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**A Study of Three Women
Missionaries of
The United Church of Canada,
from
the Maritime Provinces
to
Sichuan, China, 1933-1952**

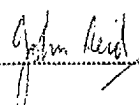
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宋卓英

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts Degree in Atlantic Canada Studies at
Saint Mary's University

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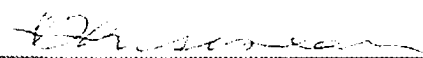
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ABSTRACT

From 1897 to 1952, there were at least twenty-six women missionaries of the Methodist /United Church of Canada (hereafter, UCC) from the Maritime region sent to work in Sichuan (Szechwan) Province of China, where the West China Mission (hereafter, WCM) was founded in 1891 by the Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter, MCC). The women undertook preaching, teaching and medical duties there. From the Maritime Provinces to Sichuan is not only a lengthy geographic distance; there were also major differences between the two social and cultural situations. Sichuan was traditionally called "*Shu*". There is a famous verse describing the road to Sichuan: the road to Shu is as hard as the road to heaven. However, like missionaries of the previous generation, A Jean L. Stewart, Katharine B. Hockin and Grace M. Webster set their feet on the hard road to Shu. Why did these women choose to become missionaries in that very remote corner of the world? What did they do there and what kind of interactions took place during their years of work?

In order to address the questions mentioned above, the thesis approaches the three women through their life stories. They were members of the second generation of women missionaries who were sent to overseas missions after the UCC was established in 1925.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	Atlantic Canada Studies
BFMMCC	Board of Foreign Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada
BFMUCC	Board of Foreign Mission of the United Church of Canada
CGIT	Canadian Girls In Training, Chinese Girls In Training
CIM	China Inland Mission
MCC	Methodist Church of Canada
MNTS	Methodist National Training School
NCM	North China Mission
PCC	Presbyterian Church of Canada
SCM	South China Mission
SCMC	Student Christian Movement of Canada
UCC	United Church of Canada
UCTS	United Church Training School
WCM	West China Mission
WMS	Woman's Missionary Society
WMSMCC	Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church
WMSPCC	Woman's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada
WMSUCC	Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHINESE PLACES

<i>Pinyin</i>	<i>Old Spelling</i>	<i>Chinese Characters</i>
Beiging	<i>Peking</i>	北京
Chengdu	<i>Chengtu</i>	成都
Chongquing	<i>Chungking</i>	重庆
Emei	<i>Omei</i>	峨眉
Fuling	<i>Fowchow</i>	涪陵
Gansu	<i>Kansu</i>	甘肃
Guangdong	<i>Kwangtung</i>	广东
Guanxian	<i>Kuansien</i>	灌县
Guizhou	<i>Kweichow</i>	贵州
Henan	<i>Honan</i>	河南
Haifeng	<i>Haiphong</i>	海丰
Hubei	<i>Hupei</i>	湖北
Leshan	<i>Loshan, Kiating</i>	乐山
Luzhou	<i>Luchow</i>	泸州
Nanjing	<i>Nanking</i>	南京
Pengxian	<i>Penghsien</i>	彭县
Qinghai	<i>Tsinghai</i>	青海
Renshou	<i>Jenshow</i>	仁寿
Rongxian	<i>Junghsien</i>	荣县
Sichuan	<i>Szechwan, Szechuan</i>	四川
Shaanxi	<i>Shensi</i>	陕西
Shu	<i>Shuh</i>	蜀
Yangzi	<i>Yangtse, Yangtze</i>	扬子
Zigong	<i>Tseliutsing, Zukung</i>	自贡
Zhongxian	<i>Chungchow</i>	忠县

PREFACE

I grew up in Mainland China, in surroundings that gave me contradictory impressions regarding the status of women. I was taught at home and at school that women were equal to men, but saw and felt that women were not equal in practice. That led me to take an interest in women's social status and women's perception of themselves, since I am a woman myself. Atlantic Canada Studies (hereafter, ACS) provided me with not only a chance to further my education, but also with a general comprehension and study of the eastern region of Canada. ACS drew my attention to the relationship between higher education for women and women's career pursuit as well as the influence of Christianity on women in the region. On the suggestion of Dr. John G. Reid, I decided to choose women missionaries, who had worked in China, as my thesis topic. This field was originally a mystery to me. *"Were there any women missionaries from the Maritimes? If so, from which church? Why did they choose China? What did they do there? How did they manage in doing that? What was the result?"* With so many questions in mind, I began my exploration.

First I checked different denominations' archives in Halifax, finding that the United Church and Anglican Church had sent women missionaries to China. In Halifax, I had ready access to information about the Methodist / United Church women, but not to that about the Anglican Church women. Thus after having searched archives material and other resources, I had to decide to narrow my research to only the

Methodist / United Church women who had worked for the WCM field in Sichuan Province of China. Therefore, I tried to get in touch with as many of the persons concerned as I could and began to correspond with three cooperating women. In Toronto I interviewed them and also checked the UCC / Victoria University Archives. In the end, I found it was impossible to get enough information for most of the women missionaries of the Methodist / United Church of the Maritime Provinces, although I had found twenty-six of them as a group. I had to concentrate on the three women—A. Jean L. Stewart, Katharine Boehner Hockin and Grace Murray Webster—whom I was able to approach through correspondence and interviews. I also found archival literature such as annual reports and the Missionary Monthly of the Woman's Missionary Society (hereafter, WMS) of the Methodist / United Church, as well as missionaries' personal papers. One of the three, Katharine Hockin, herself, had some publications that were very helpful in my research. Some six months after first meeting the three women, I met all of them again in Dartmouth and Toronto. Then I learned more about their past and their experience in China. In addition, many books on American and Canadian missionaries as well as on Canadian women, have opened to me a mission world and offered me a base for my research. A. Jean L. Stewart, Katharine Boehner Hockin and Grace Murray Webster served the WCM field in Sichuan, China during the second quarter of the twentieth century, which was first run by the MCC, then, after 1925, by the UCC. This thesis will explore their careers. The religious traditions of these women, the circumstances

