

# Christian Women in Chinese Society

## The Anglican Story

Edited by  
Wai Ching Angela Wong and  
Patricia P. K. Chiu

Hong Kong University Press  
The University of Hong Kong  
Pokfulam Road  
Hong Kong  
[www.hkupress.hku.hk](http://www.hkupress.hku.hk)

© 2018 Hong Kong University Press

ISBN 978-988-8455-92-8 (*Hardback*)

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Front cover images: (top) the five women priests of the HKSKH at the Tenth Anniversary of the ordination of Rev. Joyce Bennett and Rev. Jane Hwang, St Catherine's School for Girls, 1981. From left to right: Rev. Mary Au, Rev. Joyce Bennett, Rev. Florence Li, Rev. Jane Hwang, Rev. Pauline Shek. Courtesy of HKSKH Religious Education Resource Centre; (below) missionaries at the North Gate of Foochow City with a group of Chinese women, c. 1903. At left, third row, in a nurse's uniform, Miss Massey or Miss Baldwin; back row, left to right, Miss May Bennett, Mrs. Amy Wilkinson, and Miss Annie Wolfe. Culpin/MacKeith private family papers.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Hang Tai Printing Co. Ltd., Hong Kong, China

# Contents

Series Introduction	vii
<i>Philip L. Wickeri</i>	
List of Illustrations	viii
Foreword	ix
<i>Paul Kwong</i>	
Acknowledgments	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
List of Contributors	xiv
 Introduction	 1
<i>Wai Ching Angela Wong and Patricia P. K. Chiu</i>	
 <b>Cross-Cultural Partnership</b>	
Chapter 1 The Study of Chinese Women and the Anglican Church in Cross-Cultural Perspective	19
<i>Kwok Pui-lan</i>	
Chapter 2 “A Nation Cannot Rise above Its Women”: The Social Gospel at St. Hilda’s School for Girls, Wuchang, China, 1929–1937	37
<i>Judith Liu</i>	
Chapter 3 The Making of Bible Women in the Fujian Zenana Mission from the 1880s to the 1950s	59
<i>Zhou Yun</i>	
 <b>Women and Ordained Ministry</b>	
Chapter 4 Deaconesses in the South China Missions of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), 1922–1951	85
<i>Peter Cunich</i>	
Chapter 5 The Ordination and Ministry of Li Tim Oi: A Historical Perspective on a Singular Event	107
<i>Philip L. Wickeri</i>	

Chapter 6	A Distinctive Chinese Contribution: The Ordination of the First Five Women Priests in Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui <i>Wai Ching Angela Wong</i>	129
<b>Life Histories</b>		
Chapter 7	The Wolfe Sisters of Foochow, China: Born to Evangelize <i>Frances Slater</i>	157
Chapter 8	Zhan Aimei (1874–1943): An Ordinary Woman in Extraordinary Times <i>Jennifer R. Lin</i>	183
Chapter 9	The Social Contributions of a Chinese Anglican Woman Intellectual: The Life and Work of Kuo Siu-may <i>Chen Ruiwen</i>	201
<b>Serving the Community</b>		
Chapter 10	A Study of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui Women's Missionary Service League in the 1930s and 1940s: Drawn from Reports of the Fourth to Seventh WMSL Conferences <i>Duan Qi</i>	225
Chapter 11	Anglican Women and Social Service in Hong Kong: Historical Contributions and Continuing Legacy <i>Jane Lee</i>	239
	Bibliography	253
	Index	264

## Series Introduction

### *Sheng Kung Hui: Historical Studies of Anglican Christianity in China*

The purpose of the series *Sheng Kung Hui: Historical Studies of Anglican Christianity in China* is to publish well-researched and authoritative volumes on the history of Anglican-Episcopal Christianity as a contribution to the intellectual, cultural, and religious history of modern China. With an in-depth focus on one particular denominational tradition, which has been in China for almost two hundred years, the series presents an interdisciplinary perspective that will also contribute to the history of Christianity in China. The emphasis throughout is on the life and work of the church in society. Individual volumes are written for an educated audience and a general readership, with some titles more academic in character and others of more general interest.

The spirit of Anglicanism is expressed by the Chinese term *Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui*, meaning the “Holy Catholic Church of China,” the national church that was founded in Shanghai in 1912 and the first non-Roman church body in China. Anglicans stand between Protestants and Catholics in their approaches to Christian tradition and church order, but they are usually regarded as part of the Protestant movement in China. Since the nineteenth century, the *Sheng Kung Hui* has been involved in a wide range of educational, medical, and social welfare work alongside efforts to spread the Christian message and establish the church. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Chinese *Sheng Kung Hui* leaders began taking the lead. The *Sheng Kung Hui* has also played an important role in cultural exchange between China and the West.

Copublished by Hong Kong University Press and the Hong Kong *Sheng Kung Hui* (Anglican Church), the first volume in the series was *Imperial to International: A History of St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong* (2013). This was followed by *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on the Anglican and Episcopal Tradition in China* (2015). The third volume was *The Practical Prophet: Bishop Ronald O. Hall of Hong Kong and His Legacies* (2015). Subsequent volumes will include a bilingual (Chinese and English) history of the *Sheng Kung Hui* tradition in photographs and images, and a full history of the Anglican and Episcopal mission in China. It is hoped that the series will encourage further dialogue on the place of Christianity in the history of modern China.

Philip L. Wickeri, PhD, DD  
Series Editor

# Illustrations

2.1	St. Hilda's School for Girls, 1934.	44
2.2	The Wakeman Family, 1931.	49
3.1	"Mrs Ahok and Maid," <i>India's Women</i> , January–February 1891.	65
3.2	"Lo-Nguong Women's School with Miss B. Cooper," <i>India's Women</i> , November 1903.	67
3.3	"Chitnio and Her Son," <i>India's Women</i> , March 1892.	75
5.1	The Reverend Florence Li Tim Oi and the Vestry of Morrison Chapel Macau, 1948.	116
6.1	The five women priests of the HKSKH at the tenth anniversary of the ordination of Rev. Joyce Bennett and Rev. Jane Hwang, St. Catherine's School for Girls, 1981.	140
7.1	The Wolfe family, 1896.	160
7.2	Minnie Wolfe with Hok Chiang Bible women, November 1895.	162
7.3	Missionaries at the North Gate of Foochow City with a group of Chinese women, circa 1903.	167
7.4	Children leaving a Christian day school, Fukien.	171
8.1	Zhan Aimei.	185
8.2	The 1921 double wedding of the two sons of Zhan Aimei and Lin Dao'an.	196
8.3	The last family portrait of Zhan Aimei and her adult children, 1931.	198
9.1	Kuo Siu-may and the students and staff of Nanjing University, circa 1986.	215
9.2	Kuo Siu-may and Bishop K. H. Ting, St. Paul's Church, Nanjing.	217
11.1	Dr. Judith Hall, 1955.	245
11.2	Archbishop Peter Kwong and Rev. Dorothy Lau, opening ceremony of the Tseung Kwan O HKSKH Aged Care Complex, September 22, 2002.	248

## Foreword

Since New Testament times, Christianity has been a religion that has affirmed the human dignity of all. Jew and Gentile, slave and free, man and woman are one in Christ. All contribute to the life of the church. We see in the history of Anglicanism in China that women have been involved in the mission of the church from our nineteenth-century beginnings to the present day. And, as this volume shows, there has been, over the past century, a considerable development of the role of women in the church, in both lay and ordained ministry.

In Hong Kong and perhaps South China more generally, women have played an important role in society, the traditional dominance of men in Chinese culture notwithstanding. There are many reasons for this, but the influence of Christianity is certainly a factor. In politics and society, in literary endeavors and academia, in business, in the church and in the home, women have had an enormous influence in Hong Kong. Education, family background, and social class have been, in my view, of equal importance to gender in shaping women's role in church and society.

This is the fourth book in our series, *Sheng Kung Hui: Historical Studies of Anglican Christianity in China*. It grew out of an international academic conference that was held here in 2015, with scholars coming from Australia, mainland China, Great Britain, and North America, as well as Hong Kong. About half of the chapters were written by men and women associated with Anglicanism, but there were also contributions by Christians from other churches, and from non-Christians. The authors express different views on their subjects, and sometimes differ from one another, which is natural and healthy in an academic environment. We welcome this kind of discussion and dialogue about our history, for it helps us come to a better understanding of our past and its meaning for the present and the future of the church.

Both missionary women and Chinese Christian women are considered in this volume, as they should be. In the nineteenth century, they often worked hand in hand. There were usually more women missionaries than men in China, both single women and missionary wives. The early decades of the twentieth century saw the emergence of strong Chinese women in the churches. As in most churches in East Asia, the role of missionaries declined (or disappeared) beginning in the mid-twentieth century as churches became increasingly independent.

Christians in many parts of the world know of Florence Li Tim-oi, the first woman ordained in the Anglican Communion. Several essays in this book discuss Li Tim-oi, and they approach her from different angles. She was a dedicated Christian who worked for the church in Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong. Ordained by Bishop Hall in Zhaoqing in wartime, Li Lim-oi faithfully served in the Diocese of South China. Her license as a priest was revoked in 1946, because of the reaction in England and China to the extraordinary nature of her ordination. She stuck to her job and continued to work in Guangdong for more than thirty years. Li Tim-oi emigrated to Canada in 1981, and a few years later, she was restored to the Anglican priesthood. In the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui, we thank God for her contribution to ministry over many decades.

The eleven essays and the introduction in this book deal with many aspects of women's contributions to Christian life, in the church, education, and social service. We call these the three pillars of mission in our Anglican mission. Together with our commitment to medical work, they represent distinct but interrelated ways in which we have been involved in mission, serving God and serving others. Another continuing theme in the essays is partnership, between church and society, between Christian and non-Christian, between women and men. Partnership is also an enduring theme in our approach to mission, and it means that we are open to working with all people and organizations to serve the common good.

I commend the essays in this book for all who want to have a better understanding of the role of women in the history of our church in Hong Kong and mainland China. The ideas presented here give us a great deal to think about. This is a book that can be read from beginning to end, or one may choose to select individual chapters that are of special interest. It represents an important contribution that will be of interest to church members, scholars, and all who are concerned about the mission and history of the church. I am certain that the essays presented here will stir wider discussion and dialogue, and stimulate further work on the role of women in the history of the church in China

Paul Kwong  
Archbishop of Hong Kong  
Epiphany 2017



## Contributors

(By order of chapter)

**Wai Ching Angela Wong** is presently vice president of programs of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. She received her doctorate from the University of Chicago and was a longtime faculty member of the Department of Cultural and Religious Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and headed the Graduate Divisions of Cultural Studies and Gender Studies, the Gender Research Centre, and several academic programs. Her recent publications include contribution to and coediting of *Chinese Women and Hong Kong Christianity: An Oral History*, *Gender Consciousness: Gender Studies in Three Societies across the Strait*, *Gender and Family in East Asia*, and *Sex/Gender Politics and the Local Movements*.

**Patricia P. K. Chiu** is an honorary assistant professor in the Department of History at the University of Hong Kong. Her research focuses on the study of women in education, missionary activity, and intercultural relations. Her recent publications include *A History of the Grant Schools Council: Mission, Vision and Transformation* and contributions to the volumes *Meeting Place: Encounters across Cultures in Hong Kong, 1841–1984*, and *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*.

**Kwok Pui-lan** was the William F. Cole Professor of Christian Theology and Spirituality at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, MA, USA, and the 2011 president of the American Academy of Religion. She has published extensively in Asian feminist theology, biblical interpretation, and postcolonial criticism. Her publications include *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*, *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology*, *Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World*, and *Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860–1927*. She is the editor of many volumes, including a major reference work *Women and Christianity* in four volumes, and *Hope Abundant: Third World and Indigenous Women's Theology*.

**Judith Liu** is a professor of sociology at the University of San Diego, California, where she received her PhD. Her publications include books, chapters, and articles on multicultural education, education in the People's Republic of China, women and HIV/AIDS, political and civic responsibility, and community engagement.

**Zhou Yun** is a PhD candidate at the Australian Centre on China in the World, Australian National University. Zhou commenced her PhD in March 2014. Her PhD research studies a Christian women's magazine titled the *Woman's Messenger* (1912–1951) and examines its debate and conception of family reform in the Protestant community of the time. Zhou's research interests include history of Protestantism in Republican China and Japan, mission history in Asia, and contemporary movements of overseas Chinese Protestants.

**Peter Cunich** teaches history at the University of Hong Kong. Although an early modernist by training, he has a keen interest in the history of European missionary activity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially the Benedictine mission to Australia and the Church Missionary Society's missions in China.

**Philip L. Wickeri** is advisor to the archbishop on historical and theological studies, and provincial archivist, Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui. He teaches at Ming Hua Theological College, Hong Kong, and the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, USA. His most recent book is *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church*. He is also the editor of *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*.

**Frances Slater** is reader emeritus in education at the University of London, where she has worked for more than twenty years. Some of her main interests are language and learning in geography teaching, values in geography education, and research and research approaches, which have been the subject of numerous essays and chapters in books including her coedited volume, *Geography in Education*.

**Jennifer R. Lin** is a former China correspondent for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, who chronicles five generations of her family in a tale that spans Fujian, Shanghai, and Philadelphia. She relied on private letters and published articles by Rev. Lin Pu-chi and combed archives in England, China, and the United States for information. Currently, she is working on a documentary about the China connections of the Philadelphia Orchestra, which, in 1973, became the first American orchestra to perform in the People's Republic of China. Her family memoir, *Shanghai Faithful: Betrayal, Forgiveness, and Survival in a Chinese Christian Family*, was published in 2017.

**Chen Ruiwen** is a researcher at Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Archives. She teaches at Ming Hua Theological College. Her research focuses on the history of Christianity in China and Chinese Christian music. Her publications include *Fragrant Flowers Bloom: T. C. Chao, Bliss Wiant and the Contextualization of Hymns in Twentieth Century China*, and a volume coauthored with Philip L.

Wickeri, *All Generations Shall Call You Blessed: The History of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui St. Mary's Church, 1912–2012*.

**Duan Qi** is a researcher at the Institute of Religious Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing. She has published many books and articles on the history of Christianity in modern China. Her book *The Struggle Forward: The Indigenization of Christianity in China* is a widely used study on the history of indigenization.

**Jane Lee** is director of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council. Prior to joining the council, she was an academic working for the City University of Hong Kong (1989–1994) and HKU SPACE (2002–2011) specializing in public policy research. She was also the founding CEO of the Hong Kong Policy Research Institute (1995–2002). She was the editor of 《步武基督》 (Follow the footsteps of Jesus Christ), which is a book covering 170 years of history for the development of social services of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui.

# Introduction

Wai Ching Angela Wong and Patricia P. K. Chiu

Man Chiu was baptized at St. Paul's Church of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (HKSKH) in the 1950s<sup>1</sup> and has remained a fully committed Anglican. She taught at two Anglican schools—Kei Yan Primary School and St. Stephen's Church Primary School—and has been a keen participant in many church and diocesan activities until the present. In her retirement, she has practically planned her whole schedule around church events, going to the church at least three or four times a week. Additionally, as is the case for many women in other churches, Man Chiu not only goes to church herself but also takes her family with her. All her family members are currently leaders at St. Paul's Church. "Going to Church on Sundays is like family gathering for us."<sup>2</sup> And yet, despite all that she had gone through—managing the difficult refugee years of the war, the Japanese occupation, epidemics, economic recession, changing jobs from factory to trading clerk to accountant to teacher, raising six children, and shouldering multiple church and other responsibilities—she told her interviewers again and again that her life was plain and ordinary and did not deserve to be documented. On one hand, she appeared humble, regarding everything she did as only part of her womanly duty. On the other hand, she shared that she had been elected more than five times as the chair of the HKSKH Women's League and had visited many parishes leading women's meetings and Bible studies, regarding Paul's instruction to women in 1 Timothy 2 to keep silent and not to preach as outdated. "[Today] there are many women in the congregation . . . more women than men, and there are so many women ministers. . . . Women are very important for the Church."<sup>3</sup> Man Chiu's favorite woman in the Bible is Dorcas. For her, Dorcas was not only economically independent but also helped to sustain the livelihood of her fellow widow sisters by her dressmaking workshop (Acts 9:36–43). Yet, a contradiction, typical of a woman's story, is apparent as she concludes:

I have nothing much to say, I am plain and ordinary, there is nothing really. . . . I have no career, only messing around, there is really nothing to talk about. All I did is only part of my duty, something that I should do, [they] don't deserve an interview. People as ordinary as me [are plenty], enough to fill up many baskets. This is it, my life, a lifetime passes plainly and ordinarily!<sup>4</sup>

Testimonies of Christian women such as that of Man Chiu are intriguing. Among other things, there is almost always the woman's desire to suppress a sense of pride that would otherwise seem natural. Given a lifetime of full dedication to family, work, and voluntary service in church and society, the Christian woman, Man Chiu in this case, is determined to shy away from presenting herself as a successful mother, worker, or church leader. Throughout her story, always someone else is given the glory, whether her husband, her children, the pastor, or God. When she concluded that she had no career but was simply messing around, one is unsure whether this is a statement of self-affirmation or personal disappointment. Why would a Christian woman not trust in her numerous dedications and achievements as mother, worker, and church leader and choose instead to recall her life as "plain and ordinary"? What role has Christianity played in her attitude toward life as a woman? Can the testimony of a Christian woman such as Man Chiu be taken as an example of how Christianity and social mores collaborate in the suppression of women's sense of self in Chinese society?

This debate about whether Christianity is a collaborator in, or a liberating force against, the oppressive patriarchal culture for women in Asia has been long standing. When the women's suffrage movement started in the late nineteenth century, the women leaders found Christianity as much a patriarchal institution as a call to freedom in God. The case was even more complicated in Asia, where Christianity came with colonialism and appeared as an instrument for political dominance and ideological control. Marianne Katoppo, a pioneer Indonesian Christian feminist, argued that women in Asia have been struggling with triple "otherness" due to colonialist, Christian, and national marginalization, and the devaluation of women.<sup>5</sup> The Chinese story is an equally controversial one. Christianity has played an important role in Chinese history, not only through the introduction of Christian beliefs and the establishment of the church, but also in its significant contribution to intercultural exchange and social transformation in modern China. At the same time, Christianity came to China with its inevitable association with colonial history. From the nineteenth century onward, missionaries and missionary societies shared the privileges of the Western powers in terms of extraterritoriality, financial and territorial access, and various other rights. The unequal treatment was deeply resented by the Chinese reformists of the early twentieth century, giving rise to an extensive Anti-Christian Movement in 1922.

Women have no doubt played an important role in the history of Chinese Christianity. Single women missionaries and missionary spouses, women in religious orders, Chinese Christian women, Bible women, nurses, doctors, teachers, and evangelists all made immense contributions, not only to the Christian church, but also to social movements such as the anti-foot-binding movement, the anti-*mui tsai* (妹仔, girl slave) movement, the women's

education movement, the ecumenical movement, and the temperance movement. In short, together with their male counterparts, women were full participants in the reconstruction of the new Chinese nation and Chinese modernity. Unfortunately, Christian women, like the women revolutionaries who made incredible contributions to the national revolutions of 1911 and 1949, were forgotten in the successive history of New China. Historical records of Christian women in modern China remain scarce and fragmented. There are only a few volumes devoted to the subject, and they are mostly confined to sectorial areas such as women's education and women's ministry.<sup>6</sup> As interest in the Chinese church has grown over the past decades, there is room for further exploration of the history of women in Chinese Christianity or alternatively, Christian women in Chinese history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This volume focuses on one particular part of this complex history of women in Chinese Christianity—the Anglican story. Anglicanism came to China from different church traditions including American, English, and Canadian. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG, founded in 1701), the first and the oldest British missionary society of the Church of England, focused on the ministry of European colonists and settlers in the British colonies for most of the nineteenth century. It was the Church Missionary Society (CMS, founded in 1799), its independent counterpart, that placed more direct attention to foreign mission to non-Christians and the building of indigenous churches.<sup>7</sup> The first Anglican priest came to China, therefore, not as a missionary but a chaplain for the British military and traders attached to the British East India Company in Macau in the 1820s.<sup>8</sup> Similar arrangement was made for Hong Kong after its cessation to Britain in 1842—Vincent Stanton, the first colonial chaplain, was appointed to the colony in 1843. The church in Hong Kong concentrated on expatriate work until the 1860s. In comparison, China appeared to be much more important for America as a mission field.<sup>9</sup> The first two missionaries of the American Protestant Episcopal Church Mission (PECM), also known as the American Church Mission (ACM), arrived in China in 1835 but were soon relocated to Singapore and Batavia to work among overseas Chinese. The first base for the Episcopalians was set up in Amoy (Xiamen) in 1840 by William Jones Boone (1811–1864), who was later consecrated the first Protestant bishop in China in 1844. Boone settled in Shanghai the following year and started to translate the Bible and the Prayer Book, and set up education and medical services. The first Chinese priest, Huang Guangcai (黃光彩), was ordained by Boone in 1851. Not until 1844 did the CMS send the first two missionaries to China from England—George Smith (later the first bishop of Victoria) and Thomas McClatchie. By 1847, Anglican missionary work was established at Ningpo (Ningbo) and Shanghai.<sup>10</sup>

After these first arrivals, Anglican and Episcopal churches and missionary societies were active all over China. During this period, the two major

missionary players were the CMS in South China and the American Church Mission in the Shanghai area.<sup>11</sup> Like the other mission societies and churches, Anglicans were active in education, social welfare, and medical ministries. Under the leadership of John Wolfe, a missionary from the CMS from 1862 to 1915, women's education was developed along with the establishment of a cohesive system of Anglican elementary education. While they trained many catechists' wives and Chinese Bible women, the CMS was the least interested in extending education to the higher level. The American mission, in contrast, was more concerned about higher education for its strategic importance. In 1874, Samuel Schereschewsky, an ethnic Russian theologically trained at General Seminary in New York, was sent to Shanghai and became its third bishop. The great legacy of Schereschewsky was the development of St. John's College into a full university from which many important Chinese Christian leaders emerged.<sup>12</sup> Among them were Kuo Siu-may, whose life history is explored in Chapter 9 of this volume, and her husband, Bishop K. H. Ting. A unified Anglican Church in China was eventually founded in 1912 by the name of Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (CHSKH, or the Holy Catholic Church of China).

