentially to make her own the troubles of another, hers was indeed a heart at leisure from itself to soothe and sympathise. I never heard a Christian, native or foreigner, say one word against Mrs. Stewart. She threw herself heartily into the work of the boys' boarding-school in Ku-cheng, and her influence was felt there indeed.

Perhaps humility was the grace that shone more than other in our dear friends who have gone; both had extraordinary natural abilities and many gifts, but their lives were spent only to reflect their Master...