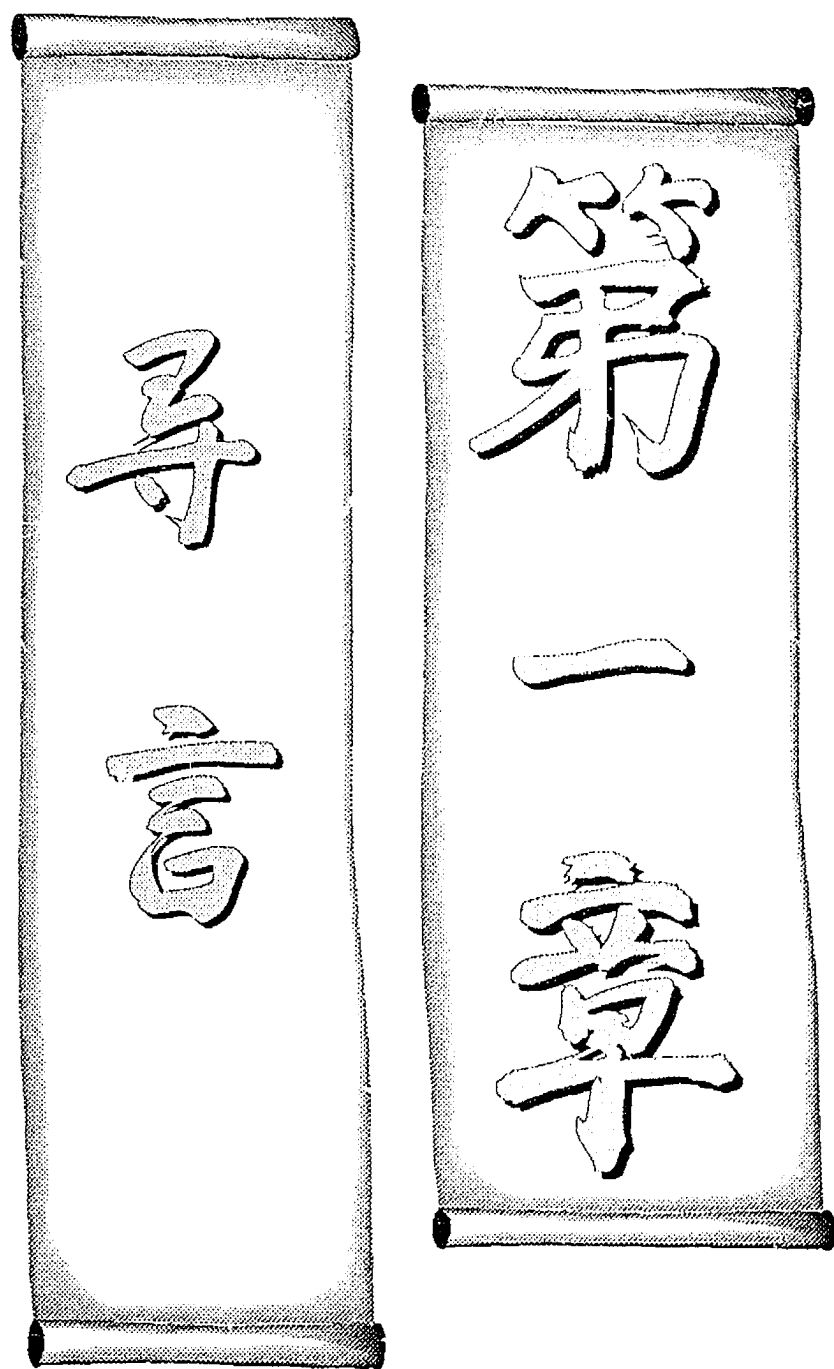
that led them to that Southwest province of China and the interaction of the two different cultural contexts during their missionary activities, as well as these women's experiences of doing work for and with the Chinese women in Sichuan, will be closely examined. The thesis will also demonstrate that these women, like their counterparts, worked very hard in pursuit of certain ideals and convictions. Through their missionary activities, they played an important role in helping change the status of the Chinese women they encountered.

The first chapter will discuss the cultural background of the Maritime Provinces of Canada in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the beginning of the work of this area's first generation of the Methodist women missionaries, in Sichuan province. The second and third chapters will focus on the careers of Jean Stewart and Katharine Hockin, two single women sent by the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada (hereafter, WMSUCC). The fourth chapter will examine the very different career of Grace Murray Webster. As a medical doctor sent out with her minister husband by the Board Foreign Mission of the United Church of Canada (hereafter, BFMUCC), Grace Murray played a dual role because of her duties as a mother with her own children. There will be a fifth and concluding chapter dealing with what the work meant personally for these women and with the cultural significance of their work for Chinese women, as well as analysis of the similarities and differences among the careers they pursued.

Many people have supported and helped me in my thesis. Without their help, I could not have been progressed in my research. The greatest credit is due to Dr. John G. Reid, Dr. Helen Ralston and Dr. Thérèse Arseneau, who provided me with precious guidance. A number of people have also supported me in my studies. They are Dr. Kenneth A. MacKinnon, Dr. Colin D. Howell and Helen Merrill at Saint Mary's University, and Dr. Dora A. Stinson at Grace Maternity Hospital.

Also, I am grateful to many people such as my fellow graduate student, Peter McGuigan, who reviewed my manuscript, and other anonymous helpers to my thesis. Most of the data were collected at the Maritime Conference Archives, the Archivist Carolyn Earle was very helpful. Norma Gilchrist-Dobson, the Reference Librarian of the library of Atlantic School of Theology, kindly helped. Last, but certainly not least, the three women in my study also kindly gave me as much help as they could through interviews and correspondence, again, even corresponding with me several times to correct my errors. On 24 April 1993, Katharine Hockin died suddenly at home. One week before her death, she kindly spent time, carefully reading and correcting Chapter Three.

Lastly, I appreciate Saint Mary's University, which provided me with my further education, and as much financial aid and employment as its limited budget would allow.