Women always provided significant support for the Anglican and Episcopal church's missionary activity, mostly at the local or congregational level, while some worked overseas as wives of male missionaries.<sup>13</sup> Local women's associations and "working parties" were formed in support of missionary work through fundraising and subscription to, and distribution of, publications. Mission schools for girls were opened by missionary wives to shelter and prepare "native" girls and women to be Christian wives of the male converts and virtuous mothers passing on religious values and practices to the next generation. However, women were not first recruited as missionaries in their own right. In 1834, the founding of the first women's missionary society—the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (also known as the Female Education Society, FES), which recruited single women as missionaries and worked alongside CMS before its policy changed in 1887—provided more opportunities for single women to serve overseas.<sup>14</sup> The FES-affiliated honorary missionary, Mary Ann Aldersey, transferred her girls' school from Batavia to Ningpo in the 1840s. After George Smith was consecrated bishop of Victoria—a diocese covering Hong Kong, all of China, and Japan—FES missionaries were officially invited to set up girls' schools in Hong Kong. In 1880, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS) was founded and began work in Fukien (Fujian) and South China in 1884 at the invitation of CMS.<sup>15</sup> Earlier in the 1850s, the pioneer woman education missionary, Lydia Mary Fay (1804–1878), was sent, among others, by the PECM to China.

Also present were the seldom-mentioned wives of the first missionaries, including, for example, Lydia Smith (circa 1819–1904), the wife of the first

bishop of Victoria in Hong Kong, who, besides raising three children while Bishop Smith was often away on mission trips, contributed fully to the missionary work of Hong Kong by promoting girls' education. Recognized as a champion of Chinese women's education, she founded the Diocesan Native Female Training School in 1860 (later succeeded by the Diocesan Girls' School in 1900) and was largely instrumental in the opening of the first government school for Chinese girls in Hong Kong.<sup>16</sup> Huang Su'e, the daughter of Huang Guangci, who helped to set up St. Mary's Hall in Shanghai, and Mrs. Ahok (Mrs. Zhang Heling, 張鶴齡夫人), a wealthy Chinese merchant's wife who spent three months addressing about a hundred meetings in England and Ireland appealing for more missionaries to be sent to China, were among the Chinese counterparts known to us today.<sup>17</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, women, including missionary wives and single women, outnumbered men in the missionary community. The PECM, and later the CMS, started to send out single female missionaries for education, medical work, pastoral visitation, and other activities from the 1850s and 1880s respectively. By 1937, among those who worked for CHSKH, there were 50 percent more Chinese women than Chinese men and more than double the number of women than men among foreign missionaries.<sup>18</sup>

The changing role of Anglican and Episcopal women in family, church, and society in Britain and North America from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries was the context of the growing participation of women in the missionary movement.<sup>19</sup> The rise of the evangelical movement promoting active Christianity and the regeneration of individuals and society created space for women to participate in church ministry and social reform as moral guardians of the nation from a domestic base. Sermons and writings of evangelicals, such as the influential *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), by Hannah More, a leading female figure of the Evangelical Anglican "Clapham Sect," stressed the vital importance of women's contribution to the general good and the need for reform of female education. By this, she did not mean women should be female warriors or politicians but that they might contribute "through promoting public morality, religious principle and active piety."<sup>20</sup> As privileged civilized Christian women, British women were urged to expand their civilizing mission by helping their "heathen" sisters suffering in darkness. The advancement of women's ministry, the attempts to live out a Christian ideal of womanhood in private and public life, and the struggle to reconcile one's cultural identity with practices and values in a foreign land—all elements underlying the missionary effort of Anglican and Episcopal women—constituted the backdrop against which the Chinese story was constructed.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when there were more female missionaries coming into close contact with Chinese women, the campaign of "women's work for women" had evolved into a women's evangelical movement,



bringing together women from overseas with Chinese women. In this regard, Anglican and Episcopal women missionaries together were engines powering many intercultural exchanges. Female missionaries departed China with an enriched women's consciousness for evangelical work in other mission fields. Chinese Anglican women assumed important positions in church and society. A climax was reached with ordination of the first Anglican woman priest, Florence Li, in 1944. To worldwide surprise, the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau (which encompassed the former Diocese of Victoria) became a pioneer in the ordination of women in the worldwide Anglican Communion.

## The First Encounters

The relation between Christianity and Chinese women has been quite complicated. Soon after the opening of Chinese ports to Western evangelical missions in the mid-nineteenth century, the establishment of women's schools and colleges became one of the primary missionary goals. In its original conception, good Christian education could make Chinese women better wives, better house stewards, better mothers, a solid foundation for social stability, and therefore a fertile ground for evangelical works. For especially the American women missionaries, becoming teachers was therefore not only a means of making a living but a vocation where they were challenged to make quality Christian young women and nationals in China.<sup>21</sup> They were especially keen to educate young Chinese women students with Western science and knowledge and the foundation of a broad worldview together with Christian faith. They asked their students to become good helpmates, not servants, of their husbands when they got married. They believed education was the way to equip them best for the needs of the changing Chinese society.<sup>22</sup> In short, despite the marginality of women missionaries in either the American or British missions<sup>23</sup> and the deprivation of women's education in China, women's schools provided young women from both the West and China a platform for the transmission of an increasing sense of worth, albeit ambivalent, from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, the ambivalence of the position of women missionaries is well noted by several scholars. In "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," Barbara Welter sums up a gender ideology among American missionary boards that emerged during the period in four characteristic qualities—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.<sup>25</sup> These qualities of an ideal womanhood reflect a larger discourse of womanhood of the time, highlighting the general place of woman and the stereotypical gender roles expected in the church and society of the late nineteenth century in the United States.<sup>26</sup> In the well-known missionary campaign of "Women's Work for Women," Marjorie King further argues that, despite the women missionaries' enjoyment of exceptional freedom in

life and work in their mission fields, they did not intend to cultivate the same free spirit in their women converts or students. Rather, they promoted a model of “Christian familial women,” an ideal that compromised, in a way, the role of women in Chinese traditional families and that of relatively more liberal Western families. They were surely attempting to convert Chinese women to the Western way of life but not at the expense of direct confrontation with the Chinese patriarchs.<sup>27</sup>

Lin Meimei finds that such ambivalence started with the women missionaries at home. Contrary to the original intention of the submissive instructions dispatched to them, Lin suggests that the ideal of “true womanhood” in fact gave women much room to maneuver than the simple call to be “good wives” in eighteenth-century England. Especially for single women, the late introduction of “true womanhood” came as encouragement for them to take up active roles in local and overseas missions. It led to the beginning of a new era of women’s education, despite its initial aim to train women for conservative social and familial functions.<sup>28</sup> A similar effect took place among the Chinese women who encountered these women missionaries. Despite the missionaries’ teaching of conservative family values and women’s submissive roles, their women converts and students excelled in life and work outside their homes. They became the first Chinese women evangelists, teachers, nurses, and doctors, and, ironically, many modeled themselves after the single women missionaries and chose to remain single.<sup>29</sup>

As career opportunities for women such as teaching, nursing, and missionary work increased, a quiet gender revolution took place in society. There were not only escalating demands for women’s education but also for women’s reading materials such as women’s magazines, family handbooks, and women’s fiction, which addressed the many adjustments that women needed to make regarding their new added responsibilities.<sup>30</sup> For the women missionaries, despite their holding on to good women’s virtues wherever they worked, their “territories” had quickly extended far beyond the traditional boundaries of the home.<sup>31</sup> Nancy F. Cott points to the emergence of a kind of gender consciousness through the network and exchange of women’s experiences throughout the churches.<sup>32</sup> Encouraged by the general affirmation of women’s roles and participation in America’s Second Great Awakening in the late eighteenth century, women took up leading roles in prayer meetings and the sharing of faith among one another.<sup>33</sup> In the name of piety and the defense of social morality, women called by their faith stepped into the public sphere and took up the role, consciously or unconsciously, to reform the Victorian family in the increasingly industrialized society, and religion in nineteenth-century America.<sup>34</sup> In the case of women missionaries, they extended their gentle and caring qualities of domesticity to overseas missions and, in return, gained a large degree of autonomy within their sphere of influence among women on the ground.<sup>35</sup> Lin

attributed the major achievement of the women's missionary movement of the time to the creation of a "women's sphere" where sisterhood could be built, networks could be strengthened, and the exploration of different roles in the society was permitted and encouraged.<sup>36</sup>

What the women missionaries had demonstrated to the Chinese was complicated gender ethics. Sustained by the four virtues of "true womanhood," these American women missionaries immersed themselves in the services of education, medicine, and evangelism, and preached to the Chinese women, in effect, an alternative way of being respectable women to their traditional roles. The missionaries could go outside homes, go to school, have a career of their own, seek the company of other women, and get to know the world beyond their home countries. Correspondingly, in the name of mission and religious gatherings, Chinese women converts organized themselves outside the home in churches, women's schools, and religious associations, and found themselves a new social space for autonomous activities. Quietly they had shaken not only the traditional roles of women in China but also, more fundamentally, the patriarchal control by Chinese men in the families.<sup>37</sup>

Tao Feiya, a Chinese historian of Christianity, contends that the study of Chinese Christian women is the key to the self-understanding of Christianity and its relationship with the social life and spiritual pursuits of the Chinese people.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, by the 1870s, women constituted the majority of people engaged in the history of the development of Christianity in China, in both the sending and the reception sides. King found that the percentage of women missionaries in China rose from 49 percent in 1830 to 60 percent in 1890. Women have remained in the majority since. Through the program of "Women's Work for Women" of the time, these women missionaries participated and contributed to the social and cultural reformation of Chinese customs through organizing campaigns, in partnership with Chinese women, for the abolition of foot binding, against concubinage, for free marriage, and against female infanticide, among other causes.<sup>39</sup> Men were combating these cultural vices together with the women, but very little attention has been paid to women in studies of Chinese history or the history of Chinese Christianity. Not until the past two decades have there been growing archival studies uncovering these earliest contributions of Christian women, which richly laid the groundwork for the continuing contribution of Chinese women in church and society.<sup>40</sup>

### **"Our Heritage Is Our Power": Structure of the Book**

Two American feminists, Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ, open their anthology on feminist spirituality with a section titled with the phrase above, asserting that our wholeness depends on honoring our connection with our heritage.<sup>41</sup> For similar reasons, the history of Anglican women in Chinese society needs

to be reclaimed for women's struggle to be remembered and their contribution recognized. This volume aims to trace the steps of Anglican women in Chinese society, which also serves to appreciate the strength of Anglican women today. This Anglican story is divided into four sections—"Cross-Cultural Partnership," "Women and Ordained Ministry," "Life Histories," and "Serving the Community." Altogether, there are eleven chapters covering people, events, and institutions from the 1840s to the 1970s across different regions of the Mainland and Hong Kong.

The first section opens with Kwok Pui-lan's chapter by introducing a cross-cultural approach to the understanding of the relationship between Chinese women and the Anglican Church in China. It not only treats the missionary movement as part of the globalizing modernity that altered both Western and Chinese societies, but it also explores how these changes affected missionary visions and strategies of working with women. Kwok also brings in the experiences of Anglican missionary work with women in Iran, India, and Uganda to place mission to China in a broader historical context of the time. Adopting multiple levels of analysis, she argues that Chinese women had a significant influence in discussions of women's ministry and leadership in the Anglican Communion.

Judith Liu focuses on St. Hilda's School for Girls in Wuchang, one of the earliest Anglican schools in China, and traces its development and impact on young girls in China at a time of drastic political change. Despite the passion of the early women educators, the establishment and management of the school was not easy. The introduction of Christian education to Chinese girls was regarded by Chinese people with much suspicion and not as something beneficial to either the girls or their families. As it grew from having only one student to hundreds, and from teaching only hygiene and cooking to a full curriculum, St. Hilda's strove to produce an educated Christian women's vanguard to lead China into the future. Immersed in Western knowledge and Chinese politics, the school and its students made the best of their education to transform generations of Christian women at a critical point in the history of contemporary China.

Zhou Yun, on the contrary, focuses on a special group of women who were located at the center of intercultural exchange between women missionaries and Chinese women. The Bible women were trained by women missionaries, who knew very well that they depended on Chinese women to help them with tasks that they were unable to do alone. The Bible women were therefore coworkers of the women missionaries right from the start. Zhou argues that Bible women were the agents of a worldwide evangelical workforce acting in a particular context and particular time in China. Rather than working in a hierarchical structure, the women missionaries and the Chinese Bible women

developed and nurtured a relationship of sisterhood and friendship over their many years of transnational interactions.

The second section tackles one of the most debated issues in church history—the question of women’s ordination. Peter Cunich examines the beginning of the CHSKH and reviews the historical debate on the role of women in the Anglican Church. Despite a supportive Lambeth resolution in 1920 to expand the role of the deaconesses, there was a general reluctance in the leadership of the CHSKH to accord deaconesses equal status with male deacons or encourage their ordination until the 1920s. Bishop John Hind of Fukien (1918–1940) took the lead to advocate for the female diaconate and sought the blessing of the CEZMS for his ordination of the first six Fujian deaconesses. Yet, until Florence Li Tim Oi’s ordination in 1941, there had been no Chinese deaconess in the Chinese church. Cunich argues that difficulties abounded both on the side of the church’s unpreparedness to welcome women into the ministry and that of the Chinese tradition to demand women be subservient to men.

Philip Wickeri’s contribution focuses on Florence Li Tim Oi—the person and her life—and the heightened debate surrounding her ordination to the priesthood. It is, as Wickeri calls it, a singular event that fundamentally changed the history of the Anglican Communion. He argues that, rather than achieving an elevated status, Li—a woman who had devoted her life to evangelical work—felt hurt and rejected by the ingrained discrimination against women by the church institution of the time. Before she returned her license as a priest, she was recognized as a successful deaconess ministering to a growing refugee parish in Macau, granted during wartime the extraordinary right to administer the Lord’s Supper, and finally supported by her congregation and the diocese to be ordained as priest. Despite the church’s withdrawal of her license, she continued to contribute her ministry through the difficult times of the Cultural Revolution on the Mainland. She finally had her Anglican priesthood reinstated in the 1980s.

Wong Wai Ching Angela takes a closer look at the groundbreaking ordinations of the first five Anglican women priests in the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, originally a part of the CHSKH. She examines the controversy surrounding the debate of women’s ordination in the province before and after the war, tracing the roles of Bishop R. O. Hall and Bishop Gilbert Baker. This chapter highlights the “Chinese factor” that specially made the four first ordinations of the Anglican Communion possible. Wong argues that this distinctive Chinese contribution to women’s ordination in Hong Kong took place at an ambivalent crossroads, where cultural transition and the transformation from an English to a Chinese church, endowed with a Chinese reformist spirit of the time, met. The Chinese church decided to take the right opportunity at the right place at the right time and so made a distinctive decision in the Anglican Communion.

The third section of this volume presents the life histories of five Anglican women from different racial, social, and cultural backgrounds. Their stories reflect the possibilities and limitations of Christian women of the time. From archival records, family collections, and personal papers of missionaries, Frances Slater's chapter meticulously reconstructs the lives of the Wolfe sisters—three single women missionaries of CMS—during their service in Fujian Province from the 1880s to 1940s. Writing from the perspective of family history, Slater presents a unique portrait of three independent single missionary women—perhaps extraordinary in the eyes of supporters at home reading their stories of remote China—living out an “ordinary life” of day-to-day mission labor in a network of relationships. Unlike other missionary accounts focusing on missionary couples, Slater's work looks at relationships between parents—specifically the pioneer missionary Archdeacon J. R. Wolfe—and their families, friends, and colleagues crossing cultural boundaries, which constituted the context in which the women's missionary careers were built.

Jennifer Lin's chapter highlights the fruit of the labor of Anglican missionary women, focusing on one Chinese woman, Zhan Aimei, an ordinary girl who benefited from a mission school education and went on to become a Christian teacher, wife, and mother. Lin skillfully describes the transformation of Zhan's life from a farmer's daughter in Fujian Province to the wife of a promising doctor, and matriarch of a prominent Christian family. Zhan's son, Lin Buji, became a distinguished leader in the Chinese Anglican church after graduate study in the United States. Zhan's life illustrates our discussion of “Christian familial women” above and demonstrates the fruit of CMS women's civilizing and evangelizing mission to the fullest. Drawing from family documents, oral history interviews, and archival materials, Lin's chapter has reconstructed the voice of Chinese women rarely heard in missionary accounts.

Chen Ruiwen's chapter on Kuo Siu-may, the wife of Bishop K. H. Ting, offers an overview of her life and work in three periods. She first briefly examines Kuo's education at St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai, which was founded by Bishop S. I. J. Schereschewsky in 1881. Drawing from school histories and memoirs of Kuo's contemporaries, Chen argues that the academic education and character formation Kuo received at St. Mary's formed the foundation of her life in public service as educator and scholar. Chen reconstructs a narrative emphasizing Kuo's role as wife and helpmate to Bishop Ting through thick and thin, while building a career of her own beyond the Christian church. Accounts of her perseverance through political movements and hardship, and memories of colleagues and students are documented in detail to give a rich narrative of Kuo's spiritual and intellectual life, which, according to Chen, represents those of other Anglican women intellectuals of her time.

In the last section, the chapters shift focus from the missionary movement to the various women groups that emerged to support the work of missionaries

and nurture Christian women to serve in their “spheres of usefulness” in families and society at large. According to John Kater, the establishment of the Women’s Auxiliary under the Episcopal Church’s Board of Missions (1872) and of the Mothers’ Union under the Church of England (1876) were significant developments shaping the advancement of Christian women’s participation in church ministry and philanthropic work in China.<sup>42</sup> In this context, Duan Qi’s chapter traces the establishment of these two organizations and examines the process of development and “contextualization” of the two institutions in the social and political context of early twentieth-century China. Duan shows that not only did the ideals and teaching of these organizations help Chinese Christian women integrate their newly found Christian faith with the traditional Chinese role of virtuous wives and good mothers; their work provided a training ground for women to organize themselves around common goals and purposes. In those critical years of political instability and warfare, the two organizations equipped Chinese women in the Anglican-Episcopal Church to participate in social movements and activism, regardless of individual political persuasion.

The final chapter, by Jane Lee, provides a chronological overview of the development of women’s work in the Hong Kong Anglican Church and thus serves as an appropriate conclusion to the volume. In her account, Lee traces Chinese women’s progress from recipients of education and shelter provided by British women missionaries to coworkers in social movement. These women became leaders of the anti-*mui tsai* movement and the Women’s League, and pioneers promoting health care and social welfare for the marginalized and needy in Hong Kong. The chapter recapitulates the significant role of education in the elevation of women’s social and economic status, the emphasis of moral influence in seeking the common good, and the upholding of core values such as “unity in diversity” at the heart of the Anglican-Episcopal tradition.

Because of the historical tension between the Christian “civilizing” mission and Chinese traditional culture, the Christian identity of Chinese women has always been an interesting aspect of investigation. Christian women with gender consciousness are often ostracized as unfeminine or going against Chinese culture. Nevertheless, detailed studies of the interaction between Western missionaries and Chinese women in the Anglican story shows otherwise. The traditional gender roles of Chinese society confining women to domesticity and subservience indeed proved to be burdensome for Christian women seeking freedom in God. Yet their missionary sisters from America and Britain were able to rise above their traditional gender roles only in interaction with Chinese women in the mission field. We argue that, rather than missionary women setting free the Chinese, the two were trying out their new roles with the help of one another. In the Anglican story they shared, they have demonstrated



a different relation between missionaries and “natives,” Christian faith and womanhood.

For men and women in Christ, the ongoing battle to free the potential of each person regardless of gender is still a call for all members of the Anglican Communion today. There is a trail of witnesses in the story of the Chinese Anglican church for everyone to follow. For this effort, we must thank all who took part in the conference “Christian Women in Chinese Society: The Anglican Story” held in June 2015. Even though not every paper presented could be included in the volume, each presentation made a significant contribution to a rich conversation and so advanced a historical journey. The conference may well prove to be an important landmark for the call to gender equality in Christ in the history of Chinese Christianity.

In this volume, pinyin romanization is used throughout, except in the case of proper names where another form of romanization is better known or preferred. On the first mention of such forms, the equivalent pinyin and Chinese characters, if known, follow. In the case of Chinese names, surnames are always displayed first.

## Notes

1. For details of her story, see 黃慧貞：〈我沒有甚麼好說的，我一生平平無奇〉，載黃慧貞、蔡寶瓊編著：《華人婦女與香港基督教：口述歷史》（香港：牛津大學出版社，2010），頁141–58。[Wong Wai Ching, “I Have Nothing Much to Say: My Life Is Plain and Ordinary—Mok Lau Man Chiu,” in *Chinese Women and Hong Kong Christianity: An Oral History*, ed. Wong Wai Ching and Choi Peking (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Oxford University Press, 2010), 141–58.]
2. *Ibid.*, 153.
3. *Ibid.*, 154–55.
4. Her original verses: “我沒有甚麼好說的，我平平無奇，真的沒有什麼。……我沒有事業，渾渾噩噩做事，真的乏善足陳啊。我所做的都只不過是份內事，都是應該做的，不值得訪問。像我這樣的很普通，多得一籬籬。就是這樣，我的人生，平平無奇就這樣過了一世！” *Ibid.*, 158.
5. See Marianne Katoppo, *Compassionate and Free: An Asian Woman's Theology* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1979).
6. See the references in the part on “The First Encounter” below.
7. Hilary Carey documented the expenditure of the SPG and concluded that most of its resources had been used on European colonists and settlers in the British Empire since its first setup in 1701 through much of the nineteenth century. See Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 75–76, 85–87.
8. Philip L. Wickeri, introduction to *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, ed. Philip Wickeri (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 3.



9. Kevin Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 246–47.
10. Wickeri, *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*, 4–5.
11. Ward, *History of Global Anglicanism*, 246–47.
12. Ibid., 250.
13. John Kater, “Stirrings: Emerging Women’s Ministries in the Church of England and the Episcopal Church, and Their Impact on the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui” (paper presented at the conference “Christian Women in Chinese Society—the Anglican Story,” June 27, 2015, Hong Kong), 4–5.
14. See Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 6–16, 89–93; Patricia P. Chiu, “‘A Position of Usefulness’: Gendering History of Girls’ Education in Colonial Hong Kong (1850s–1890s),” *History of Education* 37, no. 6 (2008): 789–93.
15. The CEZMS was an Anglican group that split from the interdenominational Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society (IFNS) constituted in 1861 with a specific focus on female mission work in India. See Seton, *Western Daughters*, 93–94.
16. Gillian Bickley, “Smith, George (1815–1871): Missionary and Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25805>.
17. See Kwok Pui-lan’s chapter in this volume.
18. Wickeri, introduction to *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture*, 8–9.
19. Kater, “Stirrings,” 2.
20. Discussion of Hannah More’s work in Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790–1865* (London: Routledge, 2007), 26–32.
21. 林美玫：《婦女與差傳：十九世紀美國聖公會女傳教士在華差傳研究》（台北：里仁書局，2005），頁248–50。[Lin Meimei, *Women in Missiology: The Episcopal Women Missionaries and Their Evangelical Work in Nineteenth-Century China* (Taipei: Liren, 2005), 248–50.]
22. 林美玫：《婦女與差傳》，頁267。[Lin, *Women in Missiology*, 267.]
23. Missionary women were not included in almost all of the missionary boards until the late nineteenth century. See the discussion of Fiona Bowie, “Introduction: Reclaiming Women’s Presence,” in *Women and Missions: Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, ed. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), 1–22.
24. 林美玫：《婦女與差傳》，頁285。[Lin, *Women in Missiology*, 285.]
25. Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 152.
26. 林美玫：《婦女與差傳》，第二章。[Lin, *Women in Missiology*, chapter 2.]
27. Marjorie King, “Exporting Femininity, Not Feminism: Nineteenth-Century U.S. Missionary Women’s Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women,” in *Women’s Work for Women: Missionary and Social Change in Asia*, ed. Leslie A. Flemming (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), 118.
28. 林美玫：《婦女與差傳》，頁28–30。[Lin, *Women in Missiology*, 28–30.]

29. Cf. Adrian Bennett, "Doing More Than They Intended: Southern Methodist Women in China, 1878–1898," in *Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives on the Wesleyan Tradition*, vol. 2, ed. Hilah F. Thomas and Rosemary Skinner Keller (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981); Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).
30. Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 111.
31. Patricia R. Hill, introduction to *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).
32. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977), chapter 5.
33. The Second Great Awakening refers to the religious revival movement between 1798 and 1801 started in New England in the United States with its effects lasting until 1830s. Cf. Martha T. Blauvelt, "Women and Revivalism," in *Women and Religion in America*, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, vol. 1: *The Nineteenth Century* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), 1–9.
34. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 109–28.
35. Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," in Flemming, *Women's Work for Women*, 159–60.
36. 林美玫,《婦女與差傳》,頁92–111。[Lin, *Women in Missiology*, 92–111.]
37. *Ibid.*, 214–15.
38. 陶飛亞編:《性別與歷史:近代中國婦女與基督教》(上海:上海人民出版社,2006),頁1。[Tao Feiya, ed., *Gender and History: Contemporary Chinese Women and Protestantism* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press, 2006), 1.]
39. 戴懿華 (Melissa Dale):〈從近年英文學術著作看婦女與基督教在近代中國的研究現狀〉,收陶飛亞編:《性別與歷史》。[Dai Yihua (Melissa Dale), "The State of Art of Modern Study of Women and Christianity in Modern China," in Tao, *Gender and History*, 2.]
40. See *ibid.*, 1–21.
41. Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ, eds., *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 15.
42. Kater, "Stirrings," 12.

## A Distinctive Chinese Contribution

### *The Ordination of the First Five Women Priests in Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui*

Wai Ching Angela Wong

Florence Li Tim Oi (李添嫒, ordained in 1944), Jane Hwang Hsien Yuen (黃羨雲) and Joyce Bennett (班佐時, ordained in 1971), Pauline Shek Wing Suet (石詠雪, ordained in 1973), and Mary Au Yuk Kwan (區玉君, ordained in 1977) not only made history in the Anglican Church in Hong Kong<sup>1</sup> but also, for the first four, in the Anglican Communion. When Florence Li resigned her priestly license in 1946, little did she know that, despite her personal plight, a solid ground had been laid for the pioneering role of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau in women's ordination in the worldwide Anglican Communion. Despite this seemingly "unsuccessful" first ordination of Li, when Jane Hwang was appointed a deaconess by Bishop Ronald Hall in 1958 she already had the idea that she might be ordained one day.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, Bishop Gilbert Baker succeeded Hall not only in terms of the diocesan leadership but also in his determination to ordain women, for when he ordained two women to the Anglican priesthood (Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett), there were no other Anglican provinces that dared to push this issue ahead. Two years after all the congratulatory remarks received by Baker from visitors around the world, he ordained Pauline Shek in 1973 and four years later, in 1977, Mary Au, at a time when the Canadian Anglican Church had just approved the ordination of women and the Episcopal Church in the United States had barely overcome its bitter division over the acceptance of women to the priesthood.<sup>3</sup> It was not surprising then that, from among the many suspicions and doubts raised by the opponents to women's ordination, one question stood out: Why Hong Kong? Or, considering the larger context of the time, why China? When other provinces were still hesitant about or refusing to consider the idea of ordaining women, why was the Diocese of Hong Kong and South China the first to do so?<sup>4</sup> Hall and Baker each pointed to the uniqueness of the Chinese context. So what was the Chinese factor that had made it possible for this distinctive contribution of the Diocese of Hong Kong and South China to the worldwide Anglican Communion in the ordination of women? And what was so distinctive in these first five women, four Chinese and one Hong Kong British woman, who made it to the priesthood through controversy and without regret? This chapter attempts to discover this distinctive Chinese factor in the Chung Hua

Sheng Kung Hui (CHSKH), the Holy Catholic Church of China, which had made the first women's ordination in the Anglican world possible.

## A History of No Return

History can be playful with its human subjects, not the least with Anglican women on the question of ordination. Since the first two Episcopal deaconesses were appointed in 1855 by the bishop of Maryland, the Lambeth Conference—the highest canonical body of the Anglican Communion, consisting of all its senior bishops—had been struggling with whether to incorporate women fully into the holy orders of the church, a debate that was to last for another century.<sup>5</sup> According to Mavis Rose, the first voice requesting gender equality in the Anglican Church was Maude Royden's from England in 1916, requesting, albeit unsuccessfully, for the church's permission for women to preach.<sup>6</sup> In the 1920 Lambeth Conference, Resolution 46 was passed to admit women to those councils of the church to which laymen were admitted. In 1930 the Lambeth Conference conceded that women with special gifts of spiritual and intellectual abilities be officially authorized to give addresses, to conduct retreats, or to give special counsel. In 1930 the Lambeth Conference also sent out a mixed message by admitting deaconesses as full members of the ministry of the church with powers to baptize, lead the litany, instruct, and preach, but maintaining that the order of deaconess was not equivalent to the men's diaconate. Although its commission found no reason for or against women's ordination, it advised that the priesthood should remain all male in order not to distract the attention of male members of the congregation to the consciousness of the sex of a woman priest.<sup>7</sup> During World War II, a planned 1940 Lambeth Conference was postponed until 1948. During this period, Florence Li was ordained by Bishop Hall in 1944 and then resigned her priestly function under pressure in 1946. Although the Province of China seemed to find it embarrassing to mention the case in the Lambeth Conference after the war, the ordination of Li had remained in the consciousness of CHSKH and had inevitably pushed the discussion for full acceptance of women into the priestly order to a new level.<sup>8</sup>

As was revealed later, Bishop Hall wrote to his archbishop, the Archbishop of Canterbury William Temple, on June 4, 1943, in the middle of the Sino-Japanese War, to inform him of his decision to authorize Deaconess Li to celebrate the Lord's Supper. He also stated his intention to ordain Li to the priesthood as soon as he was able to visit her. Hall made these decisions at a time when no male priest was available to serve the thriving congregation in Macau. His reason was canonical because he found it more contrary to the tradition and meaning of the ordained ministry to permit a deacon to perform all the functions of a priest than to ordain a woman. He was hoping that the

next Lambeth Conference would give a clear majority in favor of experiences in provinces where there was an acute shortage of priests. When the letter reached the archbishop after the war, he replied with clear disapproval. His reason was not theological for he found no clear ground as such for the non-ordination of women. Rather, his disapproval was, first, canonical, that the matter is *ultra vires* because no individual bishop has the right to take a step contrary to the laws and precedents of the church unilaterally, and, second, ecumenical, as he was acutely aware of the resistance to the concept of female priesthood in other apostolic churches such as the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox.<sup>9</sup>

Aware of the voice of opposition, the Diocese of Hong Kong and South China nevertheless put forward the case of Li Tim Oi to the General Synod of China for consideration. It sought advice as to whether the ordination of women was in accordance with Anglican tradition and whether such an experiment in times of emergency was “of God.” The Chinese General Synod then decided to refer the matter to the 1948 Lambeth Conference, suggesting a twenty-year experiment of women’s ordination. The response from the Lambeth bishops was negative. Under Resolution 114, the bishops reaffirmed Resolution 67 of the 1930 conference that “the Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only Order of the Ministry.” The committee reports repeated the importance of motherhood for women and that harm “may be done to home life by the efforts to draw married women into outside spheres of work.”<sup>10</sup>

Although the issue of women’s ordination was not directly raised in the subsequent Lambeth Conference, the demand for the upgrading of women’s status was been part of the discussion. By the 1968 Lambeth Conference, several actions had been taken that paved the way for a formal proposal of women’s ordination to be made. Resolution 32 of the conference recommended for the first time that the diaconate be opened to women as well as men and “that those made deaconess . . . be declared to be within the diaconate.” Resulting from many years of discussion, this resolution was greatly significant, serving as the first recognition of equality between men and women in the Holy Order. As for the main question of women’s ordination to the priesthood, five mild but decisive resolutions were formulated, which in effect outlined the road map for a second round of women to be ordained in Hong Kong, following the precedent of Li’s “trial” ordination.

Resolutions 34 and 35 of the 1968 Lambeth Conference referred to the inconclusiveness of theological arguments for and against the ordination of women and therefore the dire need for “every national and regional Church or province” to study the matter. A report was asked of each of the provinces to be sent to the first meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC), a new body established by the Lambeth bishops, which included clergy and lay representation. Under Resolution 36, the conference requested the first

ACC to “initiate consultations with other Churches which have women in their ordained ministry and with those which have not” and “to distribute the information thus secured.” Resolution 37 recommended that “the advice of the Anglican Consultative Council” must be sought before any decision to ordain woman was finalized, and Resolution 38 recommended that churches in the Anglican Communion be “encouraged to make canonical provision . . . for duly qualified women to share in the conduct of liturgical worship, to preach, to baptize, to read the epistle and gospel at the Holy Communion, and to help in the distribution of the elements.”<sup>11</sup> In short, the five resolutions together laid out a step-by-step process: first, study, discussion, and report; second, an agreement by the national and regional church for the ordination of women to be sought; and, third, a proposal to be brought to ACC or the Lambeth for approval. In its subtle way, the 1968 Lambeth Conference opened its door to receive a proposal for women’s ordination to the Anglican Communion, and the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau did exactly that.

In February 1971 when the ACC held its first meeting in Limuru, Kenya, to which a bishop, a priest, a layman, and a woman observer were sent by each province, one of its most important agenda items was to deliberate on a request for advice from Bishop Gilbert Baker of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau. Acting on the resolutions of Lambeth 1968, Bishop Baker laid before the council a resolution of his diocesan synod, which had approved in principle the ordination of women to the priesthood.<sup>12</sup> By a narrow majority of 24 to 22, the ACC passed Resolution 28 to confirm that “the question of the ordination of women was an urgent matter” and that if the bishop of Hong Kong and Macau decided to ordain women to the priesthood, “his action will be acceptable to [the] Council.” The green light was finally turned on and Bishop Baker wasted no time and took the proposal to the Council of the Church in South East Asia (CCSEA), which met in Hong Kong in April 1971. By this time, the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, having been established as a “Detached Diocese” of CHSKH since 1951, because of the Communist takeover of China, had been put under the custodianship of CCSEA, a consultative body comprised of bishops of independent regions and nations. CCSEA deliberated over the proposal of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau and decided to “withhold advice” on the matter, expressing an opinion of neither support nor objection.<sup>13</sup> Effectively left on his own, Bishop Baker went ahead with the decision to ordain Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett to the priesthood on November 28, 1971. In the second ACC held in Dublin in 1973, it was noted that “no Church or Province had ceased to be in communion with the diocese of Hong Kong” since its ordination of the two women priests.<sup>14</sup> A worldwide Anglican precedent, sealed with official endorsement this time, was thus made.

Despite continued controversies and debates in the other provinces of the Anglican Church, Bishop Baker conducted the ordination of Jane Hwang and

Joyce Bennett, together with the recognition of Florence Li's priestly order in absentia, in 1971. After the end of the Cultural Revolution in China, Li resumed priestly ministry in the Chinese church at Guangzhou, from which she retired in 1981. Bishop Baker subsequently ordained to the priesthood Pauline Shek in 1973 and Mary Au in 1977. With the exception of Mary Au, whose ordination occurred about the time when women began to be ordained in the United States,<sup>15</sup> the Hong Kong women were the first ordained women in the worldwide Anglican Communion. This swiftness of action was particular to Hong Kong. By way of comparison, despite its 1973 General Synod seeing no theological objections to ordaining women, the decisions of various dioceses of the Anglican Church of Australia to act on this advice took place over almost two more decades.<sup>16</sup>

### The Chinese Factor

The pioneering role in women's ordination taken up by CHSKH and, more specifically, the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau started with Bishop Hall's groundbreaking decision to ordain Florence Li Tim Oi in 1944. An extraordinary singular event, as Philip Wickeri called it, Li became the first woman priest in the worldwide Anglican Communion in a specific place at a specific time.<sup>17</sup> It was in many ways strategically and pragmatically driven to address a wartime emergency. It was a decision made not because of Li's request to be recognized in the priestly order but largely out of the pastoral concern of Bishop Mok Shau Tsang (莫壽增), the assistant bishop of the Diocese of South China (and Victoria) as well as the prophetic conviction of Bishop Hall. The specific time was war when an extensive part of Guangdong, including Hong Kong, was occupied by the Japanese military; and the specific place was Macau, where a vibrant Christian community of immigrants and refugees grew and thrived but was deprived of the sacraments because of the unavailability of male priests. No priests were able to travel to this isolated island of Macau, and Bishop Mok licensed Deaconess Li to perform the sacramental functions of a priest as a contingent measure in wartime. As indicated by Bishop Hall's testimony later, Bishop Mok, the Chinese bishop, was the one who first conceived of the idea to ordain Li Tim Oi as a priest.<sup>18</sup>

In Bishop Hall's address to the Diocesan Synod in 1946, he spoke explicitly about the favorable conditions for women's leadership provided by the Chinese context with specific reference to the "tradition" of Canton (Guangdong). Referring to Bishop Mok's authorization of Li to celebrate the Lord's Supper, Hall was affirming the initiative of the Chinese bishop to regard Li fully as a member of the holy order:

I do not think that we need to be surprised that the ordination of women to the ministry of our Church should come first in China; nor surprised



that it should be a Cantonese bishop, caring for the spiritual needs of the Cantonese people, who took the first step. . . . In many ways, Christianity has brought new freedom and opportunity for women in China, but Chinese civilization has always given a higher place to women both in culture and social life than any other civilization apart from Christianity. Then in China, the Cantonese people have a unique position—combining the Chinese culture and traditions—with a quite exceptional commercial energy and ability. Little wonder then that God should have used China's old culture and Cantonese progressiveness to prepare a woman to be called by Christ to his Ministry.<sup>19</sup>

There were four main elements in the bishop's address that I would call "the Chinese factors" contributing to the first ordination of a woman, in Hong Kong. First, there was the care of a Cantonese bishop, Mok Shau Tsang, who initiated the move to license a deaconess to consecrate the sacramental elements, a capacity that has been exclusively restricted to priests until that point. According to Bishop Hall, Bishop Mok first came up with the idea of ordination of Li Tim Oi before Hall put it to action. Most interestingly, the fact that such an idea was conceived by a Chinese bishop came as no surprise to the British bishop. Second, there was the intercultural encounter between China and Christianity that generated new opportunities and freedom for Chinese women. This alludes to the efforts of missionaries in building girls' schools; training women teachers, nurses, and medical doctors; and offering services and social support to girl orphans, girl slaves, runaway child brides, and concubines. The third, which is seemingly contradictory to the second element, was presented as women's higher place in Chinese civilization both in terms of cultural and social life. This comment was not immediately understandable because, despite the dominant role of mothers in the family, the oppression of women by the customs of foot binding and blind marriages was never left out of the reform agenda of the missionaries. The fourth was the unique position of the Cantonese people, who, according to Hall, were able to combine Chinese tradition with a kind of entrepreneurial spirit. In conclusion, Hall contended that Canton (now Guangdong), with its mixture of Chinese tradition and progressiveness, emerged as the natural place from which the first ordained Anglican woman priest could be expected to come.

Because of the lack of further elaboration, not all of Bishop Hall's explanation of the favorable Chinese factors was readily understandable.<sup>20</sup> And yet an interesting remark made by the synod of the Diocese of Kong Yuet (Guangdong) in its address to the General Synod of CHSKH in 1947 hints at an underlining tension between the Chinese and the Western members of the Anglican Church in China, which might explain the meaning of a China versus the West divide. The remark appeared in the first main paragraph: "Members of [Kong Yuet] Synod found the attitude of the Church in the West impossible



to understand,” then two paragraphs below, “We believe that the Western Churches should expect new things such as this to happen under God’s providence when Christianity really begins to take root in a civilization as mature as the Chinese civilization.”<sup>21</sup> Alongside this contrast of the “Chinese” to the “Western” culture, the statement continued to explain the context wherein

the original ordination of Pastor Lei Tim Oi [Li Tim Oi] was done to meet an emergency situation. A large Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui congregation (refugees from Hong Kong and Canton) were completely off from the sacraments of the Church. But in the diocese of Kong Yuet we expect that we shall always need the services of a few outstanding women in the priestly ministry—to enable us to develop and maintain the Church on an essentially pastoral and parochial basis. This may be true of other dioceses in China.<sup>22</sup>

Before elaborating the Chinese versus Western dichotomy, the synod of Kong Yuet made it clear that the ordination of Florence Li was done as a matter of emergency in response to the pastoral needs of the congregation in Macau. In other words, the church deserved to have a minister function in the full capacity of a priest, and it just happened that the person ready to serve was a woman. That women’s ordination was unprecedented in the church order should not be definitive; rather, the pastoral and spiritual needs of the congregation for the grace of God should prevail. It was the people, not the rule, and the solution, not the means, that mattered. This is probably the same background against which Bishop Mok licensed Li Tim Oi to celebrate Holy Communion and proposed to Bishop Hall the idea of ordination. If there is a Chinese characteristic to this reasoning, it is that of pragmatism.