Chapter 1:
Introduction

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter will explore the “*Social Gospel*” movement and the expansion of the missionary movement of Canada overseas, as well as women’s involvement in all these activities, including university education for women in the Maritime Provinces. Motivation for Jean Stewart, Katharine Hockin and Grace Webster was both personal and extra-personal. In order to understand the social influence on their lives and career pursuits, it will be necessary to discuss the reasons why women became prominent in the “*Social Gospel*”, and how and why women became involved in the foreign missions, including the WCM, as well as what the Maritime women did for the Chinese women in the WCM field through the missionary activities in Sichuan.

As early as the late nineteenth century there was a reform movement that occurred across Canada and was supported by almost all the main protestant churches, lasting into the early twentieth century. This was the “*Social Gospel*” movement. The development of industrialization in the late nineteenth century increased or made more visible social ills such as alcoholism, employment of children, housing crises, crime and prostitution. Alcoholism was of particular concern, since it had caused many social problems. As a result, according to a recent study by John G. Reid, “*the prohibition movement, so often looked on with derision by later generations as an example of narrow-mindedness, had become in the later*

nineteenth century a genuine force for social reform, and a popular one."¹

Initially, however, most of the churches regarded intemperance as a personal sin like dancing and playing cards, not as a collective deviation. Thus they gave only limited support for the social and legal prohibition of alcoholic beverages. For example, the Methodists and Presbyterians denounced intemperance simply as sinful. The Anglicans commended personal abstinence, but did not show sympathy for prohibition directly either. It was not until later that Canadian religious opinion was transformed, as indicated by a recent scholar:

By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the mainstream churches were turning away from an earlier preoccupation with individual sin and personal salvation and embracing a new gospel that stressed the possibility of social regeneration. Protestant theologians of various denominations reinterpreted the scriptures to show Christ as a social reformer and urged their parishioners to follow his example.²

The Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches used their political influence, with some support from the Anglicans in forwarding the cause of prohibition. The "*Social Gospel*" saw Christianity moving beyond individual salvation to ameliorate society as a whole and to eliminate the

¹ John G. Reid, Six Crucial Decades: Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1987), p. 180.

² Colin Howell, "The 1900s: Industry, Urbanization and Reform," The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation ed. E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 157.

roots of human misery. Intemperance was regarded as the root of poverty; it led to neglect of wives and children, and to diseases and accidents.

During the same period, the missionary movement in Canada entered an expansionist stage. The social reformers and evangelists preaching in Canadian churches adopted a policy of bringing the gospel to every human being in order to save the whole world. As early as 1845, the first foreign missionaries from what is now Canada, Richard Burpee and his wife, had been sent to Burma by the Baptist Church of the Maritime Provinces. The next year, the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia sent its first missionary, John Geddie, to Western Polynesia. A couple of decades later, the Canadian Methodists began their work as the first Canadian church operating in Japan by sending out the Rev. George Cochran and the Rev. Davidson Macdonald in 1873. The Canadian Congregational Foreign Missionary Society was organized and opened its work by sending Walter T. Currie to West Central Africa in 1886. The Anglicans worked hand in hand with the English and American Episcopal Churches and helped to establish their church in Japan in 1887.³

Finally, in January 1888, the Presbyterian Church of Canada (hereafter, PCC) sent out its first missionaries to China, this being the first branch of the to-be-formed United Church to place its members in that country. It was called the North China Mission (hereafter, NCM). In the same year, the Reverend James Hudson Taylor, a famous British

³ H. C. Priest (ed.), Canada's Share in World Tasks (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1920), pp. 30-162.

missionary, was in Canada, on his way from England back to his mission home in China where he had established the China Inland Mission (hereafter, CIM). Crossing Canada on the newly-opened Canadian Pacific Railway, Taylor found much missionary enthusiasm among Canadian youth and proceeded to set up a North American branch of his mission with headquarters in Toronto. The result was that the first large Canadian group of missionaries left for China in 1888 under the CIM. This was an international and interdenominational mission organization. The departure marked the beginning of the expansion of the Canadian overseas missionary enterprise. During the 1880s, young college students felt themselves to be personally responsible for the salvation of the world and they were attracted by the missionary movement. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, founded by some Canadian students, became the primary recruiting agency for college students to the foreign field.⁴

In 1890, as a result of the expansion of the Canadian missionary movement, two Methodist graduates of Queen's University of Kingston, Ontario, Omar L. Kilborn and George E. Hartwell, wrote a proposal to establish a mission of the MCC in China. They were willing to become pioneers by proceeding into the field for evangelistic and medical work. On the suggestion of a retired U.S. Methodist missionary in China, Dr. Virgil

⁴ Alwyn J. Austin, Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 3-6.

C. Hart, the first Canadian Methodist mission was planned for Sichuan.⁵ It was called the WCM, set up in 1891, and the next year the Methodists began their work in the field. Then in 1902, the PCC opened another mission field in Guangdong (Canton) Province by sending out the Rev. and Mrs. W. R. MacKay. It was called the South China Mission (hereafter, SCM).

At the same time, women in the Maritimes began to be involved in the social change and reform movement, and their role in society became more and more important. The opening of university educational opportunities for women in the later nineteenth century became an important support for women's involvement in the "*Social Gospel*" and the missionary movement of Canada. In 1875 Grace Annie Lockhart of Mount Allison University became the first woman to receive a bachelor's degree in the British Empire. This was in the unusual combination of Science and English Literature. Seven years after Lockhart's graduation, Harriet Starr Stewart graduated from the same university and became "*...the first woman...in Canada to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree, and she was followed by three other female graduates during the 1880s.*"⁶ During the 1875-1900 period, following the lead of Mount Allison, higher educational opportunities became more widely open to females in the Maritime provinces as well as in the other parts of Canada. At Dalhousie University

⁵ Kenneth J. Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh: Fifty Years in West China, 1891-1941 (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1941), pp. 3-4.