Pragmatism is particularly useful when a desired goal is not achievable unless a certain principle is bent. It is interesting that this struggle between principle and goal did not seem to appear in the argument of the Synod of Kong Yuet. As noted by Wickeri, although there were no women priests until much later, the CHSKH had been ahead of the Church of England in terms of its openness to women in ministry. Prior to the 1935 Lambeth Conference’s resolution to include deaconesses as part of the clergy, the Fifth General Synod of CHSKH in 1924 had already passed such a resolution. And before the same Lambeth Conference resolved to recognize the spiritual gifts of women, it seemed that women in China had already been leading prayers and deaconesses had already been preaching and assisting in the sacraments at church services.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, when Bishop Mok was preaching at the service where Janet Lucy Vincent, a Church Missionary Society missionary from Australia, was ordained the first deaconess in 1931, he referred to “our sister” Phoebe in Romans 16:1–2, a “deacon” (*diakonon*) who served in the port of Corinth, as an example to call Chinese women to come forth to serve God. In the sermon, he had no difficulty affirming the need for women’s leadership in the Church.<sup>24</sup> Clearly,

there was extensive need for dedicated servants of God to help build the young Chinese church. As Wickeri suggests, that CHSKH was seriously understaffed at the time and that men and women were badly needed to take on the various responsibilities could explain why the more open attitude to women's ministry was adopted. In other words, the shortage of priests made it practical for the Chinese Anglican church to push itself ahead of other Anglican provinces toward accepting women into the ordained ministry.<sup>25</sup>

If these were the circumstances of the early ordination, the case of the ordination of the two women in 1971 was different. The next four women to be ordained to the priesthood in the Hong Kong Diocese took place long after the war and without a shortage of priests being an issue. In fact, when the ordination of Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett took place, three other young men were also ordained into the Anglican priesthood.<sup>26</sup> Rather than a shortage of male priests in the 1970s, both Bishop Baker and Joyce Bennett mentioned the perceived injustice of ordaining two much junior male deacons while not ordaining the much more senior and well-respected Deaconess Jane Hwang.<sup>27</sup>

In Bishop Baker's address to the Synod of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau to solicit its support to women's ordination, he mentioned the "exceptional position" of Hong Kong, where there was already the presence of outstanding Christian women leaders in society. One of these early outstanding members would have been Mrs. Ma Fok Hing Tong (馬霍慶棠), the daughter of Rev. Fok Ching Shan (霍靜山), one of the earliest Chinese ordained pastors of the Hong Kong Anglican Church. Nurtured in the Anglican Church as a child, Fok Hin Tong grew up to be one of the chief leaders of the anti-*mui tsai* (妹仔, girl servant) campaign and the founder of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Hong Kong in the 1930s.<sup>28</sup> Another obvious example Baker would have had in mind must be Ellen Li (李曹秀群), a member of the Church of Christ in China and a contemporary of his, who was the first woman justice of the peace (1948), the first woman legislative councilor (1966–1973), the first Chinese woman appointed to the Urban Council (1964–1969), and a key social advocate of women's rights and equal pay of the period. One of her main achievements was the abolition of concubinage and the revision of the marriage law in Hong Kong in 1971. Echoing the comments of Bishop Hall more than twenty years before, Bishop Baker referred to the presence of outstanding women leadership in Hong Kong as "characteristic of modern Chinese society."<sup>29</sup>

The repeated contrast between China and the West seems to carry a specific historical undertone. In Joyce Bennett's autobiography, published in 2003, she indicates she somehow learned about the objection to Li Tim Oi's ordination in 1946 coming mainly from the Western bishops of CHSKH.<sup>30</sup> Probably because of the reluctant position of the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church on the question of women's order, the tension between Chinese and

English priests on the subject was subtly felt. Coincided with an interview with Rev. Mary Au, who recalled that Erik Kvan from St. John's Cathedral was very vocal in opposing the ordination of Jane Hwang—she remarks, “there was basically overwhelming support, except for one or two voices such as his.”<sup>31</sup> In Rev. J. W. Foster's reply to the bishop on the question of women's ordination, he too specifically mentioned that “one or two members of the council were not able to accept the proposal. . . . Two Chinese members of the Council said emphatically that they would have no objection at all.”<sup>32</sup> Except for the objection of a few whose names need further investigation, overall the Chinese responses were reported to be enthusiastically supportive. Bennett, a Londoner and yet a fluent Cantonese speaker, highlighted emphatically her experience of being warmly received by her Chinese colleagues and Chinese congregation members everywhere she went. In her biography, she stated:

I do not honestly believe that to the vast majority of our Chinese Church members it is a matter of relevance, as they worship in a service of Holy Communion, whether the priest is a man or woman.<sup>33</sup>

A picture emerged of some sporadic Western resistance to an overwhelmingly Chinese acceptance of women into full ministry. How much or why some of these Western members of the church remained adamant against women's ordination was not very clear. The most probable reason, I suggest, was their intention to align with the position of the Church of England at the time, the church that carried the primary burden of defense for an age-old traditional practice. Nevertheless, I find the way the Chinese context was repeatedly lifted up as the “exceptional position” for the initiation of the change interesting. What did they—Bishop Hall and Bishop Baker, both Englishmen—mean when they alluded to a Chinese culture and tradition that values women highly? This contradicted the picture painted by many well-circulated accounts of Chinese women of the time. To be exact, it was the plight of the Chinese women, among other “social ills,” that gave Western missionaries the legitimation to expand their evangelistic campaigns in China from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.<sup>34</sup> As agreed by Baker himself, Christianity has had a profound influence on the emancipation of women—not the least in China—throughout the centuries.<sup>35</sup> What did he mean, then, when he referred to the Chinese society as one that had higher respect for women? This ambivalence regarding Chinese women and Christianity could probably be better reframed from an intercultural perspective as proposed by Carl Smith, a historian of early Hong Kong.

In Smith's early thesis on the marginality of Hong Kong Christians, he provided a more nuanced historical analysis for this mixed feeling between East and West in Hong Kong. Rather than a submissive adoption of an imperialistic religion, the Hong Kong Christian community had served as a unique

space for the Chinese Christians to straddle the boundaries of East and West. Given the distance from their home villages on the Mainland, many of the early Hong Kong converts felt less bound by the traditional social and cultural structures and instead felt free to take part in the new social organisms such as the church.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the “benefits” of belonging both to a culturally marginalized community of China and to a politically privileged religious group in Hong Kong provided a valuable opportunity for Chinese Christians to negotiate between the traditional values they acquired and the alternative values arising from the modern society, including that of gender equality. The impact on women began to unfold in the early twentieth century and most vividly in the seventies with the maturation of Christian educated women. This is precisely the background for the emergence of Chinese Christian women leaders such as Fok Hing Tong in the 1930s and Ellen Li from the 1960s to 1970s, who led some of the earliest social movements against women’s discrimination. Indeed, as shown in the writings of *Happy Family* (《快樂家庭》), a Christian magazine published by the Chinese Christian Literature Society (香港基督教文藝出版社) in the 1970s, there was a strong campaign initiated by Christian elite women for gender egalitarianism in women and family at the time.<sup>37</sup> Having learned about Western modern values through Christian education in China and Hong Kong, Chinese Christians were generally open to the liberal attitudes and changing gender values at the time. This probably also explains why most of the member churches were relatively open minded in their response to Bishop Baker’s consultation paper on the ordination of women. Rather than referring to the patriarchal tradition of the Chinese family, their responses had actually adopted much of the modern rhetoric of gender equality.<sup>38</sup> In the increasingly modernized society of Hong Kong, it would not be surprising to discover that egalitarian values were widely held by the new rising middle class in the churches of the 1970s as part of their identity. In short, the Chinese transition from traditional to modern and the reinvention of a Chinese identity between East and West had provided an ideological framework for the creative appropriation of the two cultures by Chinese Christian men and women in the twentieth century. In Bishop Baker’s words, this pertained to a syncretic mixture of Chinese tradition and Cantonese progressiveness that allowed flexibility in the interpretation of the Anglican order when it came to women’s ordination.

However, in my analysis there is yet another crucial Chinese or, more accurately, Hong Kong factor that contributes to the adoption of the proposal to ordain women to the Anglican priesthood in 1971. Having learned from the previous charge of Bishop Hall’s action to be *ultra vires*, Bishop Baker went step by step by the canonical order to prepare the ground for an “orderly” ordination of the two deaconesses in the Hong Kong Diocese. As a new bishop, Baker recalled his observation of the changed climate of opinion in the 1968

Lambeth Conference, which agreed to accept women's ordination in principle. A commission report led by the Archbishop of Canterbury anticipated that the ordination of women would come eventually and recommended that member churches conduct a careful study of the subject. In the summer of 1969, Baker set up a small working party to study the question, and all members reported that they could see no reason against women's ordination. Toward the end of 1969, Baker sent out a paper to the parishes, outlining as far as possible the pros and cons on the whole subject, and every parish vestry or council was asked to reply in two months. Except for St. Mark's Church of Macau, which was particularly concerned with the relationship with the Catholics in the then-Portuguese colony, all other parishes showed keen support (some with conditions) for the ordination of women to the priesthood. In January 1970, the diocesan synod met and debated the subject. A resolution was passed with 67 in favor, 8 against, and 17 abstentions. The result was referred to the ACC for approval in early 1971.<sup>39</sup>

The ACC, which met for the first time in February 1971, declared that it was acceptable for a bishop to ordain a woman if his national church or province approved. Bishop Baker, who had received the support of his synod, considered the first hurdle crossed. Then the proposal was put forward to CCSEA, a nonbinding consultative body serving as the custodian of the constitution of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, which met soon after in April. When this council, for diplomatic reasons, stated that it did not support or oppose the proposal from Hong Kong, Bishop Baker, the bishop of the "detached" and only active diocese of the nonoperative province of CHSKH, was left to decide alone. He thought about it over the summer and decided that, immediately after the diocesan synod in November, he would proceed with the ordinations of Jane Hwang and Joyce Bennett, together with three young men, during Advent. On the day, November 28, 1971, St. John's Cathedral was packed full to overflowing. According to later reports, the response was tremendously positive from the diocese. In the observation of Bishop Baker, the older people there who had witnessed the failed experiment of Florence Li in the 1940s were happy to see her ordination affirmed at last.<sup>40</sup>

There is a clear distinction between the process that Bishop Baker took and that of Bishop Hall. While it was practically impossible for Bishop Hall to go through all the canonical debate and revision during wartime, Bishop Baker was able to chart out his path procedurally. He did everything according to the canon and order of the Anglican Communion of the time, with the full knowledge that he had a much better chance to succeed. While the approval of Li Tim Oi's ordination required Bishop Hall to gain the support of the Province of the Anglican Church of China amid the subtle tensions between the Chinese and the missionary bishops, Bishop Baker had only the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau to consult. When the ACC and CCSEA resolved to respect the

self-governing nature of the province so that each could make its own decision on women's ordination, Bishop Baker had only himself to consult to reach a final decision. In short, when the House of Bishops of the CHSKH voted in opposition in 1947, Bishop Hall had no chance of success even though his own diocese supported it. On the contrary, once the ACC and CCSEA resolved to leave it to the province, and since the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau was the only diocese in operation in the province of CHSKH, Bishop Baker became fully autonomous once the support of his synod was secured. In this respect, the unique position of Hong Kong was therefore its detachment from CHSKH as an independent diocese without a province. Unlike the unfortunate turn of events in 1947, the Chinese factor this time was a de facto obsolete provincial structure due to the Chinese political situation, which left the diocesan synod self-sufficient.

### The Best Candidates

This unique position of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau would not have given rise to its pioneering role in women's ordination if there had been no women ready to take on the "experiment" themselves. The availability of "the best candidates," as Wong Wai Yin Christina (黃慧賢) calls it, was essential for



**Figure 6.1** The five women priests of the HKSCH at the tenth anniversary of the ordination of Rev. Joyce Bennett and Rev. Jane Hwang, St. Catherine's School for Girls, 1981. From left to right: Rev. Mary Au, Rev. Joyce Bennett, Rev. Florence Li, Rev. Jane Hwang, Rev. Pauline Shek. Courtesy of HKSCH Religious Education Resource Centre.



the successful persuasion of church members to support women's ordination. These best candidates must not only demonstrate exceptional faith commitment and distinguished working abilities but also an attitude of dedication whether or not they carried the ordained titles.<sup>41</sup> In her early study, Wong suggested that the mere presence of such a potential "candidate" would provide the ground for a serious debate and discussion to take place among the church leaders and the congregation concerned and inevitably lead to the initiation of a process, formal and informal, to consider the first women's ordination in their respective churches.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, these potential "candidates" were effectively doing everything that ordained ministers were doing (except the official celebrant roles in some liturgical churches) but without the title. Rev. Lin Pui Ying was such a case who, at the time of her ordination in 1979, had already served the church for many years since the death of her husband, the original minister.<sup>43</sup> An even earlier case was Rev. Lee Ching Chi, the first woman priest of the Hong Kong Council of the Church of Christ in China (HKCCCC), ordained in 1966. She had served as an education missionary and taught for some years in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom before she was invited back by Rev. Peter Wong, the then general secretary of HKCCCC, to be ordained.<sup>44</sup> Before their ordinations, both Lee and Lin were already experienced leaders who had offered themselves to serve the mission of the church as laypeople.

There were similarities between these cases and those of the five first Anglican women priests of Hong Kong. All of the five, Florence Li, Jane Hwang, Joyce Bennett, Pauline Shek, and Mary Au, offered themselves to be "the best candidates" for consideration before women's ordination was canonically approved. Especially for the first three, Li, Hwang, and Bennett, their "availability" to be ordained to the priestly order had "pushed" the worldwide Anglican Communion to make the first exceptions. In retrospect, the Chinese context of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, in which these first five women grew and worked, was a determining factor.

Though not initially envisaging women's ordination herself, Florence Li was used to meeting with visiting women missionaries at her home in Aberdeen, Hong Kong, when she was young. Describing herself as being "born into the old feudalism and the new age,"<sup>45</sup> she shunned the traditional Chinese elitist family (with eight grandmothers and two mothers) that she grew up in and went for the embrace of the "new age." She was deeply impressed by new ideas and thinking and was attracted to Christianity as the modern way of life.<sup>46</sup> From her early days, she was sure that she did not look forward to marriage because she "had so many other ideas."<sup>47</sup> She went to study at a Christian secondary school in Hong Kong and learned about Florence Nightingale, who devoted her life to serve the needy and the sick. At the ordination of Lucy Vincent to the diaconate in 1931 when Bishop Mok called for men and women to dedicate themselves to the service of God, she was ready to respond. Further

encouraged by Canon Tso Tze Fong, her rector, and Dr. Kunckle, the principal of Union Theological College in Canton, Li started her theological study and her long and rugged journey in ministry.<sup>48</sup>

Apparently, the transition between the old (traditional) Chinese culture and the new Western values mediated by Christianity and Christian education had provided immense opportunities to young women such as Li to follow a path different from that of their Chinese foremothers. Missionaries and Chinese pastors in Hong Kong at the time had apparently retained a comfortable distance from the Chinese customs of “respecting men and demeaning women” (*nanzun nubei*) and urged young women to come forth instead. As Canon Tso told Li, “Only one Chinese girl has been to a theological college, one is not enough.”<sup>49</sup> In Li’s memory, there were a lot of people offering her encouragement. Whoever these many people were, there seemed to be no restriction in their mind as to what girls should do in terms of further study or offering themselves to serve God. This was quite exceptional considering the percentage of illiterate women was 41.8 percent in 1961 and that of tertiary-educated women was only 4.1 percent in 1981.<sup>50</sup> Smith’s thesis on the unforeseen “benefits” of the peculiar position of Hong Kong Christians is again helpful here. Because of their “double” marginality of being Chinese away from China and Christians of the Chinese churches, they could manipulate the gulf between Chinese and Christian traditions to address the practical issues they faced. This is probably why the Chinese Christian women could fight for the freedom of slave girl servants in the 1930s and for the abolition of polygamy in 1970s in Hong Kong. Because it did not submissively adopt an imperialistic religion and because it lived with the ambiguity of being between the old and the new, the East and the West, the Hong Kong Christian community served as a unique space for women to negotiate their participation in new social and ecclesiastical roles.

Jane Hwang was, too, a conscientious young woman responding to the call of her time to serve the larger society. Unlike Li, who grew up in a Christian family surrounded mostly by Christian friends and teachers, Hwang was born into a Chinese elitist family, in which her grandmother was eager to discipline her to learn the “women’s art” in preparation for marriage. In resistance, she converted to Christianity in her first year in St. Paul’s Secondary School and followed the role model of her teacher to pursue an independent life.<sup>51</sup>

My family does not approve anything [I do], but having been influenced by Christianity I would reject anything unreasonable. I have been fighting all my life, fighting against the old traditions of China and the family. . . . The greatest lesson I learnt from my biblical teachers was . . . to make choices, not according to what people say but what God says.<sup>52</sup>

Whereas Li found her inspiration in the dedication of Nightingale and Vincent, Hwang found hers in Li. She aimed originally to be a biblical teacher, but,



when she learned about the resignation of Florence Li, she felt the call to be a woman priest instead.<sup>53</sup> "I always believe in gender equality, the old regulations need be dropped so that change made possible for the capable."<sup>54</sup> Indeed, she believed in equality between men and women not only in terms of opportunity but also capability. "It is utmost important to find the 'best candidate' to be ordained to the priesthood; if [one] doesn't fit, even he's a man won't help."<sup>55</sup> Indeed, Hwang proved herself to be not only as capable as a man but even more so.<sup>56</sup> When Bishop Hall invited her to be ordained a deaconess in 1958, she knew that he had in mind that women's ordination would come one day and that she would be ready. "Influence [of women] is huge. . . . [T]heir influence is actually bigger than that of men."<sup>57</sup>

Joyce Bennett experienced the intercultural context of Hong Kong from a British perspective. She came from a butcher's family in London. Like her Chinese sisters, she had a love for learning and wanted to be a teacher. During her university years she too was caught up with the progressive spirit of her time and decided to dedicate herself to the mission of the church. The difference between Bennett and both Li and Hwang was that, rather than being drawn to work in her home church, Bennett's choice was to be an overseas missionary. She joined the Church Missionary Society and arrived in Hong Kong when she was only twenty-six. For the next thirty-four years she served in an extensive range of fields in Hong Kong society. Because of its colonial administration, Hong Kong provided immense opportunities for Bennett to exercise her leadership in a wide range of areas, including the church, education, social services, and the legislature. This variety would most probably not have been available to her at home. As a Westerner she was warmly welcomed by the rising professions in Hong Kong in both Christian education and government functions such as the Legislative Council and the Independent Commission against Corruption. As a missionary, she grounded herself well in the postwar community of Hong Kong, serving as a bridge for the facilitation of resources for the poor and the late mainland settlers. Like Li and Hwang, she was drafted to take on the pressing demands of the time and developed into an all-around leader.

Like Li and Hwang, Pauline Shek and Mary Au were fine products of Western Christian education in Hong Kong. Shek was born in 1930 in Hong Kong and was educated at Heep Yunn Primary School and then, for her secondary schooling, at Maryknoll Convent School. She was acutely aware of the difficulties of a traditional Chinese marriage when she witnessed how her mother was trapped and suffered in it. Despite her suitor's efforts, married life had never been her goal. Rather, she loved drama since her primary years and enjoyed the roles of freelance writer and playwright. Her Christian school education exposed her to world classical literature, and she turned many books into theater scripts. She was quite conscious of her forthright and rebellious personality. She was not

afraid to confront her superiors, including the teachers and nuns at school and the interviewing panel and dean of her theology college.<sup>58</sup> Before the official decision to ordain Hwang and Bennett was reached, she even wrote an essay under a pseudonym in *Echo* to hold the HKSKH Women's Service League responsible for any delay in women's ordination, given their seeming indifference to the matter.<sup>59</sup> She obviously offended the leaders of the league, whose chairperson replied with a strong open letter to the bishop.<sup>60</sup> "She has a strong personality and was quite herself most of the time," commented Au.<sup>61</sup> She demonstrated, through her life and writing, the free spirit of a single woman in a transition period in Hong Kong rather than the fate her mother had suffered.

When Shek was ordained in 1973, two years after Hwang and Bennett, disputes remained about women's ordination in other churches in the Anglican Communion. When Mary Au was ordained in 1977, the matter had just begun to be resolved a little in North America in the Anglican/Episcopal Churches of Canada and the United States. This debate on women's ordination had a direct impact on Au. Unlike the others, Au was physically "close" to the church by growing up on a church campus. Her father was the parish treasurer, and the family resided right next to the rector's home at the Church of Our Savior at Guangzhou. In the 1950s, when Au was about ten, Florence Li was teaching at the Union Theological College, and Au would see her riding a bicycle to the church every week. "Everybody called her Reverend Li, none would call her Deacon. . . . Although we knew that she was not recognized [as a priest], . . . denial of her office was one thing, her duty performance was another."<sup>62</sup> As much as Li's controversial ordination had inspired Hwang, her personal knowledge of Li left just as deep an impression on Au. "Why can't a woman be a priest? That's where I am going!"<sup>63</sup> Her father did not like the idea: "Why should a girl like you be a priest?"<sup>64</sup>

Despite her father's reluctance, Au studied theology and prepared to be a priest after the family moved to Hong Kong. There she met Hwang, who became another role model for her. Hwang was then a deaconess and was highly respected by her colleagues and the congregation for her strong capabilities and personal charisma. Referring to Hwang's and Bennett's battle for women's ordination, Au said, "I would probably fight it even more fiercely if I were [caught in their times]."<sup>65</sup> She was particularly proud to join a lecture tour to South Africa, traveling from one province to another, explaining her work as an ordained woman priest. The Anglican Church of South Africa approved women's ordination a year after her visit, and Bishop Tutu personally thanked her when they met later in Thailand. "There was much misunderstanding about the Bible in the past . . . that society was 'Adam-centred.' Today God calls us to expand our horizon . . . only when the Church advances toward gender equality will sisters be fully supported to serve God."<sup>66</sup>

No doubt all five women were extremely able and dedicated well before their ordination to the priesthood. Florence Li served in All Saints Church of Kowloon from 1938 as a lay preacher and was made a deaconess in 1941. During the war, when she had successfully demonstrated her exemplary pastoral and organizational abilities in serving the thriving refugee congregation in Macau, she was invited by Bishop Hall to be ordained to the priesthood in 1944.<sup>67</sup> Jane Hwang was assigned to be a primary school principal in 1957 and then made a deaconess in 1958 to take charge of St. Thomas Church in a primarily resettlement area. She subsequently served as the primary school principal at Tsz Wan Shan, another low-income resettlement area, and as the pastor-in-charge of Holy Trinity Church in 1967. She was ordained in 1971 after fourteen years of industrious ministry with schools, social services, and parishes, showcasing exceptional dedication and leadership.<sup>68</sup> Joyce Bennett was prepared to work in education when she joined the Church Missionary Society for overseas missionary training in 1947. She started her education ministry at St. Stephen's Girls' College in 1949 and was made a deaconess by Bishop Hall in 1962. She had served in several schools and parishes before she was appointed in 1967 the founding principal of St. Catharine's School for Girls and was ordained a priest together with Hwang in 1971.<sup>69</sup> Pauline Shek served faithfully as a school chaplain and religious studies teacher for thirteen years before she retired early to take care of her sick mother. She returned to her theater ministry while assisting two church rectors in later years. Mary Au was school chaplain for Bishop Hall Jubilee School, curator of the construction of the Holy Trinity Church School, the rector of Kindly Light Church, and the rector of Calvary Church. She served with a number of bodies including the Women's League, the Youth Committee, the Career Office, and as an executive member of the Hong Kong Chinese Christian Union.

If there was something distinctive about the Chinese context of Hong Kong in the mid-twentieth century, it was the right time and the right place for the emergence of these women who were ready to leave the "old times" behind and search for new opportunities to test their abilities. In their experience, all five women found in Hong Kong newly gained freedom for following paths in studying, working, and taking up leadership roles that their mothers would not have been allowed or supported to take. Just as Bishop Baker observed, there was indeed the presence of a progressive spirit in both Hong Kong and Guangdong, particularly insofar as women's career development was concerned. Despite their fathers' "humble" imaginations of their daughters becoming teachers and nurses—some of the rising women's professions of the "modern" time—these young women in the face of a new era had their own dreams and were ready to pursue them when given the chance. Despite the war and the transitions between political regimes and cultures of Hong Kong and China, these five women grasped the best of the times and filled those gaps

within society and the churches. In the cases of Li, Hwang, and Bennett, they provided the expertise and the labor for a society in great demand of social and economic development. It was not surprising to learn that they became founders of new churches, schools, and social services in the resettlement areas where increasing pressures for education and pastoral care were felt. And their good foundational work was continued and extended by able followers such as Shek and Au. Because of the government's colonial background, churches played an immense role in facilitating social and human resources to address the needs of the community, and able women and men were in high demand. As such, dedicated and well-trained women, such as the five I have discussed here, were like special gifts sent by God to Hong Kong for social reconstruction after the war.

As well the intercultural context providing much room for the imagining and acceptance of women into the ordained ministry, a unique element in all five women's narratives was essential to their being "the best candidates" for the Chinese churches—the fact that they were all *invited* to be ordained. From the beginning for Rev. Lee Ching Chi or Rev. Lin Pui Ying, "invitation to ordination" had served as an important catalyst in their journeys in ministry. In each case, a faithful woman already in service was *invited* to ordination by the top leader of her church—the general secretary for one and the chairing presbyter for the other. The first five Anglican women priests in CHSKH were each invited by their bishops, Hall and Baker, respectively. They were first sent to study theology and then approached to take on the challenge of pioneering women's ordained ministry. To some extent, this was done even prior to an emergence of theological debate and discussion in the churches of Hong Kong.<sup>70</sup>

Florence Li never asked to be ordained priest. She was granted exceptional permission to administer the Holy Communion and to consecrate the elements for the wartime congregation in Macau by Bishop Mok. She was then informed by Bishop Hall of his revolutionary decision and was asked to travel through the Japanese-occupied area to China for the ordination. Although she was ready to accept the call, it was nonetheless an initiative made by others. For Hwang and Bennett, they were aware of Hall's intention and Baker's strong support for ordination but were similarly aware of the difficulties Li faced and the heated debate on women's ordination around the world. Each was sure that she wanted to dedicate her life in the service of the church, but neither set her goals on ordination before she was approached.<sup>71</sup> The same applied to Shek because, like Hwang, she intended to work as a teacher of the Bible. This was actually the answer she gave in her diaconate candidacy examination when Archdeacon Cheung Shiu Kwai (張紹桂) questioned her motives.<sup>72</sup> The only one who said she would "fight" for it was Au, who was ordained with the existence of precedents.

Despite their clear vision of dedicating themselves to the service of God when young, all five women offered themselves to be full-time servants of God without women's ordination in sight. In some ways, these "best candidates" should not be seen as asking for ordination. In Wong's study, whether or not a potential candidate for ordination was actively seeking ordination could become a crucial criterion for consideration. It would understandably become the main talking point in the congregation and could be turned into a negative evaluation if the candidate was seen as lobbying for ordination. In some cases, the candidate concerned would be accused of manipulating and dividing the members of the congregation or putting pressure on the church council inappropriately. When that happened, not only would the candidate be evaluated as not meek or humble enough but would also be characterized as self-interested and power hungry.<sup>73</sup>

This question of who initiated the process seemed to be particularly important in the context of the Chinese churches. Faithful and dedicated fellow Christian workers in the church were not expected to ask for material rewards or titles for institutional recognition. In interviews conducted with three ordained women in the 1980s, the researchers concluded that there was a strong and subtle tendency to "serve without asking" expressed by all the interviewees. They all shied away from claiming any ambition to progress in the ecclesiastical order and professed to be more interested in the internal substance of matters rather than external status such as titles or institutional positions. The usual Chinese prioritization of one's qualities by meekness and humbleness was apparently at work in the background. Like the Chinese saying, "the leading bird gets shot" (槍打出頭鳥), people are not expected to stand out from the others. Anyone who stands out would likely become a target of attack because of the threats she was perceived to be bringing to the mediocre people.

Indeed in the case of Jane Hwang, against whom a letter of opposition to Bishop Baker was filed by her supposed anonymous "congregation in majority," the accusation was about her manipulation of her parish council to advance her goal to be ordained. As laid out in the letter, Hwang's alleged offense was primarily her craving for power, a criticism much more elaborated than the short and brief theological reasons at the end.<sup>74</sup> Despite Hwang's belief in equality between men and women, in Au's recollection, Hwang would have been content to stay as a deaconess if not for Bennett's encouragement. Bennett was the one who would say "why not?" and the two encouraged and supported one another.<sup>75</sup> In her interview in the 1980s, Hwang personally confessed that, although she was aware of the movement for women's ordination in the Church of England at the time she was ordained, she did not pay attention to it. "It was their fight, I don't fight."<sup>76</sup>

Having experienced the feminist movement in the United Kingdom during her university years, Bennett was more determined to raise her voice for the sake of fairness and justice:

I believe that here in Hong Kong more women are not coming forward to ordination as Deaconesses since they see the anomalous position of their beloved Jane Hwang. They see her Vicar of one of our largest and oldest parishes, but without the right to pronounce, in a formal manner, the loosening from sins, which her parishioners have confessed. How foolish can the Church get when the most junior male member of the clergy can receive this privilege of ordination to the priesthood, but when this is denied to one far more respected and with far wider experience and with years of communicating to others the spiritual gifts of our Lord.<sup>77</sup>

Even so, Bennett grew more outspoken only after the positive resolutions of the Lambeth Conference in 1968 when women's ordination was no longer ruled out in the Anglican order.<sup>78</sup> Even after her ordination, when she was asked by a journalist her views regarding the women's ordination movement in the United States where eleven Philadelphia women were refused ordination by their bishops, she was careful to draw a line between the movement toward women priests and that of women's liberation. She was doubtful whether women should "pursue ordination regardless of the circumstances."<sup>79</sup> In other words, instead of women fighting against the institutional authority, she believed in the rolling out of women's ordination via institutional process. In the case of Hong Kong, it was initiated by the bishops (Hall and Baker) in accordance to Anglican procedures and order.

When Bennett responded to the journalists, saying, "We were different [from the American women]," she might sound conservative, but this was consistent with the Chinese way of doing things in that none, man or woman, should present themselves or fight for ordination actively. "The best candidates," so to speak, did not ask for ordination but were ready when the specific time and space came. Florence Li Tim Oi's outstanding service and ministry, carried out at a particular time of war on an island of migrants and refugees, made a strong case for the first trial of ordination. Then Jane Hwang Hsien Yuen, deceptively mild but decisive, commanding the respect of all clergy, gave rise to another case. Then followed Joyce Bennett, an active and knowledgeable role model for Christian influence in public affairs, and Pauline Shek Wing Suet, creative and talented in drama, fully devoted to evangelical work among students and young people. Lastly Mary Au, the youngest of the five, who took pride in her possession of a pure serving heart, never once attracting doubt of her life of dedication and service. In Baker's mind, they were strong candidates to consider for ordination at a time of uncertainty regarding women in the priesthood.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, these five first Anglican women priests were not only scrutinized by the church and the public of Hong Kong for their good

performance, there was constant media attention of their life and work even after their ordinations. And because of the progressive stance of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau, Jane Hwang, Joyce Bennett, and Mary Au served as “ambassadors,” giving witness to the worldwide Anglican Communion and the other churches to the equal if not higher physical and spiritual capacity of the women priests. Bennett recalled the warm reception she received from the Catholic churches and the eventual friendship built up between her and Catholic bishops and nuns. Her presence succeeded in building a bridge between the two. Au was informed by a woman priest from South Africa that her earlier visit to that country had helped to bring to fruition the subsequent approval of women’s ordination there. This was one example of the distinctive contribution that CHSKH brought to the Anglican Communion by taking the first steps to change and to pioneer love and equality. Given the turbulent years of controversy around women’s ordination in the Anglican Communion at the time, a decisive moment for each of these five women was whether or not she herself believed that the ordination of women into the Holy Order of priesthood was of divine will. In those moments of decision, in which they were called to take up the role of women priests in the Anglican Church, their response was a definite yes.

## Notes

1. After the arrival of Rev. Vincent Stanton as colonial chaplain in 1843, the Diocese of Victoria was established in Hong Kong in 1849 with the Right Reverend George Smith serving as the first bishop. With the growth of the Chinese congregation, the Chinese Anglican Church in Hong Kong became part of the Diocese of South China, which held its first synod in 1913, under the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (中華聖公會, CHSKH) which was established as the Anglican-Episcopal Province of China in 1912. Due to political changes in mainland China, CHSKH ceased to exist in 1949, and the Anglican Church in Hong Kong formally departed from the Diocese of South China in 1951, and the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau (both Chinese and English) was established to continue the ministry of these two regions. <http://www.hkskh.org/content.aspx?id=12&lang=1> (accessed February 12, 2016).
2. 麥肖玲、蔡寶瓊、李紫霞：〈基督教與婦女——三位女牧師專訪〉，《性別研究資訊》，1992年第三期：2。[Mak Chiu Ling, Choi Po King, and Li Tsz Ha, “Christianity and Women—Interview with Three Woman Priests” *Gender Studies: News & Views* 3 (1992): 2.]
3. On July 29, 1974, eleven women deacons presented themselves to Bishops Corrigan, DeWitt, and Welles, who ordained them as priests at the Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia, whose rector, Paul Washington, was a civil rights advocate. On August 14–15, Presiding Bishop John Allin convened an emergency meeting of the House of Bishops, which declared the priestly ordinations of the eleven women to be invalid. The women became known as the “Philadelphia Eleven.” See David



- Hein and Gardiner H. Shattuck Jr., *The Episcopalians* (New York: Church, 2004), 142.
4. In Gilbert Baker's essay, "An Episcopal Account of Women Priests," he mentions that the question "Why was Hong Kong the first diocese to ordain women to the priesthood?" was often asked of him (5). The essay was originally included in *Yes to Women Priests*, ed. Bishop Hugh Montifiore (Essex, UK: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1978), permitted to be republished on <http://www.womenpriests.org/classic/montef05.asp> (accessed June 10, 2015).
  5. Mavis Rose, *Freedom from Sanctified Sexism—Women Transforming the Church* (MacGregor, Australia: Allira, 1996), 129.
  6. Rose, *Freedom from Sanctified Sexism*, 16.
  7. Anglican Consultative Council, "Resolutions 66–71," *The Lambeth Conference: Resolutions Archive from 1930*, Anglican Communion Office, 2005. <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/127734/1930.pdf> (accessed April 11, 2016).
  8. Rose, *Freedom from Sanctified Sexism*, 138.
  9. David M. Paton, "R. O.": *The Life and Times of Bishop Ronald Hall of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Diocese of Hong Kong and Macao; Hong Kong Diocesan Association, 1985), 135.
  10. Rose, *Freedom from Sanctified Sexism*, 142.
  11. *Ibid.*, 145.
  12. Bishop Baker, "Ordination of Women," December 4, 1969, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
  13. In his recollection, Bishop Baker said he understood why the decision of "withheld advice" was made by the neighboring dioceses, citing their respective allegiance to the Episcopal Church of USA (for the Taiwan and Philippine Episcopal Churches) and Canterbury (other Anglican dioceses in Southeast Asia). Because of the special status of the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau at the time, Baker remembered he was actually "left to decide alone." See Gilbert Baker, "An Episcopal Account of Women Priests," <http://www.womenpriests.org/classic/montef05.asp> (accessed February 27, 2016).
  14. Rose, *Freedom from Sanctified Sexism*, 147.
  15. See Jan Pierce and Sue Pierce, "A Chronology of Events Concerning Women in Holy Orders in the Episcopal Church, USA and the world-wide Anglican Communion," 2, accessed at [pam.darling@att.net](mailto:pam.darling@att.net) and <http://pam.darling.home.att.net/index.html> (accessed May 30, 2015).
  16. Pierce and Pierce, "Chronology of Events," 1–2.
  17. See Philip Wickeri's chapter in this volume, "The Ordination and Ministry of Li Tim Oi: A Historical Perspective on a Singular Event," 107–27.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. Bishop Hall to the Diocesan Synod, May 1946, BHA, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
  20. In an informal comment, Philip Wickeri doubted whether Bishop Hall knew enough about Chinese culture to make a fair judgment on its progressiveness. In his opinion, Hall was an Orientalist, without much access to the culture. In other words, Hall's comment here on Chinese culture cannot be taken at face value.



21. The Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Kong Yuet, "On the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," 1947, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
22. Ibid.
23. Wickeri, "The Ordination and Ministry of Li Tim Oi," 108.
24. *South China Morning Post*, December 14, 1931. Note that it is only in Romans 16 that Paul uses the Greek word *ekklesia*, which means "local church," and Phoebe is closely associated with it.
25. Wickeri, "The Ordination and Ministry of Li Tim Oi," 110. The Diocesan Synod of the Diocese of Kong Yuet, "On the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," 1947, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
26. They were Thomas Chow (周榮富), Chan Hin Cheung (陳衍昌), and David Yue (茹季坤). See Letter, Bishop Baker, November 9, 1971, *Ordination of Women Jan–Dec 1971*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 2, HKSKH Archives.
27. Deaconess J. M. Bennett to Bishop Gilbert Baker, April 19, 1969, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
28. See Wong Wai Ching Angela, "Negotiating Gender Identity: Postcolonialism and Christianity in Hong Kong," in *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalization, Postcolonialism and Chinese Patriarchy*, ed. Eliza Lee (Vancouver: British Columbia University Press, 2004), 151–76.
29. Baker, "An Episcopal Account of Women Priests," 2.
30. Joyce M. Bennett, *This God Business* (Hong Kong: Religious Education Resource Centre, 2003), 254.
31. Interview with Rev. Mary Au, May 9, 2015.
32. "Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," J. W. Foster to Bishop Gilbert Baker, December 22, 1969, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
33. Joyce Bennett, "Impressions of a Woman Priest," in *Women Priests? Yes—Now!* ed. Harold Wilson (Nutfield: Denholm House Press, 1975), 88–96.
34. See Jessie G. Lutz, *Mission Dilemmas: Bride Price, Minor Marriage, Concubinage, Infanticide, and Education of Women*, Occasional Publication No. 16 (New Haven, CT: Yale Divinity School Library, 2002).
35. "Bishop of Hong Kong Tells Reasons behind Ordination of Women," *Virginia Churchman* (January 1972): 9.
36. Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), 185.
37. 馬慧儀：《香港社會轉變中基督徒對性、婚姻及家庭的態度改變》（香港崇基學院神學院神道學士論文，2008）。[Ma Wai Yee, "The Transformation of Christian Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and Family in the Social Change of Hong Kong," unpublished MTh thesis, Divinity School of Chung Chi College, Hong Kong, 2008.]
38. See response letters on women's ordination from twenty-one churches in Hong Kong to Bishop Gilbert Baker, December 22 to January 13, 1970–1971, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
39. Baker, "Episcopal Account of Women's Priests," 6–7.
40. Ibid., 7–8.

41. See 黃慧賢：《女牧師在按立過程中的「抗衡表現」：以香港四個基督教宗派為例》（香港中文大學碩士論文，2001），第三章。[Wong Wai Yin, "Women in Resistance: Four Denominational Studies on Women's Ordination in Hong Kong," (unpublished MPhil Thesis, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001), chapter 3.]
42. See *ibid.*, 66–73.
43. 香港婦女基督徒協會研究小組：《香港華人女牧師按立歷史之研究及反省》（香港：香港婦女基督徒協會，1993），頁3。[Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, "A Study and Reflection on the History of the Ordination of Chinese Women Priests in Hong Kong" (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Women's Christian Council, 1993), 3.]
44. Mak, Choi, and Li, "Christianity and Women," 2.
45. Ted Harrison, *Much Beloved Daughter: The Story of Florence Li* (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow, 1985), 8.
46. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
47. *Ibid.*, 7.
48. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
49. *Ibid.*, 17.
50. 王于漸：〈香港婦女對子女需求之經濟分析〉，載邢慕寰、金耀基編：《香港之發展經驗》（香港：香港中文大學，1985），頁144。[Wong Yue Chim Richard, "The Economic Paradigm of Women's Expectation of Children in Hong Kong," in *The Development Experience of Hong Kong*, ed. Xing Muhuan and Ambrose King (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1985), 144.]
51. Hwang Hsien-yun, "A Journal of the First Anglican Woman Priest," *Message: HKCC Newsletter* 57 (March 1983): 5.
52. Mak, Choi, and Li, "Christianity and Women," 2.
53. Hwang, "Journal of the First Anglican Woman Priest," 5.
54. Mak, Choi, and Li, "Christianity and Women," 2.
55. Hwang Hsien-yun et al., "Seminar for Men and Women Pastors: Does 'Woman Priest' Work?" *Message: HKCC Newsletter* 57 (March 1983): 2–4.
56. Before Jane Hwang returned to join the Anglican Church, she founded True Light Middle School for Girls in Hong Kong. She then served as the founding principal of St. Thomas Primary School in Shek Kip Mei, 1957–1976, and Yue Wing Primary School in Tze Wan Shan from 1967, while serving as the school chaplain of the Bishop Hall Jubilee School, the founding pastor-in-church of St. Thomas Church and Kindly Light Church, and a vicar of the Holy Trinity Church, together with setting up the Holy Trinity Secondary School at the same time. These have not taken into account the many services she initiated during her various offices, including kindergartens, literacy classes, and foster care services for the children and youth of poor families. See Hwang, "Journal of the First Anglican Woman Priest," 5–6.
57. Mak, Choi, and Li, "Christianity and Women," 3.
58. 石詠雪：《樹枝之間》[Shek Wing Suet, *Among the Branches*.] It is a collection of unpublished essays printed by Shek for private circulation only. She sent me a copy after some initial correspondence in May 2015.
59. The Master of Yat Tak Chai (Pauline Shek), "'To Cut off the Horn When a Deer Is Caught' and 'The Laziness to Catch When a Deer Is There,'" *Echo* 213 (July 1971), *Ordination of Women Jan–Dec 1971*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 2, HKSKH Archives.