⁶ John G. Reid, Mount Allison University: A History to 1983 Vol.I: 1843-1814 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 121.

in Halifax there were two women enrolled as undergraduates in 1881. In 1884, Acadia University's first women student received her degree, and by the end of the century, women had become an integral part of the Acadia University community.⁷ The University of New Brunswick admitted women students in 1886. In 1883 a young ladies' academy was founded by the local Roman Catholic bishop at Antigonish, Nova Scotia. It evolved into Mount St. Bernard College and in 1897, four young women received Bachelor of Arts degrees at the college through an affiliation with St. Francis Xavier University. Mount Saint Vincent, another Roman Catholic institute, was founded in Halifax in 1873 as a woman's academy. Though it did not achieve degree-granting status until 1925, its foundation did provide further opportunities for the education of females in the Maritimes.

From this survey of women's attendance at the colleges and universities in the Maritime Provinces in the late nineteenth century, we can see an overall trend toward the opening of higher education to women. In this way women had both their minds and outlooks broadened and received more opportunities to participate in the missionary movement. From the information available about the Maritime women missionaries of the MCC and later the UCC, who worked in Sichuan of China, it can be seen that about sixty-two percent or more of these women missionaries received higher education. The data of these women's educational

⁷ Barry M. Moody, "Give Us an A": An Acadia Album (Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia University, 1988), p. 36.

backgrounds also suggest that most of the women missionaries were from middle or upper-class families.

The chance to receive higher education helped women to expand their own role into society. Women were involved in the prohibition campaign. Women reformers felt that male intemperance was the cause of many family tragedies, and that women had a special responsibility to protect themselves and their families from male drinkers. One way to achieve this goal, they thought, was the formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The Union in Canada was established first in New Brunswick in 1879, then later in Nova Scotia and finally in Prince Edward Island. During the time:

Such organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union had argued that alcohol abuse was not just a matter for individual shame, but was the root of many social problems and so deserved to be outlawed by legislation. A Canada-wide referendum in 1898 had resulted in majorities favouring prohibition in all three Maritime Provinces.⁸

In the 1880s, women's suffrage also became a matter of public debate. New Brunswick women, for example, obtained the municipal franchise in 1886 as a tool to use in their struggle for prohibition. The Women's Suffrage Association of New Brunswick was organized in 1894. From the suffrage movement women learned how to organize to play their role in society. As a result, Nova Scotian women were granted the right to vote in

⁸ Reid, Six Crucial Decades, p. 180.

1918. New Brunswick women followed suit in the following year, and these in Prince Edward Island in 1922.

Now women also participated actively in the mainstream of the missionary movement in Canada. Some married women followed their missionary husbands to foreign mission fields, and some single women were appointed by different churches in Canada to both domestic and foreign missions during this period. During the period, women's missionary societies grew rapidly. In 1874 the Woman's Baptist Missionary Union was organized and Maria Armstrong and Flora Eaton of the Woman's Baptist Missionary Union from the Atlantic Provinces, went to India. Two years later the Eastern Division of the Presbyterian Women's Foreign Missionary Society for the Maritimes was established and the Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church sent Annie Blackadder, as its first WMS missionary, to Trinidad, in the same year. Two Presbyterian women, Rodgers and Fairweather, went to India, then in 1877, they joined in opening the first mission work of the PCC in central India. On 8 November 1881, the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter, WMSMCC) was established in the Wesleyan Ladies' College in Hamilton, Ontario and the next year the WMSMCC sent its first woman missionary, Martha J. Cartwell, to Japan. By 1885 there were 123 Baptist women's missionary aid societies in the Maritimes. In 1886 Canada Congregational Woman's Board of Mission was organized. Four years later, the Canadian Congregational Church sent Minnehaha Clarke, as its first woman missionary, to Angola, a

Portuguese Colony on the West Coast of Africa. The first woman missionary to China in 1889 from the WMS of the PCC (hereafter, WMSPCC) was Margaret I. McIntosh. The Anglican women, however, were rather late in obtaining their independent missionary society and, in fact, did not start until 1911. These organizations played a key role in helping single women to begin their missionary careers both at home and abroad.

Then in October 1891, the WMSMCC sent its first Canadian Methodist woman missionary for the WCM. This was Amelia Brown of Aylmer, Ontario, who sailed for China as the representative of the society among a party of eight missionaries. They were delayed in Shanghai for the whole winter because of anti-foreign riots along the Yangzi (Yangtze) River. In Shanghai Amelia married Dr. David W. Stevenson of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter, BFMMCC). Then, the group went on its way to Sichuan. They were Dr. and Mrs. V. C. Hart, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Hartwell, Dr. and Mrs. D. W. Stevenson, Dr. and Mrs. O. L. Kilborn. Dr. and Mrs. Hart's daughter brought the number of the group up to nine.⁹ Finally, on May 21, 1892 Amelia Brown and the first missionary group arrived in Chengdu (Chengtu), the capital city of Sichuan Province.¹⁰