60. Members of HKSKH Women's Service League, "An Open Letter to the Master of Yat Tak Chai," July 21, 1971, *Ordination of Women Jan-Dec 1971*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 2, HKSKH Archives.
61. Interview with Rev. Mary Au on May 9, 2015. Rev. Pauline Shek served most of her life as a chaplain at St. Catharine's School for Girls and assistant priest of several parishes and retired early because of her mother's illness.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Mark O'Neill, "Breaking the Mould with Faith," *Macao* 14 (January 2013), retrieved at <http://macaomagazine.net/history/breaking-mould-faith> (accessed February 23, 2015).
68. 香港聖公會聖三一座堂網站：〈第九任牧師——黃羨雲法政牧師〉 [“The Ninth Pastor—Rev. Huang Hsien-yuen,” in the website of *Holy Trinity Cathedral (Anglican-Episcopal)*.] <http://210.3.38.177/index.php/article/377-dean9> (accessed October 31, 2015).
69. Bennett, *This God Business*, 253–75, 328–32.
70. As Hwang commented, disappointedly, all objections were about the biological inconvenience of women, such as menstruation and pregnancy, and were not theological. Mak, Choi, and Li, “Christianity and Women,” 4.
71. Although Hwang was aware of Bishop Ho's intention to ordain her, she never sought ordination actively and would be satisfied if only she could serve God. Mak, Choi, and Li, “Christianity and Women,” 2.
72. Shek, *Among the Branches*, 16–17.
73. Wong Wai Yin, “Women in Resistance,” 78.
74. “All Church Members” of Holy Trinity Church to Bishop Baker, October 18, 1971, *Ordination of Women Jan-Dec 1971*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 2, HKSKH Archives.
75. Interview with Rev. Mary Au on May 9, 2015.
76. Mak, Choi, and Li, “Christianity and Women,” 3.
77. Deaconess J. M. Bennett to Bishop Gilbert Baker, April 19, 1969, *Ordination of Women 1945–1970*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 1, HKSKH Archives.
78. See Bennett's letter to Bishop Baker immediately after she learned about the related resolutions in the 1968 Lambeth Conference, and the series of actions she took thereafter. See Joyce M. Bennett, *Hasten Slowly: The First Legal Ordination of Women Priests* (Sussex: Little London Associates, 1991), chapters 4 and 5, 19–41.
79. “Two Anglican Women Priests in Hong Kong,” *Lewiston (Maine) Daily Sun* (September 23, 1974), 20.
80. Baker, “Women Priests in the Diocese of Hong Kong,” December 13, 1977, *Ordination of Women*, RGI-9.A.11.1 File 4, HKSKH Archives.

# Anglican Women and Social Service in Hong Kong

## *Historical Contributions and Continuing Legacy*

Jane Lee

The presence of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong can be traced back to 1843, one year after the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain. In that year, Vincent John Stanton was appointed the colonial chaplain. In 1849 the Diocese of Victoria was established, with George Smith as its first bishop. At that time Hong Kong was a fishing village that was basically undeveloped, with many fishers living in boats and ordinary people residing in huts built on the hillside.<sup>1</sup> In traditional Chinese societies women had a low social status, both socially and economically, and were not given the chance to receive education. Christianity holds the belief that all human beings are creations of God and should possess the same level of respect. These values and ideas were brought to the territory by missionaries, among them women and men of the Church of England.

This chapter delineates how, beginning at that historical moment, the church created opportunities for women to elevate their social status and advocated for women's rights. It also tells the stories of how some Anglican women initiated services to support women, beginning in the 1860s.

### **Elevating Social Status through Education**

Miss Susan Harriet Baxter, an honorary missionary of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (also known as Female Education Society, FES), came to Hong Kong in 1860 to work with Bishop and Mrs. George Smith. Devoted to female education, she set up schools to teach Chinese girls how to read and study the Bible. Unfortunately, Baxter's work in Hong Kong was cut short by her untimely death in 1865, aged 36. A school named the Baxter Memorial School was built in the compound of St. Stephen's Church, then located on Hollywood Road, from funding raised in memory of her.<sup>2</sup> The school, which later became St. Matthew's Primary School, is regarded as the first Anglican primary school in Hong Kong. The wife of Bishop Smith was also concerned about the status of women. She initiated collaboration with the FES and founded the Diocesan Native Female Training School in 1860. This school, situated on Bonham Road, aimed to provide Christian education for

local girls. Students lived in the hostel, and all school activities were conducted within the campus. However, because of prevailing conservative attitudes, the school was criticized for supposedly producing English-speaking women who all eventually married foreigners. The school was at one stage closed in the face of such criticisms but was reopened shortly after, with its name changed to the Diocesan Female School. The Diocese of Victoria later received a donation to build the Diocesan Home and Orphanage in the original location as an institution to provide board and lodging as well as schooling for the British, Chinese, and Eurasian children and those of other nationalities. The orphanage became the forerunner of the Diocesan Boys' School of today.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of Heep Yunn School was attributed to the church's earlier contribution to education for girls. In 1886, FES missionary Margaret Johnstone founded the Fairlea Girls' School on Bonham Road, which offered classes in Chinese for the daughters of Chinese Christians. Another institution, the Victoria Home and Orphanage, was founded in the following year by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to provide shelter and education for orphaned and destitute girls. In 1936, the two institutions merged to form a new girls' school situated in Ma Tau Wai, Kowloon. This school was named Heep Yunn, meaning "collaboration between the schools in honor of God's grace."

In 1915, soon after St. Paul's Church was established on Hong Kong Island, St. Paul's Girls' School, using Chinese as the medium of instruction, was instituted. After the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong (1941–1945) during World War II, St. Paul's College (a boys' school) could not resume its classes promptly. The girls' school accommodated the male students and conducted its classes in English. This created the prototype of the present St. Paul's Co-educational College.

Many single female missionaries and wives of male missionaries made significant contributions in serving Chinese women. Miss Lucy A. Eyre was an example. After her arrival in 1888 she soon engaged in work to train Chinese Bible women. In 1897 Eyre contributed her own money and enlisted a group of expatriate women to set up the Eyre Diocesan Refuge for Destitute Women to help impoverished girls and young women. The home was located at Tai Hang, an area southeast of Causeway Bay, inhabited mainly by farmers, masons, and fishers. The Eyre Diocesan Refuge helped poor and deprived women, for example, prostitutes, female bond servants (*mui tsai* 妹仔), and mistresses, and helped them to become Christians through education and pastoral care. Upon referral by the registrar general of the colonial government, the Po Leung Kuk (Society for the Protection of Women and Children), and the church, the women admitted to the refuge would have the chance to work and receive education. The lives of these women were greatly improved. They did laundry work and went to classes and church activities together and formed a group

of their own. They became literate and skilled, with increasing independence. The contribution of the refuge was phenomenal. In 1909 the residence moved to Belilios Reformatory, next to where St. Mary's Church is situated today. In 1912, St. Mary's Chapel was established for these women to organize prayer gatherings and services. The refuge moved to Kowloon City in 1914 and the original chapel was developed into the St. Mary's Church of today.<sup>4</sup>

The above examples illustrate how the missionaries put a high priority on education and shelter for women in the decades between the 1860s and 1920s. They built several schools for girls from deprived families and orphans and, more importantly, provided social assistance such as free meals, board, and educational training. By expanding their opportunities for learning, the girls were given access to knowledge and skills, hence fostering independence in life. Many graduates became teachers and missionaries. Ms. Wong Chung Shun (王忠信), wife of Bishop Mok Sau Tseng (莫壽增), and Ms. Fok Hing Tong (霍慶棠), daughter of Rev. Fok Ching Shan (霍靜山), for example, played crucial leading roles in expanding women's participation in the life of the church.

### Advocating Women's Rights through Social Movements

Church members were also engaged in social movements advocating women's rights. One significant example was a movement in the period between 1917 and 1938 against the keeping of *mui tsai* (female bond servants). Toward the end of the Qing dynasty, both the sale and keeping of *mui tsai* were regarded as legal activities, and it was customary at that time for wealthy families to keep these female domestic servants. Regarded as the property of their masters, their duties included serving their masters and attending to household chores, without pay. Some *mui tsai* even became their master's concubines once they came of age. Polygamous practices were permitted and common during the Qing dynasty. Human traffickers also recruited, or sometimes kidnapped, girls for prostitution in brothels. The British, after colonizing Hong Kong, allowed the upper-class local Chinese to keep the tradition in exchange for their cooperation. Church members, following the footsteps of Jesus Christ "to act justly and to love mercy" and to protect women's well-being, initiated legislation to ban the practice.

In 1917 a Chinese person was charged in the Hong Kong Supreme Court with kidnapping two girls. These girls were *mui tsai* in the custody of the woman from whom it was alleged they had been kidnapped. Local lawyer C. G. Alabaster argued that since the *mui tsai* were, by definition, slaves, their owners had violated British law.<sup>5</sup> The lawsuit attracted the attention of Colonel John Ward, Lieutenant Commander Hugh Haslewood, and Mrs. Clara Haslewood, who were all opposed to slavery. After Ward returned to Britain, he was elected as a member of Parliament. He brought up the issue of slavery to the House of

Commons and between 1920 and 1921 succeeded in having the issue debated in Parliament. In Hong Kong the pastor of St. John's Cathedral raised the issue of slavery before the congregation in an attempt to arouse public awareness and concern. Mrs. Haslewood, greatly moved by his words, submitted four English newspaper articles that championed the abolition of slavery. The contention put a strain on the colonial government and the Chinese upper class.<sup>6</sup>

In 1921, under pressure from Britain, the colonial government authorized the Chinese officials from the Legislative Council to organize a public hearing to discuss the issue of mui tsai. The reformers established the Anti-Mui Tsai Society (反對蓄婢會), with members coming from different churches as well as other organizations such as the YMCA, the YWCA, and labor unions. In the same year, the society had its first preparatory meeting, and, under the leadership of Chairman Wong Mau Lam (黃茂林), a Sheng Kung Hui church member, a total of twenty-six preparatory meetings were held. The members were united and dedicated their time and money for the common goal of abolishing slavery. Their enthusiasm attracted 1,365 members joining the society to support their cause.<sup>7</sup>

The Anti-Mui Tsai Society was officially inaugurated in March 1922, and Wong Mau Lam was elected as chairman. Mr. Wong worked as a comprador at Watsons. Ms. Fok Hing Tong—a member of St. Stephen's Church, the daughter of Rev. Fok Ching Shan, and the wife of Mr. Ma Ying Piu (馬應彪) (founder of the Sincere Department Stores), was also elected as a member of its executive committee. In 1931, Rev. Lee Kau Yan (李求恩) (later Archdeacon Lee Kau Yan) was appointed the chairman.<sup>8</sup> The presence of Sheng Kung Hui church leaders in the movement was remarkable. Their participation in founding the society and their concerted effort in fund raising, advocacy, and lobbying contributed to legislation abolishing the practice.<sup>9</sup> The Female Domestic Service Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council after three readings on February 15, 1923. In 1938, the government instituted a licensing system for mui tsai, which eventually brought to a satisfactory resolution of the problem.

The Anti-Mui Tsai Movement illustrates how church members and women leaders enlisted others and succeeded in proposing legislation to put a halt to unjust practices that exploited women's rights. Their endeavor enabled grassroots women to turn over a new page in their lives. Ms. Fok was also one of the initiators of the YWCA and was actively involved in advocating women's rights. She was courageous enough to break Chinese tradition and became the first sales lady at the Sincere Department Store.<sup>10</sup> She was also one of the key persons who facilitated the formation of the SKH Women's League by transferring the work in Shanghai to Hong Kong.



## Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women's League

The importance that the Anglican Church attached to women was seen not only in its provision of education and shelters to needy girls and efforts in social movements to safeguard women's rights, it was even more clearly revealed in the establishment of the Women's League in the church. Early in 1870 the Episcopal Church in America had a group of women who extended its missionary work in China. The group, which established a branch of the Women Assisting Evangelical Association in Shanghai, was the forerunner of the Women's League in Hong Kong. In 1912, the Chinese Women's League (中華婦女團) was formed by the General Synod of the then Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui. In 1924 the league was renamed Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui Women's Missionary Service League (中華聖公會婦女傳道服務團). In 1946 the Women's Service League in Hong Kong and Macau was established. When the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui became an independent province in 1998, the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women's League was officially formed in the following year.<sup>11</sup>

The league aimed to assist the church to spread the gospel, serving the church and society and expanding the social service work in mainland China and overseas. It also focused on developing women's virtues, encouraging them to explore "beyond their limits" and devote themselves to God. Assuming pastoral leadership in the church, women bore witness to the Lord through missionary work, community service, and fellowship. The members participated in volunteer work, organizing public lectures, spiritual formation, fundraising, and visits. The chaplain of the league was appointed directly by the bishop, and the advisory team included bishop and clergy.

According to a paper written by Chiu Lai-man (趙麗雯) in 2002, during the years between 1950 and 1970, the work of the Women's League disputed the traditional Chinese notions that "ignorance is women's virtue" (女子無才便是德) and "a woman's place is in the home" (三步不出閨門). They succeeded in elevating the educational level of women, improving their literacy and boosting their confidence and status in society.<sup>12</sup> Women were encouraged to widen their networks, serve the community, and fight for the right to vote and the right to speak. Established through mutual ministry, the league broke the traditional Chinese norm of "men being the breadwinners and women being the homemakers." It provided opportunities for housewives to participate in community life and freed them from their traditional roles in the household. Defying traditional hierarchical relationships within the family, members of the league developed concepts and practices of egalitarian relationships and serving one another. Leadership was based on merit and capability, and leaders were elected at annual meetings. All these were new experiences for women in those years.<sup>13</sup>

Internally, the Women's League actively cultivated young women's capability and ethical responsibility to manage their families, balance the demands of work, and respond to people in need. Farther afield, the league sent representatives to the United Nations World Conference on Women regularly, beginning in 2005 on the invitation of the Anglican Communion. This widened women's horizons and trained them to become "servants appreciated by God."<sup>14</sup> Members were empowered, their status was lifted, and many became outstanding leaders in society. The investment of the church in the league and the power and contribution of women became increasingly evident in society.

The work of the church at that time provided fertile ground for the growth of social services in later years. However, this would not have become a reality if there was no leadership to start the venture. In this regard, certain women played important roles.

## Women Leaders in Social Services

The work of two women leaders, namely Dr. Judith Hall and Rev. Dorothy Lau (劉惠靈), should be given special recognition in the development of social services of the Anglican Church in the postwar years. Dr. Judith Hall was the daughter of Hong Kong bishop R. O. Hall (1895–1975). She followed her father to Hong Kong and spent her early school days at the Diocesan Girls' School. Judith finished her medical training in the mid-1950s in England and returned to Hong Kong to serve in the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau. Like her father, Judith had a sincere compassion for the poor and devoted herself to helping and working with them.<sup>15</sup> Her concern for frail children led to the establishment of childcare services in the Shek Kip Mei community. She was an important figure in mobilizing women leaders of the church to participate in the management and daily operation of the nursery from the 1960s to the early 2000s.<sup>16</sup>

Rev. Dorothy Lau served as the director of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council for thirty-four years, from 1977 to 2011. The Welfare Council was established in 1966 as the welfare arm of the then Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau to coordinate the services run by different parishes and centers. Lau's very long tenure represented an important era of Sheng Kung Hui's social services. Her vision and determination nourished the foundation and growth of Sheng Kung Hui's social services, the Welfare Council in particular.<sup>17</sup>

### *Dr. Judith Hall*

In the 1960s, noticing the needs of poor women and children, a group of women in the church started some welfare services that were new and innovative at the time. The founding of St. Thomas' Day Nursery (now St. Thomas'

Child Care Centre) was a good example of how the women leaders of the church actively participated in services. In 1951, the church started the St. Thomas School in a Nissen hut at the junction of Nam Cheong and Berwick Streets. Part of the school premises was used as a clinic, where Dr. Judith Hall worked as one of the medical practitioners. She helped poor families in the neighborhood, took care of their malnourished and sick babies, and gave food relief for families in need. Despite the language barrier, she was well loved by the people in the area.

At a time when the public's knowledge about family planning was limited and the birth rate was relatively high, mothers who struggled to make a living had to either bring their babies to work or leave them at home in the care of their elder siblings who might only be one to two years older.

Suffering from severe malnutrition and unable to absorb sufficient nutrition from conventional food, many frail babies had body weights and heights below normal standards. Their weak bodies were vulnerable to chronic diarrhea, skin diseases, lung diseases, and so on. In the 1960s, Shek Kip Mei was a grassroots community where most residents lived in self-built hillside huts or rented flats in tenement buildings. High rents imposed immense pressure on the citizens. The luckier ones were allocated housing in the more affordable Shek Kip Mei Estate, the H-type seven-story resettlement buildings (constructed as a result of a fire in Shek Kip Mei in 1953 to settle the families of inhabitants in the squats). Densely populated, with seventy thousand people, the resettlement buildings had poor sanitation and became a hotbed of disease. According to the annual report of a health center, in 1964 there were on average 250 new cases of tuberculosis per week in Hong Kong. In March 1960, with the support of Bishop Hall and the approval of St. Thomas' Church members, Dr. Hall utilized a small room in the clinic, named St. Thomas' Day Nursery, to provide childcare service to twenty-five eligible babies under two years and six months old and coached their parents on hygiene practices in childcare. To supplement the limited personnel (one supervisor and three workers), Dr. Hall recruited some voluntary female church members to assist in the operation of the nursery, which was the first of its kind in Hong Kong.<sup>18</sup>

The establishment of the nursery was a response to the malnutrition and health problems faced by children of poor families in the neighborhood. It provided nursing care services to enable frail infants to grow up healthy and free from malnutrition problems. Most of the babies came from single-parent and



Figure 11.1 Dr. Judith Hall, 1955. Courtesy of HKSKH Welfare Council.

low-income families. The nursery not only protected them from an unclean home environment but also freed their mothers to work to improve their family's quality of life. This helped the women to develop the ability to support themselves and to afford an education for their children. Thanks to the care of the staff, physicians, and volunteers, all the babies in the nursery gradually recovered. After three years of operation, the numbers admitted to the nursery increased to sixty in response to a strong demand from the community, and the nursery was extended to the whole of the third floor, but there were still many families in need queuing for its services.

The group of women volunteers, coming mainly from Christ Church and St. Andrew's Church, also set up a committee to manage personnel, finance, and service. The childcare strategies developed by the members and the volunteer doctors had a great impact on the way infants were cared for by the local people, for example, bathing babies, checking their health and weight every day, and monitoring their growth pattern. The staff of the nursery fed infants and toddlers with a special menu, including nutrient-rich milk, rice cereal, fruit, and vitamin supplements, which were not affordable to most parents.

Owing to the enthusiasm of members and the support from the church, these services could be initiated despite the resource-deficient environment of the 1960s. The nursery continued to receive financial support from overseas, community funding, and donations from Christ Church and St. Andrew's Church. It also received support in kind from overseas, such as clothes, infant formula, rice, vitamin liquid, biscuits, canned food, and cod liver oil. Even though subsidies from the Social Welfare Department started in 1965, donations remained essential. The endeavor of these women has made the nursery's service to the neighborhood possible for more than half a century.<sup>19</sup> Today, St Thomas' Child Care Centre is still serving the Shek Kip Mei area for a group of children aged up to three, whose parents have to work full time during weekdays.

### *Rev. Dorothy Lau*

The Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council was established in 1966. It was approved by the Diocesan Standing Committee to coordinate welfare services for the diocese and reported to the diocesan synod and the diocesan conference. In the early days, the Welfare Council had difficulties recruiting full-time staff, hampering its functions. Rev. Dorothy Lau was appointed for her social work qualifications at a time when the welfare council received notice from the government that subvention for the post would be cancelled if it was not filled shortly.<sup>20</sup> In 2001 Dorothy was ordained as a priest of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui.

When Reverend Lau joined the welfare council, there were only two full-time staff members. Under her leadership the council developed and grew to become one of the largest NGOs in Hong Kong. By the time she left there were more than 200 service units with 2,000 staff members providing services for all age groups in Hong Kong, Macau, and the Mainland. Reverend Lau has been a dedicated Christian and followed the teaching of Jesus Christ to witness to his love through social services. She has been forward looking and upheld her role as a child of peace in providing caring services to needy people and spreading the love of God. She gave priority to the provision of quality services and pioneered projects to meet the needs of the community. Under her leadership the council initiated in 1996 the “Quality Journey,” which aimed to upgrade the quality of management and services. It coincided with the launching of a lump-sum grant funding system in 2000, which allowed greater freedom to welfare agencies and made them more accountable in the management of their resources to cope with the ever-changing needs of society. The launching of “Quality Journey” symbolized a systematic and comprehensive reform in the operation of the entire organization and enhanced the council’s reputation in professionalism in the sector. The council services are now highly regarded for their high quality and professionalism.

Reverend Lau upheld the motto, “Personalized Service and Holistic Care,” of the welfare council. She gave an example during an interview in 2010:

An elderly woman came to our service unit and presented her problem as having no food to eat. However, the social worker found that she was living with her son’s family and her problem was the result of her bad relationship with her daughter-in-law. Providing food was not the best solution for her. We have to attend to the multi-faceted needs of each individual. To achieve holistic care, we have to provide integrated services. Our care for the needy becomes even more comprehensive when their spiritual needs are also attended to.<sup>21</sup>

Examples can be found in the work of the welfare council—services for old people with dementia and the one-stop integrated services meeting the needs of residents in Tung Chung and other districts. Other projects worth mentioning include the stroke rehabilitation project and the food bank scheme, as well as the Positive Life Elderly Suicide Prevention Project to help the emotionally disturbed elders. The council’s services have won accolades from the government and other sectors of society. The ideal of holistic care spawned a host of innovative services, making Sheng Kung Hui a forerunner in social services.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 11.2 Archbishop Peter Kwong and Rev. Dorothy Lau, opening ceremony of the Tseung Kwan O HKSCH Aged Care Complex, September 22, 2002. Courtesy of HKSCH Archives.

## The Legacy Continues

The mission to promote women's well-being by the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council has been sustained after I succeeded Reverend Lau as director in 2011. The council now provides a full range of services from cradle to grave, supporting women and families with various needs. Childcare centers and nursery schools, which open from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., continue to provide services to working mothers by taking care of more than 750 children from newborns to six-year-olds. Occasional childcare and extended childcare services (to 9:00 p.m.) are also provided to support mothers who have to work long hours. These services act as important supportive resources enabling mothers cope with the multiple demands of work and family.

Women's roles are ever changing in a modern society. An array of women's groups has now been established to encourage women to develop their potential and contributions. Women are recruited to mothers' groups, parenting groups, and volunteer groups, in which they acquire skills in communication, parenting, childcare, and homemaking and develop friendship and mutual support. Groups for new migrant women and single parents are also organized, acting as a buttress for members to adapt to adversity. For teenage girls who are susceptible to undesirable influences from their peers, projects are launched



to help them actualize their potential in image building and fashion design so that they gradually became more confident and assertive and able to stand up against negative influences. For female substance abusers, a project named “*Lover Traveller*,” adopting drama and art therapies, helps them to tell their stories and reflect on their experiences and encourage them to quit drugs by building positive life goals.

In recent years, social entrepreneurial projects have been organized to help mothers of low-income families build up their self-confidence, while offering a contribution to the family’s income. Many mothers in these families have to stay at home to take care of their young children, defeating their wish to secure earnings for their families. Stranded in their roles, they cannot take up full-time jobs despite their employability. The council has launched a project named “*Grace on Hands*,” which provides training to develop the mothers’ handicraft skills, such as making organic soaps, leather products, knitwear, and other handicrafts for sale. The venture not only develops the potential of mothers to work at home to enhance their independence but also enables them to increase income for their families.

Following the previous work of the church, the welfare council now continues to develop confidence and independence in women through education, empowerment, fellowship, and networking. Pastoral care and spirituality are now deliberately built in to the projects and services to ensure the engagement of church members, either in the form of volunteers or with missionary purposes.

## Conclusion

The pioneering work of Anglican women in Hong Kong represented the efforts of Sheng Kung Hui to cultivate women through education and to encourage their participation in society in a bid to promote their independence and confidence. Anglican women played important roles ranging from teaching and missionary work leadership in society to promote women’s rights and initiate new services for those who are in need.

Their passion has been brought to new heights by Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui today. Rooted in the city for nearly 180 years, the church has been upholding the spirit of Jesus “to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God” (Mic 6:8). Through promoting female education, protecting the exploited, and encouraging women’s participation in society, the church has made a profound and lasting impact on women’s livelihoods. However, it cannot rest on its laurels. Now, even though women achieving and maintaining a life with dignity is no longer a dream, many are still facing huge challenges. In dual-worker families, women have to work long hours and also take care of their families. Most single-parent families are headed by females, and the full



burden of earning a living, childcare, and parenting all falls on the mother. In a materialistic society such as Hong Kong, unschooled, unskilled, and unemployed young girls are vulnerable to the temptations of drugs and prostitution. In this era of new challenges, the church, together with its education and welfare arms, will continue to put vulnerable women at the heart of their efforts and relentlessly strive for their well-being.

In modern society, individual character and achievements are more diverse than traditional ones. Unity in diversity is however the core spirit of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui. As Archbishop Paul Kwong has said:

We join hands in mission with other churches that are committed to working with the poor, improving the environment and spreading the gospel. With other churches, we experience a unity in our diversity; we discover things we can learn from others, but we also appreciate our own distinctive gifts and traditions.<sup>23</sup>

A woman plays a unique but important role in a family. Empowering women and advocating for their rights is the church's tradition. Caring for women's welfare will continue to be an important aspect of the mission. The issues may be different in different times, services responding to emerging problems need to adapt to changing needs, but the love of God remains the same. The combination of professional intervention and spiritual care will continue to be important. We continue to advocate the importance of following the footsteps of Anglican women and join hands to improve the livelihood of women and bring the love of God to each of them.

## Notes

1. David Faure, *History of Hong Kong, 1842–1984* (Hong Kong: Tamarind, 1995), 12–13.
2. Patricia Chiu, "Female Education and the Early Development of St Stephen's Church, Hong Kong (1865–1900s)," in *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China*, ed. Philip L. Wickeri (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 53–56.
3. W. T. Featherstone, *The Diocesan Boys' School and Orphanage, Hong Kong: The History and Records, 1869 to 1929* (Hong Kong: The Diocesan Boy's School, 1930).
4. 魏克利與陳睿文：《萬代要稱妳有福——香港聖公會聖馬利亞堂史（1912–2012）》（香港：基督教中國宗教文化研究社，2014）。[Philip L. Wickeri and Chen Ruiwen, *All Generations Shall Call You Blessed: The History of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui St. Mary's Church, 1912–2012* (Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 2014)].
5. Carl T. Smith, "The Chinese Church, Labour, Elite and the Mei Tsai Question in the 1920's," in *A Sense of History*, ed. Carl T. Smith (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational, 1995), 243.
6. Smith, "The Chinese Church," 246.

7. 麥梅生編：《反對蓄婢史略》（香港：福興中西印務局，1933）。[Mai Meisheng, ed., *A Brief History of Anti-Mui Tsai Movement in Hong Kong* (Xianggang: Fuxing Zhongxi yinwuju, 1933).].
8. Ibid.
9. 香港聖公會福利協會有限公司：《步武基督：香港聖公會的社會服務1849–2013》（香港：香港聖公會福利協會有限公司，2014），頁22–29。[Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council Limited, *Retracing the Footsteps of Christ: Social Services of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui 1849–2013* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council Limited, 2014), 22–29.]
10. 〈香港婦女運動先驅——馬霍慶棠〉，《基督教周報》第1859期（2000年4月9日）。[“Pioneer of the Women’s Movement in Hong Kong—Ma Fok Hing-tong,” *Christian Weekly*, no. 1859, April 9, 2000.]
11. 《香港聖公會婦女總團十周年特刊》（香港：香港聖公會婦女總團，2008）[*Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women’s League 10th Anniversary Commemoration Publication* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women’s League, 2008).]
12. 趙麗雯，〈香港聖公會婦女總團的貢獻與展望〉（2002）。[Lai-man Chiu, “The Contribution and Prospect of Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women’s League,” unpublished paper, 2002.]
13. Ibid.
14. 《香港聖公會婦女總團十周年特刊》[*Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Women’s League 10th Anniversary Commemoration Publication*].
15. Kay Barker, “Eulogy for Judith Richardson’s Thanksgiving Service,” unpublished, November 8, 2008.
16. *Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui St Thomas’ Child Care Centre 50th Anniversary Commemoration Book 1960–2010* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Welfare Council Limited, 2011), 7–11.
17. 《步武基督》，頁22–29。[*Retracing the Footsteps of Christ*, 22–29.]
18. *Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui St Thomas’ Child Care Centre 50th Anniversary Commemoration*, 9–16.
19. Ibid., 7–11.
20. Interview with Rev. Alan Chan, November 23, 2009.
21. Interview with Rev. Dorothy Lau, October 23, 2009.
22. 《步武基督》，頁177–82。[*Retracing the Footsteps of Christ*, 177–82.]
23. Paul Kwong, *Identity in Community: Towards a Theological Agenda for the Hong Kong SAR* (Berlin: Lit. Verlag, 2011), 233–34.

# Index

- Abeel, David, 77
- Ahok, Mrs. (wife of Zhang Heling), 5, 24, 70–74; Diong Ahok, Mrs. and Mr., 65
- All Saints Church, 110–11, 145
- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 60
- American Church Mission (ACM), 3–5
- American Deaconess Pension Fund, 229
- American Episcopal Missionary Board (American Episcopal Mission Board), 38–39, 42, 226
- American Presbyterian Mission (South), 62
- American Women's Auxiliary, 226, 229
- Andrews, Miss, 163, 173
- Anglican Church of Australia, 133
- Anglican Communion, 6, 9–10, 13, 19–22, 28, 30–32, 85–89, 99–103, 107–8, 119–20, 129–30, 132–33, 139, 141, 144, 149, 244
- Anglican Consultative Council (ACC), 131, 139–40
- Anglican-Episcopal Church, 12, 19; Anglican/Episcopal Churches of Canada and the United States, 144; Canadian Anglican Church, 129
- Anglo-Chinese School, 194
- Anking (Anqing), Diocese of, 91
- Anti-Christian Movement, 2, 38, 54n5; sentiment, 40, 195–96
- Anti-Mui Tsai Society, 242
- An Ximeng, 215
- Armstrong, Aileen J., 94
- Armstrong, V., 94
- arranged marriage. *See* marriage reform
- Atkins, Edna, 110
- Au Yuk Kwan, Mary, 129, 133, 137, 141, 144
- Baker, Gilbert, Bishop, 30, 122, 129, 132–33, 136–40, 145–48, 150n13
- Baldwin, Mr. and Mrs., 65
- Banister, Bishop, 96, 99
- baptism, 69, 89–90, 94–95, 115, 130, 132, 161, 172, 184, 204
- Baptist Association, 62
- Barber, Miss, 163
- Baring-Gould, B., Reverend, 160–61, 177n25
- Baring-Gould, Edith (daughter of B.), 162, 177n25
- Barr, Miss, 166
- Battle of Shanghai, 235
- Baxter, Susan Harriet, 239
- Baxter Memorial School, 239
- Belilios Reformatory, 241
- Bennett, Joyce, Reverend, 30, 122, 129, 132–33, 136, 139, 141, 143–49
- Bennett, Mary, 168
- Bethel Evangelistic Bands, 173
- Bible women, 4, 19, 23, 27, 59–78, 93, 99, 163, 184, 240; origin of term, 66, 71; numbers, 66; training of, 66–70, 74, 77–78, 91, 167–68, 171–72, 175
- Bible Women's School, 163–64
- Bishop Hall Jubilee School, 145, 152n56
- Black Stone Hill, 158
- Blenkinsop, Pat, 95, 97
- Bohlen, Jane, 38
- Book of Common Prayer, 90; Standing Committee on the Prayer Book, 87, 90
- Boone, Henrietta F., 24

- Boone, William Jones, Reverend, 3, 38  
 Boone School, 39–40  
 Boxer Rebellion, 38, 55n14, 164  
 Bradshaw, Miss, 64  
 Bridge of Ten Thousand Ages, 157, 175  
 British Empire, 13n7, 26, 31, 118  
 Brooks, Edith, 166  
 Bushell, Jessy, 177n25, 188–89
- Canton Union Theological College, 98  
 Cao Rujin (mother of Kuo Siu-may), 201  
 Carleton, Mary Sing-Gien, 174  
 Carter, Gertrude, 228–30  
 celibacy, vow of, 88, 97  
 Central Theological School at Nanjing, 91  
 Ceu Ching-Hok, Mrs., 167  
 Chambers, Miss, 166  
 Chang, Eileen, 202  
 Chang, Michael, Bishop, 196  
 Chao, T. C., 121  
 Cheng Guangyi, 28–29  
 Chen Yuling, 108  
 Cheung Shiu Kwai, Archdeacon, 146  
 childcare, 245–46, 248  
 “China-centered” model, 20, 59  
*China Christian Advocate*, 71  
 China Friendship Society, 210  
 China Inland Mission, 62  
*China Mission Year Book*, 62  
 Chinese Christian Literature Society, 138  
 Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement, 120, 211; International Affairs Committee of, 211  
*Chinese Churchman*, 184  
 Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 121–22, 205  
*Chinese-English Handbook of Set Phrases* (Kuo), 216  
 Chinese Home Missionary Society, 108  
 Chinese Students’ Christian Association (CSCA), 207–8  
 Chiu Lai-man, 243  
 Christ Church, 246  
 Christ Church Cathedral, 172, 195  
 Christian vanguard, 38–40, 51
- Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (CHSKH, or the Holy Catholic Church of China), 21, 28, 31, 90, 108–9, 129–30, 184, 201, 208; bishops of, 87, 136, 139, 208, 211; Chinese politics and, 21, 149n1, 211, 227; Chinese Women’s League (Chinese Women’s Revival League), 228, 243; constitution and canons of, 85–89, 91, 97–98, 109, 113, 130–32, 135, 138–39, 141; Church Council, 110; dioceses of, 87, 204; establishment of, 4, 20, 26, 108, 149n1; General Synod, 29, 85, 87–88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 109, 119, 131, 133–35, 201, 225–26, 228, 243; House of Bishops, 87–88, 90, 115–17, 140; House of Delegates, 87–88, 109; National CHSKH Women’s Missionary Conference, 226; Special Committee on the Diaconate of Women, 87–88; Standing Committee of the General Synod, 90; Standing Committee of the South China Diocesan Synod, 109–10, 117, 119; Standing Committee on Canons, 87. See also *Chinese Churchman*, Lambeth, ordination of women, Women’s Missionary Service League
- Chung Yan-Lap, Reverend, 119  
 Church of Christ in China, 108, 136, 227  
 Church of England, 3, 12, 21–22, 30, 74, 85, 108–10, 135–37, 147, 157, 225  
 Church of Our Savior, 144, 205, 210, 229  
 Church of the Nativity, 226  
*Church Missionary Gleaner*, 187  
 Church Missionary Society (CMS), 3–5, 22, 26–27, 71, 74, 77, 85–103, 114–15, 118, 135, 143, 145, 157–61, 166, 168–70, 172–74, 177n25, 183–88, 194, 240; CMS Children’s Home, 158; CMS

- College, 157; CMS Girls' School, 177n25, 188, 190, 193; CMS Home Committee, 6
- Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS), 4, 14n15, 22, 60–61, 64, 66–68, 70–74, 77–78, 92, 94, 96, 98, 159–60, 165–66, 169–70, 174, 177n25, 184–85, 192–93; CEZMS Anglo-Chinese School, 169; CEZMS Committee, 92
- “civilizing” mission. *See* colonialism, imperialism
- Clapham Sect, 5
- Clark, Grace, 49
- Clark, Julia (daughter of Stephen and Grace), 49–50
- Clark, Stephen, 49
- class, economic/social, 27–28, 45–48, 138, 232
- Codrington, Miss, 68, 166
- colonialism, 2, 12, 27. *See also* imperialism
- Communism, 41, 46, 70, 121–22, 132, 206, 208
- Communist revolution, 25
- concubinage. *See* marriage reform
- confirmation, 89–90, 94
- Confucianism, 38–39, 50, 63, 99, 197–98
- conversion, 37, 39, 52, 66, 76, 78, 186. *See also* evangelism
- Cook, Sophia, 74
- Cooper, A. Blanche, 67–68, 78, 80n45
- Couche, Edith, 65, 95, 97
- Council of the Church in South East Asia (CCSEA), 30, 132, 139–40
- Crawford, Martha F. (wife of T. P.), 63
- Crawford, T. P., 63
- cross-cultural exchange, 2, 6, 12–13, 26–27, 53, 60, 70–71, 74, 76–78, 134, 142–43, 146, 157, 175, 183, 209, 229
- cross-cultural model, 20–21, 31, 59, 61
- “cult of true womanhood,” 7–8, 24, 38
- “cultural imperialism” model, 19–20
- Cultural Revolution, 51, 121–22, 210–13
- curriculum, 23, 25, 38–39, 42, 67–69, 164, 166, 187–88, 204, 213, 228
- Davies, Miss, 65
- deaconesses, 85–103, 130; American, 91; in Fukien, 92–95; training, 91, 97; church function of, 86–87, 89–90, 94, 97, 109, 130, 132, 141; work, 108. *See also* Fukien formula, ordination of women
- Ding Ing-ong, Reverend, 194
- Ding Li Lizi (mother of K. H. Ting), 229
- Dinneen, Maud, 96
- Diocesan Boys' School, 240
- Diocesan Echo*, 119, 144
- Diocesan Female School, 5, 239–40, 244; Diocesan Girls' School, 5, 239–40, 244; Diocesan Native Female Training School, 5, 239–40, 244
- Diocesan Home and Orphanage, 240
- Diong Ahok, Mrs. and Mr., *See* Mrs. Ahok
- Dodson, Steva L., 202–3
- Domestic and Foreign Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 37
- Dorcas Guild, 233
- Do-Seuk (school), 188
- “Draft Form and Manner of Making Deaconesses,” 89–90
- Dublin University Fukien Mission (DUFM), 184, 190
- Duppuy, Charles Ridley, Bishop, 98–99, 109, 116
- ecumenical movement, 3
- education of girls and women, 7, 23, 27–28, 62–64, 77, 134, 142, 170, 172, 174, 183–90, 202, 239–41, 243
- Eighth Congress of the CCP, 211
- English Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, 71

- Episcopal Church, 3–6, 12, 19–20, 22–24, 26, 30, 37, 39–40, 43, 49, 52, 87, 89, 91, 115, 130, 195. *See also* Anglican Episcopal Church
- Episcopal Church, United States, 129, 136, 202, 204, 225–27, 243
- Episcopal Church Missions House, 49
- Erdu, 183, 197
- ethnocentrism, Chinese, 38, 50
- Eucharist, 28, 97, 107, 111–14, 117, 121, 132, 135, 146, 161
- evangelism, 19, 22–23, 26, 37, 42–43, 49, 52, 61–62, 64, 73, 111, 164–68, 183–84
- Eyre, Lucy A., 240
- Eyre Diocesan Refuge for Destitute Women, 240
- Fairlea Girls' School, 240
- famine, 185
- Fay, Lydia Mary, 4
- Female Domestic Service Ordinance, 242
- Female Education Society (FES), 4, 188, 239–40
- feminism, Western, 25, 29–30, 61, 148
- Fisher, Geoffrey, Archbishop of Canterbury, 116
- Five Year Movement, 232–33
- Flower Mountain massacre, 192
- Fok Ching Shan, Reverend, 136, 241–42
- Fok Hing Tong (daughter of Fok Ching Shan), 138, 241–42
- Foochow. *See* Fuzhou
- The Foochow Missionaries: 1847–1880* (Carlson), 186
- foot binding, 2, 8, 25, 63–64, 134, 165–66, 185, 189
- Foster, J. W., Reverend, 137
- Fox, H. E., Reverend, 160–61
- Free China, 114
- Fujian (Fukien), 4, 10–11, 22, 59–78, 88, 90, 92–94, 96, 159, 160, 168, 172, 177n25, 183–86, 188–89, 191–92, 194, 197; Diocese of, 92, 94, 99
- Fujian Zenana mission, 59–78
- Fukien Christian University, 195
- Fukien formula, 90, 93
- Fukien News*, 173
- Fullerton, Caroline Amanda, 203
- Fung Chak, Reverend, 62–63
- Fuzhou, 26, 29, 157–75, 188, 234; Foochow City, 165–69
- Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China 1857–1927* (Dunch), 194
- Gang of Four, 212–13
- gender equality, 25, 29–30, 43, 46–48, 50–51, 53, 62, 85–86, 129, 131, 134, 137–38, 165, 174, 203, 239, 243
- gender roles, 6–8, 12, 22, 24–26, 29, 31, 38–39, 43, 63; in the church, 85–88, 248; traditional, 6, 12, 22, 27, 37, 39–40, 51, 55n18, 85, 99, 113, 137–38, 141, 159, 195, 197, 207, 243, 249. *See also* “cult of true womanhood”
- gender segregation, 37, 40–41, 61, 64, 77, 79, 186
- General Seminary in New York, 4
- General Synod Board of Missions, 225
- Gilman, Alfred A., 228
- Girls' Friendly Society, 66
- girl slaves. *See* *mui tsai*
- globalization, 20, 22
- Gong Peng (sister of Gong Pusheng), 203–4
- Gong Pusheng, 203–4
- Graves, Frederick Rogers, Bishop, 226
- Great Commission, 210–11
- Great Depression, 49–50
- Guangdong Provincial People's Consultative Conference, 121
- Guangren Hospital, 234
- gunboat diplomacy, 37
- Guo Cheng'en (father of Kuo Siu-may), 201, 209
- Guomindang, 41, 57n52, 121
- Guo Musun (brother of Kuo Siu-may), 202

- Guo Xingsun (brother of Kuo Siu-may), 213
- Guo Zhongmei (sister of Kuo Siu-may), 208–9
- Hall, Judith, Dr. (daughter of Ronald O.), 244–46
- Hall, Ronald O., Bishop, 28, 30–31, 98, 107, 109–23, 129–30, 133–40, 143, 146, 150n20, 245
- Halward, Bishop, 118–19
- Hankow, Diocese of, 91, 99, 228
- Happy Family*, 138
- Harrison, Eleanor, 163, 229
- Haslewood, Clara, 241–42
- Haslewood, Hugh, Lieutenant Commander, 241
- Heep Yunn Primary School, 143, 240
- Hessie, Miss, 72
- Highbury College, 159
- High Church, 89
- Hind, John, Bishop, 88, 93–94, 96, 98–99
- “History of the Ordination of Deaconess Florence Li Tim Oi” (She), 112
- Hok Chiang District, 161–65
- Holden, John, Bishop, 96, 98–99, 229–30
- Holden, Mrs., 69
- Holy Communion. *See* Eucharist
- Holy Trinity Church, 145
- Holy Trinity Church Secondary School, 145, 152n56
- Holy Word Schools, 234
- Hong Kong, 1–6, 9–12, 28, 95–98, 107–24, 129–49, 158, 191, 197, 239–50; Anglican Church, 136; cessation to Britain, 3; Chinese Christian Union, 145; Council of the Church of Christ in China (HKCCCC), 141; Diocese of, 30, 138; handover to China, 31; Supreme Court, 241. *See also* occupation; priests, shortage of; refugees
- Hong Kong and Macau; Diocese of, 6, 10, 30, 129, 132–33, 136, 139–41, 244; Synod of, 136
- Hong Kong and South China, Diocese of, 129, 131
- Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui (HKSKH), 1, 122, 249–50; Archives, 107, 109, 119; Diocesan Standing Committee, 246; Welfare Council, 244, 246–48. *See also* Li Tim Oi, ordination of women, Women’s League
- Howe, Mrs., 228
- Huang, Jane. *See* Hwang Hsien-yun, Jane
- Huang Guangcai, Reverend, 3, 5, 24
- Huang Su’e (daughter of Huang Guangcai), 5, 24
- Hubei-Hunan, Diocese of, 226, 231–33
- Huong Cu-Ing, Mrs., 167
- Hwang Hsien-yun (Hsien Yuen), Jane, Reverend, 30, 122, 129, 132, 136–37, 139, 141–49, 152n56, 153n71
- Hymns of Universal Praise*, 204, 227–28
- imperial examinations, 186
- imperialism, 27, 37–38, 52, 121–22, 142–43, 146, 197. *See also* colonialism
- Independent Commission against Corruption, 143
- India, 26, 60
- Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society (IFNS), 14n15
- indigenization of the Chinese church (movement), 204
- Industrial Revolution, 7, 24–25
- infanticide, 8, 19, 25, 165–66, 185
- Ingham, Bishop, 168
- intercultural exchange. *See* cross-cultural exchange
- intercultural model. *See* cross-cultural model
- Iran, 26–27
- itineration, 67–68, 73, 95, 170