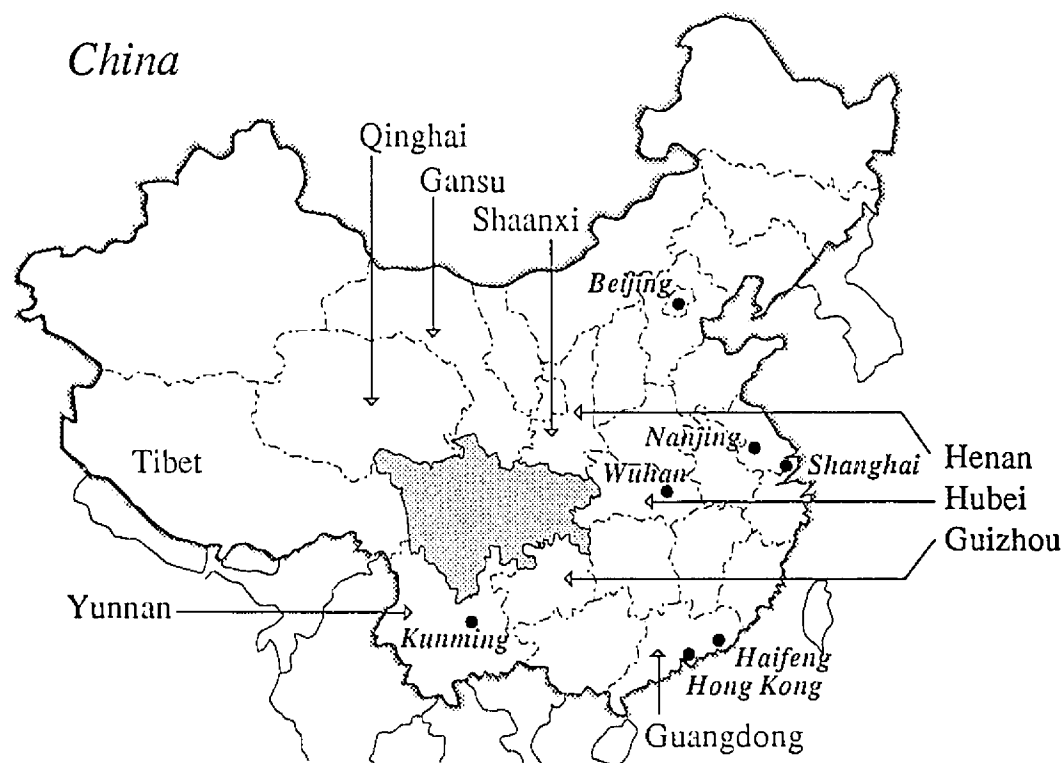
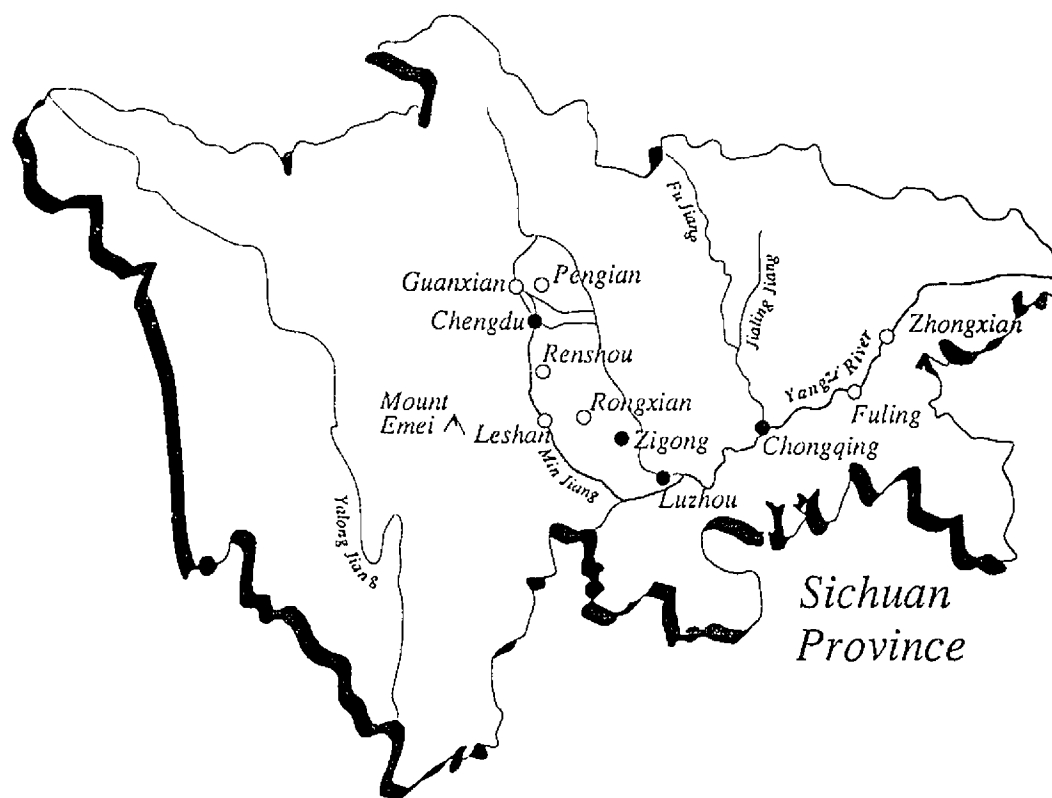
⁹ R. C. Kilborn, "Historical Sketch," Our West China Mission ed. Frederick Clark Stephenson (Toronto: Missionary Society of Methodist Church, 1920), 27-66, p.29.

¹⁰ Jesse H. Arnup, A New Church Faces A New World (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1927), p. 59.

Sichuan is located in the Southwest part of China. It has cultivated fertile plains to an area of five hundred and six thousand square kilometres, making it as large as France, with a population at that time of sixty million. It borders on Yunnan, Guizhou (Kweichow) Provinces to the south, and Shaanxi (Shensi), Gansu (Kansu), and Qinghai (Tsinghai) Provinces to the north (see map, p. 11). At the west is located Tibet, and the east is connected with Hubei (Hupei) Province where it is crossed by the Yangzi River which flows towards Shanghai in the east. Because of its distant location from central China and difficult transportation, the province is described in a folk phrase as *"a land where the sky is high and the emperor is far away"*. This indicates both a certain degree of freedom from the central government and also cultural isolation. Before 1892, the people in Sichuan had never seen foreign missionaries. According to Kenneth Beaton, when the first party of Canadian missionaries arrived, they were surrounded by *"an atmosphere of curiosity, suspicion, superstitious fear and open opposition"*.¹¹ It was indeed a difficult situation that the missionaries faced as they began their work in the WCM field.

In January, 1893, another group of Canadian missionaries left Toronto for China. Among them were Sara C. Brackbill and Dr. Retta Gifford who *"were sent out by the Woman's Missionary Society...to replace*

¹¹ Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh, p. 17.



Maps of Sichuan Province and China

Amelia Brown."¹² They were joined by another party of Canadian missionaries including one woman, Mrs. Sarah Endicott, who was residing in Shanghai. She was the mother of James Endicott, later a Canadian missionary well-known in twentieth century China. Arriving in Chengdu they were welcomed by the first pioneer women missionaries, Mrs. Hartwell, Mrs. Hart and Mrs. Stevenson.¹³ They were beginning to write a new page in the history of the WSMCC, the goal of which was *"...to engage the efforts of Christian Women in the Evangelization of heathen women and children; or other special labourers in connection with mission work, in foreign and home field; and to raise funds for the work of the society."*¹⁴ It is clear that, in a far-away and foreign land, these women were faced with an enormous challenge in attempting to realize the difficult goals of their association.