- Jane Bohlen School for Girls, 38–39  
 Jiangsu: Diocese of, 226; Children's Welfare Foundation, 210; Federation of Women, 210  
 Johnson, Miss, 72  
 Johnstone, Margaret, 240  
 Jones, Emma, 23  
*Journeying through the Bible* (Kuo), 215  
 Judd, C. H., 62
- Kaifeng, 196  
 Kang Youwei, 25  
 Kay, Mrs. (née Faithfull-Davies), 172  
 Kei Yan Primary School, 1  
 Kelley, Harold, Canon, 175  
 Kvan, Erik, 137  
 Kindly Light Church, 145, 152n56  
 Kong Yuet (Guangdong), Diocese of, 134–35  
 Koo, T. Z., 205  
 Kuang Yaming, 211  
 Kunckle, Dr., 142  
 Kuo Chongmei (sister of Kuo Siu-may), 201–2  
 Kuo Siu-may (wife of Bishop K. H. Ting), 4, 201–19  
 Kwong, Paul, Archbishop, 249  
 Kwangsi-Hunan (Guangxi, Jiangxi), Diocese of, 92, 95–97, 99, 229, 231
- labor unions, 242  
 Lambert, Clara I. (C. J.), Deaconess, 26–27, 94, 161, 172, 177n25, 189, 193  
 Lambeth: committee, 87–88, 92; Conferences, 29, 31, 85, 92–93, 108–9, 119, 130–31, 135, 139, 148; Palace, 30; Resolutions (full text, 100–103), 85–86, 88–89, 94, 108–9, 111, 119, 131–32  
 Lane, M. G., 76  
 language barrier. *See* translation  
 Lau, Dorothy, Reverend, 244, 246–47  
 Law, Elizabeth, 96  
 leadership roles for women, 7, 26, 29, 85, 99, 136, 244–49
- League of the Church Militant, 86–87  
 Lee Ching Chi, Reverend, 141, 146  
 Lee Kau Yan, Reverend, 242  
 Legislative Council, Hong Kong, 143, 242  
 Leprosy Hospital, 118  
 Li, Ellen, 136, 138  
 Li, Florence. *See* Li Tim Oi  
 Liang Qichao, 25, 63  
 Li Kui, 209–10, 212  
 Lin, Paul, 208  
 Lin Ancestral Hall, 197  
 Lin Buji. *See* Lin Pu-chi  
 Lin Dao'an, Dr. (husband of Zhan Aimei), 175, 190–95, 197  
 Ling, Chitnio, Mrs., 74–75  
 Lingguang School, 196  
 Ling Seng-Quong, Mrs., 167  
 Lin Pu-chi, Reverend (son of Zhan Aimei), 184, 190, 194–97  
 Lin Pui Ying, Reverend, 141, 146  
 literacy, 28, 64, 72, 77, 142, 163, 243  
 Li Tim Oi, 6, 19, 28–30, 32, 92, 97–98, 107–25, 129–31, 133–36, 139, 141–47  
 Liu (Liao), Deaconess, 92  
 Lloyd, L., Reverend, 166  
 Loader, Kathleen, 94–95  
 Luke Dispensary, Fuzhou, 193
- Macau, 110–17, 123, 135, 145–46  
 Ma Fok Hing Tong (wife of Ma Ying Piu), 136. *See also* Fok Hing Tong  
 Mak, Peter, 110  
 malnutrition, 245. *See also* famine  
 Man Chiu (Mok Lau Man Chiu), 1–2, 13n1  
 Marco Polo Bridge Incident, 234  
 marriage reform, 6, 8, 19, 23, 25, 27–28, 38, 134, 142, 165–66, 171, 189, 195, 241  
 Marshall, Elsie, 190  
 Martin, John, Reverend, 186  
 Martin, Mrs., 186–87  
 Maryknoll Convent School, 143  
 Massey, Ellen, 166

- May Fourth Movement, 25, 28  
 Ma Ying Piu, 242  
 McClatchie, Thomas, 3  
 McClelland, Annie, 164, 174  
 McCurry, Hilda, 169, 174–75  
 McTyeire School, 195, 209  
 medicine, 7, 26, 28, 48, 62, 175, 184  
 Meiyu, 184, 187  
 Methodist Church, 228, 230; Methodist  
     Episcopal Church, North and South,  
     227  
 Methodist Mission, 65  
 Millner, Miss, 94  
 Mingdao Church, 184, 193, 195  
 Ming-gaing Prison, 168  
 mission studies, 19–20, 72. *See* “Western  
     impact–Chinese response” model,  
     “cultural imperialism” model,  
     “China-centered” model, cross-  
     cultural model  
 missionaries, expulsion of, 2, 70, 208  
 Missionary Conference, 63, 77  
 missionary goals, 6, 22. *See also* educa-  
     tion of girls and women, evangelism,  
     gender roles, marriage reform,  
     modernity, motherhood, preaching  
 missionary work, 7, 43, 51, 226; adversity  
     in, 66–67, 74–75, 78, 172, 184;  
     as employment and independence,  
     8, 24, 62; as global workforce, 61;  
     sexual segregation in, 22, 26, 62–63;  
     single women in, 26, 43, 48, 53, 61,  
     159, 163, 177n25, 188; missionary  
     wives in, 26, 61  
 modernity, 3, 6, 20, 22, 25–26, 32n10,  
     52, 78, 85, 138, 197, 206–7, 248  
 Mok Shau Tsang, Archdeacon/Bishop,  
     98, 107, 109–110, 112–13, 123,  
     133–35, 141, 146, 241  
 More, Hannah, 5  
 Morrison Chapel, 29, 110, 112, 115–17  
 Morrison Church, 112. *See* Morrison  
     Chapel  
 motherhood, 2, 6, 23–25, 27, 38, 51,  
     88, 131, 134, 186, 189, 193, 206,  
     230–32, 245–46, 248–49  
 Mothers’ Unions, 12, 194, 229–36  
*mui tsai*, 2, 8, 19, 25, 134, 136, 142,  
     187, 240–41  
 Mukden Incident, 233  
 Muslims, 26–27  
  
 Nanjing Union Theological Seminary,  
     210  
 Nanjing University, 210–11, 213–15  
 Nanjing University Workers’ Union, 210  
 National Association of the Christian  
     Family Movement, 231  
 National Christian Conference of 1922,  
     28  
 nationalism, 3, 6, 20, 22, 38, 41, 43, 50,  
     53, 72, 76, 78, 99, 206  
 National Missionary Conference, 207  
 national salvation movement, 206  
 “Need for Women Missionaries” (Fung),  
     62  
 Nettleton, Edith, 229  
 New China, 208–13  
 Newcombe, Inie, 64, 66–67  
 Newcombe, Maude, 67  
 Newton, Sophie, 94  
 Ngu, Mrs., 76  
 Nightingale, Florence, 141–42  
 Ni Guizhen (wife of Lin Pu-chi), 195  
 Ningde, 185–86, 190  
 Nisbet, Ada, 166  
 Norris, Bishop, 92  
 North China, Diocese of, 91  
 Northern Expedition, 41  
 North Gate (Foochow), 165–70  
  
 Oatway, Miss, 163–64  
 “Of Deaconesses,” 91  
 opening of China to the West, 37  
 opium, 31, 165–66  
 Opium Wars, 37  
 Order of Deaconesses, 86–87  
 ordination of women: of deaconesses,  
     29, 85, 89, 92–95, 97, 99, 111; to  
     the priesthood, 19, 28–29, 32, 38,  
     89, 97–98, 107–25, 129–48, 149n3,  
     246. *See also* Au Yuk Kwan, Mary;

- Bennett, Joyce; Fukien formula;  
Hwang Hsien-yun, Jane; League  
of the Church Militant; Lambeth  
Resolutions; Li Tim Oi; Shek Wing  
Suet, Pauline; priests, shortage of;  
Vincent, Lucy
- Ordination of Women Ad Hoc  
Committee, 29
- orphanages, 23–24, 185, 240
- Oxley, Amy, 163
- Pang, Peter Y. C., Reverend, 114, 124–25
- Pang Ching-Qie, Mrs., 167–68, 175
- patriarchy, 2, 8, 24, 28–29, 37, 39,  
63–64, 77, 159
- Peking, Diocese of, 94
- Peng Suxian, Reverend, 108
- People's Liberation Army, 120
- People's Republic of China, 120, 203
- Phillips, Alice (née Hankin), 94
- Phillips, H. S., Archdeacon, 94
- Phoenix* (school magazine of St. Mary's  
Hall), 202–3
- plague, 158, 164, 191–92
- Po Leung Kuk (Society for the Protection  
of Women and Children), 240
- political activism of students, 25, 41–42,  
52
- polygamy. *See* marriage reform
- "The Position of Women in the Councils  
and Ministrations of the Church,"  
85
- postcolonialism, 21, 31
- Pott, Francis Lister Hawks (husband of  
Huang Su'e, son-in-law of Huang  
Guangcai), 24, 204
- Poulter, Mabel, Dr., 163
- A Practical English Rhetoric* (Kuo), 217
- Prayer Book. *See* Book of Common  
Prayer
- preaching, 8, 43, 60, 62, 64–65, 67–69,  
73
- Prentice, E. M., Miss, 96
- priests, shortage of, 109, 131, 133,  
135–36
- Protestant Episcopal China Mission  
(PECM), 3–5, 22, 27
- public registration of schools, 42
- public vs. private spheres, 7, 24, 28, 62,  
64–65, 205
- Putian, 190–92
- Qiaonan Society, 194
- Qing dynasty, 37, 39–41, 63, 157, 165
- Raindrops of My Life* (Li), 29
- Ransome, Edith, 91
- Ransome, Jessie, 91
- Red Guards, 122, 211
- reform, 21–22, 25, 31, 64, 134, 193,  
213–17
- Reform Movement, China, 63
- refugees, 111, 145, 233, 235
- Rennie, Thomas, 193
- Republican period, 40–42, 52, 61, 69,  
78, 85
- Republican Revolution, 56n27, 64, 78
- "rice Christians," 197
- role models, 27, 38, 47–48, 50, 53,  
72–73. *See also* leadership roles for  
women
- Roman Catholic Church, 124, 131, 139,  
149
- Roots, Bishop, 92
- Royden, Maude, 130
- Runcie, Robert, Archbishop of  
Canterbury, 30
- rural outreach, 46, 61, 66, 68, 77, 189
- Schereschewsky, Samuel I. J., 4, 11, 202
- School for Blind Girls, 165, 172
- school system, public, 209–10
- Second Great Awakening, 7
- Shaanxi (Shensi) Mission, 232, 234
- Shanghai, 3–5, 11, 23–24, 37–38, 41,  
55n14, 66, 88, 117, 119, 184,  
195–96, 201–2, 204–5, 208–11,  
226–27, 229, 233, 235, 242–43;  
American Church, 205; Community  
Church, 205; Diocese of, 91;

- Municipal Council, 196; Student Union, 204–5
- Shanghai Number 3 Girls' Middle School, 209–10. *See also* St. Mary's Girls' School, St. Mary's Hall
- Shaw, Charles, Reverend, 190
- She, George, 112, 117, 119
- Shek Wing Suet, Pauline, Reverend, 129, 133, 141, 143–46
- Shen, T. K., 210
- Shensi, Diocese of, 91
- Shi, Mrs., 234
- Sichuan, Diocese of Sichuan, 204, 234–35; Synod, 108
- Sinocentrism. *See* “China-centered” model
- Sister Phoebe, 109
- Sixth Women's League Conference Report*, 231
- Smith, George, Bishop, 3–5, 149n1, 239
- Smith, Lydia (wife of George), 4–5, 239
- Smith, Saumarez, Archbishop, 94
- social gospel, 43–47, 52–53
- social service, 23, 43–45, 48, 115, 243–46
- social transformation, 2, 6–7, 25
- Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. *See* Female Education Society (FES)
- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), 3
- South China; Diocese of, 29, 97; Synod of, 31, 112–13, 133
- South Fukien Synod, 108
- South Gate (Foochow), 170
- Spirit of Missions*, 40
- Spread the Light Clubs, 234
- St. Andrew's Church, 246
- Stanton, Vincent John, Reverend, 3, 149n1, 239
- St. Barnabas Church, 118, 121, 123
- St. Catharine's School for Girls, 145
- St. Catherine's Deaconess House, 94, 96
- Stevens, Miss, 68
- Stewart, Herbert (son of Robert W.), 192
- Stewart, Hilda (daughter of Robert W.), 192
- Stewart, Louisa (wife of Robert W.), 74, 188, 192
- Stewart, Robert W., Reverend, 158, 164, 188, 192
- Stewart Memorial Hospital, 190–92
- St. Faith's Home, 91
- St. Hilda's School for Girls, 24–25, 37–53, 55n25, 56n26, 57n49
- St. John's Cathedral, 109–10, 137, 139, 242
- St. John's College, 4, 23, 203
- St. John's University, 184, 195, 202, 204–5
- St. Mark's (California), 174–75
- St. Mark's (school), 194, 195. *See also* Trinity College, Anglo-Chinese School
- St. Mark's Church (Macau), 116, 139
- St. Mary's Chapel, 241
- St. Mary's Church, 241
- St. Mary's Girls' School, 202–4, 209–10, 212, 217. *See also* St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai Number 3 Girls' Middle School
- St. Mary's Hall, 5, 23–25, 202. *See also* St. Mary's Girls' School, Shanghai Number 3 Girls' Middle School
- St. Mary's Orphanage, 24
- St. Matthew's Primary School. *See* Baxter Memorial School
- St. Paul's Church, 1, 110, 240
- St. Paul's Co-educational College, 240
- St. Paul's College, 240
- St. Paul's Girls' School, 240
- St. Paul's Secondary School, 142
- St. Peter's Church, 196, 228
- St. Stephen's Church, 239, 242
- St. Stephen's Church Primary School, 1
- St. Stephen's Girls' College, 109–10, 145
- St. Thomas' Child Care Centre, 244–45
- St. Thomas Church, 145, 152n56
- St. Thomas' Day Nursery. *See* St. Thomas' Child Care Centre, 244–45
- St. Thomas Primary School, 152n56

- Student Christian Movement (SCM), 205, 207  
 Student Christian Movement of Canada, 205–6  
 Student Volunteer Movement, 48–49  
 Sun Yat-sen, 42, 55n25, 76; Three Principles of, 42, 56n33  
 suttee, 165–66  
  
 Tang Tang-pieng, Reverend, 186  
 Tating Hospital, 193, 196  
 Taylor, Amelia (sister of James Hudson), 77  
 Taylor, Birdwood van Someren, Dr., 186, 189, 191–92  
 Taylor, Christiana (wife of Birdwood van Someren), 186, 192  
 Taylor, James Hudson, 77  
 teaching, 7, 19, 24, 26, 38–39, 62, 111, 115, 161, 163–70, 175, 184, 189, 192, 208, 213–17  
 temperance movement, 3  
 Temple, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 30, 113, 115–16, 130  
 theological relativism, 52  
 Thomson, Jeanette, 23  
 Three-Self Patriotic Movement, 121, 211  
 Ting, K. H., Bishop, 4, 201, 204–13, 229  
 Tobin, Blanche, 96  
 Tractarianism, 111  
 translation, 3, 72, 77, 216–17, 230  
 transnational model. *See* cross-cultural model  
 Treaty of Nanjing, 19, 37, 61  
 Treaty of Tianjin, 37  
 treaty ports, 37, 61  
 Trinity College Foochow, 194, 196  
 True Light Middle School for Girls, 152n56  
 Tsang Kei-Ngok, Reverend, 110–11  
 Tso Tze Fong (T.F.), Canon, 98, 142  
 Twing, Mary A., 226  
  
 Uang, Mrs., 75  
 Uganda, 27–28  
 Union Seminary, Fuzhou, 195  
 Union Theological College, Canton, 29, 109, 121, 142, 144  
 Union Theological Seminary, New York, 207  
 United Methodist Free Churches in England, 71  
 United Nations World Conference on Women, 244  
 University of Pennsylvania, 195  
 Urban Council, Hong Kong, 136  
  
 Vancouver, 205–7  
 Victoria, Diocese of, 4, 6, 97, 149n1, 239–40  
 Victoria and South China, Diocese of, 28, 108–9, 115, 119, 132, 133  
 Victoria Home and Orphanage, 240  
 Vincent, Lucy, Deaconess, 29, 98, 109–10, 113–15, 117, 135, 141–42  
  
 Wade, A., 94  
 Wakeman, Dorothea Kingsley, 48–50, 53  
 Walsh, Gertrude (wife of William S. Pakenham), 194  
 Walsh, William S. Pakenham, Reverend, 193–95  
 war, 28; against Japan, 69–70, 196; annexation of Manchuria, 41; Japanese occupation, 25, 98, 110–17, 133, 173, 240; liberation, 210; Pacific War, 92, 204; Sino-Japanese War, 130, 229; surrender, 116; War of Resistance, 48, 233; World War II, 130, 133, 139, 145. *See also* Communist revolution, Korean War, Opium Wars, refugees, Republican Revolution  
 Ward, John, Colonel, 241  
 “Western impact–Chinese response” model, 19, 59  
 Williams, Betty (wife of W. P. W.), 173  
 Williams, W. P. W., Archdeacon, 173  
 Williamson, A., Reverend, 77  
 Willows, 159  
 Wolfe, Amy Kathleen, 157–61, 163, 165, 169–74, 183

- Wolfe, Annie Muriel, 157–61, 163–70, 172–75, 183
- Wolfe, Charles (brother of Wolfe sisters), 158
- Wolfe, Harry (brother of Wolfe sisters), 158, 164–65, 169, 171–72, 174
- Wolfe, John (brother of Wolfe sisters), 158, 169, 174
- Wolfe, John Richard, Reverend/  
Archdeacon (father of Wolfe sisters), 4, 157–59, 161, 169–71, 183, 185–86, 189
- Wolfe, Mary (née Maclehose, mother of Wolfe sisters), 157–58, 169
- Wolfe, Minnie (Mary Elisabeth), 157–66, 169, 172–74, 183
- Woman's Foreign Mission Society of the American Presbyterian Church, 62
- "Woman's Work for Woman" (missionary conference session), 63, 77
- Women Assisting Evangelical Association, 243
- Women's Auxiliary, 22
- Women's Auxiliary Mission chapter of the Chinese Anglican Church, 226
- Women's Auxiliary of the Episcopal Mission Board, 225
- women's education movement, 2–3, 19, 29
- women's employment, 7, 23, 57n63.  
*See* medicine, missionary work, ordination of women, social service, teaching
- Women's League (Women's Service League) (HKSCH), 1, 107, 144–45, 242–44
- Women's Missionary Service League (CHSKH), 28, 225–36; *ultra vires*, 116, 131, 138; Women's Missionary League Conferences, 228, 230; "Women's Missionary Service League Hymn," 227–28; Women's Missionary Service League Prayer, 226–27; Women's Patriotic Society, 64; workforce of, 5, 22, 136
- women's rights in China, 63, 239, 241–43
- Women's Service League of the Methodist Church, 228
- women's work for women, 5–6, 21, 26
- Women's Work for Women* (magazine), 62
- "Women's Work for Women" (program), 6, 8
- Wong, Peter, 141
- Wong Chung Shun (wife of Mok Shau Tsang), 241
- Wong Fook-Ping, 111–12
- Wong Mau Lam, 242
- Woods, H. M., 62
- World Mothers' Conference, 210
- World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), 54n5, 208
- Worldwide Anglican Church. *See* Anglican Communion
- Wu, Y. T., 210
- Wuhan, 24, 37, 40–41, 46, 48, 52, 55n24, 57n52, 201, 225–26, 233
- Wu Shih Shan. *See* Black Stone Hill
- Xi'an, siege of, 92
- Xianyou, 192
- Xiapu, 184–90
- Yek, Mrs., 163–64, 167
- Yenching Theological Seminary, 121
- Yenching University, 203–4
- Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 194–95, 204–5, 242
- Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), 110, 136, 168, 175, 204, 242
- zenanas, 26–27, 60
- Zeng Enxi (wife of of Zheng Yangxiu), 229–30
- Zhan Aimei, 175, 183–98
- Zhang Guangxu. *See* Michael Chang
- Zhang Heling, 70. *See* Mrs. Ahok
- Zheng Yangxiu, 229