From the Maritimes to Sichuan there is not only geographically a long distance, but also there were huge differences between the two social and cultural situations. Sichuan was called "*Shu*" in ancient China. There is a famous verse describing the road to Sichuan: the road to Shu is very hard, it is as hard as the road to heaven. Despite this difficulty, the Maritime women missionaries, like women from other parts of Canada,

¹² G. A. Hallowell, "West China Mission," Encyclopedia of World Methodism, Vol. II ed. Nolan B. Harmon et al., (Tennessee: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), p. 2532.

¹³ Harriet Louise Platt, The Story of the Year: 1881-1906, Vol. II (Toronto: Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 89-90.

¹⁴ "Constitution of the WSMCC," First Annual Report of the WSMCC: 1881-'82 (Hamilton: Justus A. Griffin, Printer, 1882), p. 30.

also began to set their feet on the road to Shu, suffering great hardship just in the effort to get through to Sichuan. In August 1896, the first Maritime woman, Mary A. Foster, a trained nurse from Kingston, Nova Scotia, left for China and arrived in Chengdu, the capital city, the following January. In June of the same year, a medical doctor, Maud Killam of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, got through to Chengdu, joining her colleagues in their work. During the previous year, the first school and the first orphanage—the Jennie Ford Home—had been established. In addition, the woman’s hospital, the first medical site for Chinese women set up by Canadian women missionaries dates from the year that these two missionaries came to Chengdu. Mary Foster looked after the building of the orphanage and then was in charge as a nurse there. Foster wrote as follows in her Report of the Jennie Ford Home:

Since the first of March, we have rescued three children from the street, and probably from death, or a worse fate. Two of these have been reported previously, the last one is a half-starved baby between three and four months old.¹⁵

And Dr. Killam wrote:

I arrived in September and kept the dispensary open a month...

Most of my time from the first of October to May was spent in studying Chinese. Since then I have been superintending the

future arrangement of the hospital building...

¹⁵ Mary A. Foster, “Jennie Ford Home,” Seventeenth Annual Report of the WMSMCC: 1897-98 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1898), lxvi.

I expected to take three months after July for study and open the dispensary in November.¹⁶

By 1901 there were only nineteen missionaries in the WCM field under the WMSMCC and BFMMCC. But sixteen years later in Sichuan alone there were seventy-five male missionaries, sixty-seven married women and thirty-five single women under the MCC. And in the year 1925 there was a total of two hundred and eighteen missionaries of the MCC in the WCM field. Ten central stations and one hundred outstations had been opened in Sichuan. More than one hundred and fifty schools were operated as part of a Christian educational system which culminated in the West China Union University in Chengdu, established in 1910.¹⁷

Gradually the women's work—medical, educational and conversional—expanded to seven of the ten central stations: Chengdu (Chengtu), Leshan (Loshan), Chongqing (Chungking), Rongxian (Junghien), Renshou (Jenshow), Pengxian (Penghsien), and Zigong (Tzeliutsing). A woman missionary, Mrs. E. S. Strachan of Hamilton commented on their work, stating that “*our missionaries need to be architects, master masons, carpenters and painters, as well as teachers,*

¹⁶ Maud Killam, “Medical Work: West China Mission,” Seventeenth Annual Report of the WMSMCC: 1897-98 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1898), lxvi-lxvii.

¹⁷ Hallowell, loc. cit.

physicians, nurses and musicians and they find full scope for all qualifications."¹⁸

At that time, China was on the horns of a political dilemma. By the end of the nineteenth century, *"it seemed as if China were a completely helpless prey of the powers of both east and west"*¹⁹. However, some Chinese male reformers saw its weakness and backwardness clearly and hoped to change the situation. The *"Hundred Days of Reform"*, from 11 June to 21 September in 1898, was launched by radical reformers Youwei Kang (K'ang Yu-wei) and Qichao Liang (Liang Ch'i-ch'ao) with the support of the Emperor Guangxu (Kuang-hsu) aimed at:

...the abolition of the classical Confucian texts for the civil service examinations, and the establishment of modern public education, including a university; measures for the promotion of Chinese manufactures and trade, including railway and mining development; and measures to oblige the Manchu bannermen to contribute to their own support by undertaking agricultural and other work.²⁰

During the movement the reformers also paid attention to the very low social status of Chinese women. According to the feudal tradition carried on for centuries in China, women were always regarded as lower than men. Women were required to obey their fathers at home, to obey their

¹⁸ Elizabeth S. Strachan, The Story of Years: 1906-1916, Vol.III (Toronto: the WMSMCC, 1917), p. 181.

¹⁹ Hilda Hookham, A Short History of China (London: Longmans, Green and Co LTD, 1969), p. 184.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 185.

husbands after marriage, and then their sons if their husbands died. Only in this way could women be regarded as good wives and kind mothers. To remain good women after their husband's death, they should not enter into another matrimonial arrangement. Under the yoke of such a traditional consciousness, women were put under male domination in this patriarchal society. Ignorance was seen as a feminine virtue so that women were kept at home only for housework. Women with tiny feet were regarded as beauties; therefore, all women had their feet bound about the age of six years, following this time worn Chinese tradition. Tiny feet were a prime attraction shown to the matchmaker when a girl was betrothed. And when a bride was taken in a flowered sedan-chair to her mother-in-law's house, her face was covered; nobody wanted to see her face, but instead they all wanted to see her feet. If people saw a tiny foot, the bride was considered beautiful; if they saw a large foot, the girl would be laughed at, disliked and even scorned. At that time in China, if a girl had normal feet she would take the risk of not getting married while marriage seemed the only important goal in a woman's life. A woman's value was only as a wife. Besides footbinding, polygyny also prevailed in China at that time. This was another inequality between women and men. Women were regarded as the property of men. And wealthy men might marry more than one wife, for they could afford more betrothal money.

During the movement, the reformers also sought ways to change the status of Chinese women. The reform lasted only one hundred days and finally failed; the old order remained for another thirteen years. Despite

the failure of the reform movement, some change was made. For instance, an edict prohibiting footbinding was issued on 10 February 1902.²¹

In addition, in the 1900s, as described in the work of Jerome Ch'en, many Chinese thinkers "...denied sexual differences in intelligence and moral sentiments they advocated equal economic, political and educational rights for women ... while the more vocal radicals urged for a reform of the family system and equal rights for women."²² However, women were still denied the right to own property. By law they could only declare their husband's residence as their own residence and they had no right to join any political association according to police regulation.²³

The women missionaries joined in the change of the social status of Chinese women during the period. They opposed footbinding. Through the work of the missionaries, more Chinese attention was drawn to the traditional ways in which men treated women. Also, many Chinese women began to wake up to the issue and realized that footbinding was something imposed on them. In a report written by Dr. Florence Maud O'Donnell of Halifax, sent to Sichuan by the WMS in 1902, the result of their work with footbinding was described:

²¹ Jerome Ch'en, China and the West (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp. 380-382.

²² Ibid., p. 382.

²³ Ibid.

We have had many evidences in our work this year of how rapidly the anti-binding sentiment is growing. Many have come to us voluntarily asking for medicine, as they wished to unbind their own or their daughters' feet. The majority have been among the better-class women. One Chinese lady, to whom when we first visited her her tiny feet were a source of great pride, lately unbound her feet and gave her shoes and bandage. All our women helpers now have unbound feet.²⁴

The missionary involvement in the trend against footbinding helped the establishment of the new idea of a changed perception of women and also helped the common people's understanding of the harmfulness of the footbinding.

When the revolution of 1911 took place, the Qing Dynasty was finally overthrown, and the Republic was established. The Republic had proclaimed a new, modified, constitution. But it did not offer a provision for equality between men and women. The revolution in 1911 officially abolished footbinding, but the old traditions of footbinding and polygyny still existed, particularly in lower class pockets of Chinese society and in rural areas. This sort of tradition could not die overnight. And still many women could not escape sexist restrictions on them, for they were not yet independent and their marriages were still arranged by their parents or elder relatives. Thus, many young women had to become second or third wives of rich men. These women were not satisfied with marriage but they could not change their situations. Some of them became interested in

²⁴ Florence Maud O'donnell, "Medical Work," Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the WMSMCC: 1904-05 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1905), lxiv.

Christian belief and found a release from their miserable life. For example, in her evangelistic work, New Brunswick native Lily M. Hockin reported in 1915:

The other case is a young woman over 20, a second wife who has had an unhappy home life. Her husband is very fond of her and bought her away from her home to Kiating. She was anxious to come to our school and has developed very much in her religious experience.²⁵

In 1919, the May 4th Movement took place. It was a movement against imperialist intervention and against the warlords who submitted to foreign demands. It was also a movement for the emancipation of Chinese women. Through the May 4th Movement, reformers and intellectuals opposed arranged marriage and polygyny. But the 1923 constitution did not yet grant rights to women. This kind of situation still kept many Chinese women in misery. A woman missionary, Mary L. Lamb, felt that:

The greatest source of their troubles, I think, is the question of plural marriage. Many of my pupils have to share their husbands with one or two other wives, and it does not tend to make happiness in the home.²⁶

But the May 4th movement and the Christian education helped Chinese women realize that it was right for them to get rid of imposed

²⁵ Lily M. Hockin, "Evangelistic Work," Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the WMSMCC: 1914-15 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1915), lxxx. Lily M. Hockin was the mother of Katharine Hockin.

²⁶ Mary L. Lamb, "Rose and Baths," Missionary Monthly, Vol. VI No. 8 (1931): 341.

cultural restrictions such as footbinding. They soon saw that they had a right to let their feet grow naturally. Never again would they suffer footbinding because of outdated aesthetic standards that were achieved at the expense of the female's physical body. For example, a Chinese woman, Mrs.Tzen told that:

One of the greatest of the evils in China has been the attitude toward women. A woman was always looked down on and no man would be caught talking to a woman. *"She is only a woman, ignorant and useless. I would not belittle myself to talk to her."*

...

Foot binding is the cause of many evils in China. Women cannot go out of the home, and have no chance to see anything. Their lives are so joyless and, with no education, the face takes on a permanent blank look of absolute hopelessness. Only Christianity can change that.²⁷

The women missionaries helped Chinese girls and women to get an education—this was an effective way of helping them shake off their feudal cultural yoke. After women became more enlightened they also became aware of their civil impediments. Also, if women obtained knowledge of the world they became aware that they had right to choose their husbands and also to live a normal family life with one husband having one wife. When the women had chance to learn they knew something fresh and felt somewhat free from their painful reality. A recent study has shown that:

²⁷ Laura H. Hambley and Ethel M. Virgo (trans.), "The Story of Mrs.Tsen," Missionary Monthly, Vol.III No.6 (1928): 246.

Educators and evangelists, by contrast, were farther removed from the misery of Chinese society. They believed that collectively and even individually their exertions were making a difference, at least in the lives of the Chinese women and children with whom they came in contact, even if it was only teaching them basic Chinese characters as a step towards literacy or helping them to earn a minimal living through sales of their exquisite embroidery.²⁸

During this early period of their activities in helping Chinese women and children, these women missionaries embodied their values in their own hard work and, as a result, their gospel spread. And in their home country what they had done in Sichuan was inspiring to younger followers.

During the first quarter of the new century, women's access to higher education, women's involvement into the "*Social Gospel*" and their success in obtaining voting rights indicated that women in Maritime Canada had, in legal terms, achieved equal rights in public and political affairs with men. Circumstances were somewhat better for women now than for those of the late nineteenth century. Women by this time had obtained more opportunities for career choices. The women's missionary societies were powerful and independent enough to send single women missionaries to foreign countries. The cherished ideal of being a missionary to a foreign country became a reality for a number of middle-class women.

²⁸ Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p. 159.

In 1925, three Protestant dominations in Canada, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Church amalgamated to form the UCC. This union was based on ideas that had been current as early as the late nineteenth century. The “*desire for wider fellowship and closer church relationships*”²⁹ was expressed by the Quebec Diocese of the Church of England in 1874 and then by the congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec in 1885. The Presbyterian General Assembly appointed a committee; then the general Board of Missions of the Methodist Church did the same; they wanted the committees “*to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in our Home Mission field*”³⁰. It took about half a century to reach the Union. Among the central purposes of the new UCC was a commitment to deal effectively with social problems in Canada. It was also hoped to struggle successfully with religious education, that is, with both home and foreign missions: “*The present Union, now consummated, is but another step toward the wider Union of Evangelical Churches, not only in Canada, but throughout the world.*”³¹

In the WCM field in 1925 the numbers of women missionaries continued to grow, and there had been seventy-eight single women missionaries sent by the WMSMCC as well as thirty-five single women or missionary wives sent by the BFMMCC. Among the one hundred and

²⁹ United Church of Canada, The Manual (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1991), p. 6.

³⁰ Ibid.

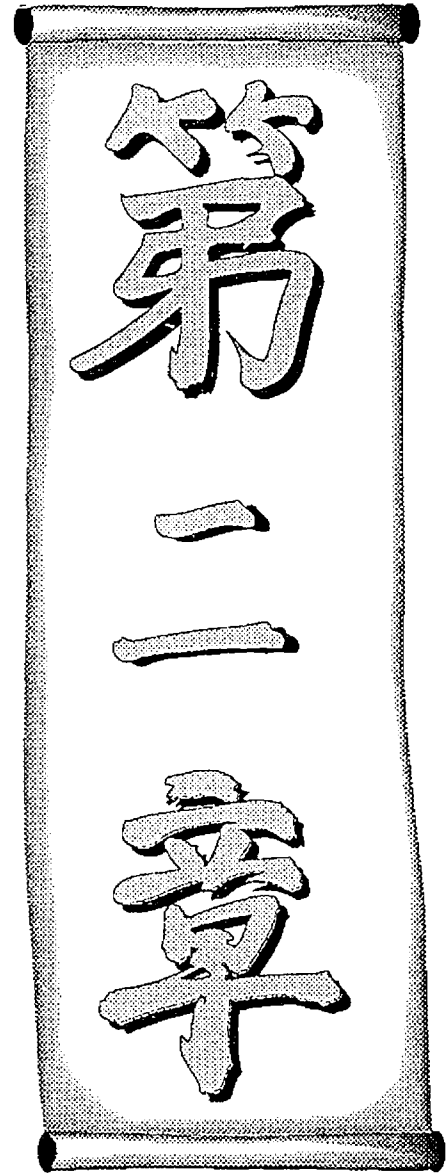
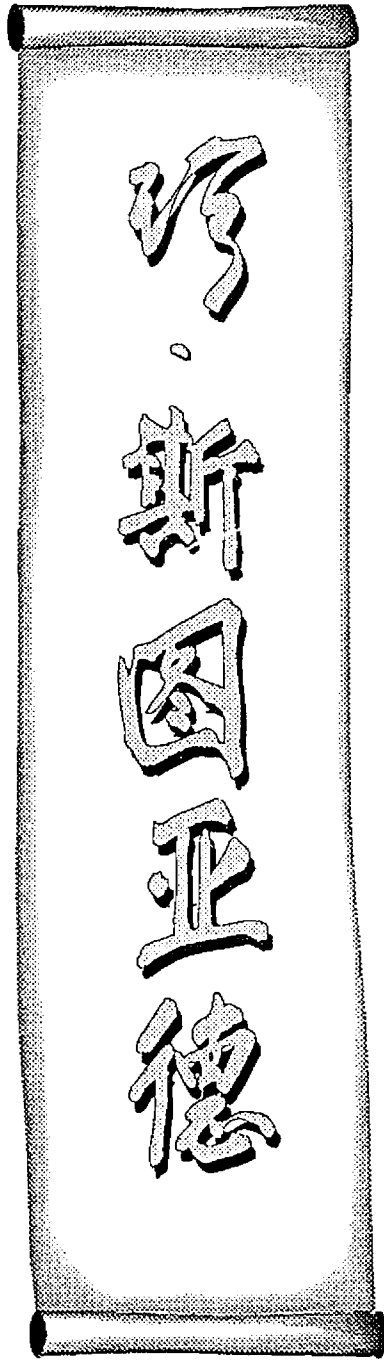
³¹ Ibid.

thirteen women missionaries sent to Sichuan, there were nineteen women missionaries from the Maritimes sent by both the WMSMCC and the BFMMCC (see appendix for list). Like their Canadian counterparts, these Maritime women were working hard in the field. They had found opportunities for missionary work in a new world where they could develop their abilities and realize their ideas of salvation. And from this generation came the later women missionaries sent to the WCM field after the union of the churches in 1925. For example, from 1925 to 1940, the UCC sent to the WCM approximately eighteen single women missionaries under the WMS, and thirty-six other women or missionary wives under the BFMUCC,³² where the MCC had founded its WCM in 1891. Thus these second generation women missionaries carried on the first generation's cause, realizing their dreams in the foreign mission field after 1925.

Jean L. Stewart, Katharine Boehner Hockin and Grace Murray Webster were among these second generation missionaries. They were sent to the WCM in Sichuan by the UCC during 1930s. These three women played a role as agents of change during their missionary activities, as in their support for Chinese women who wished to change aspects of their inferior social status. The following three chapters will retrieve the three women's family and educational backgrounds. From their stories of family and childhood, the influence from their family can be traced. This helps in understanding their career choices. Education was also an important factor in influencing these women's career choices. By

³² Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh, pp. 233-235.

discussing their educational background, the social influence on their career choices and their pursuits of missionary careers can be shown. Also shown will be the three women's involvement in missionary activities in the WCM field. The activities were various: Chinese language study, English teaching, Chinese Girls In Training, Women's club and other church activities, as well as medical care. Their experiences in these areas were varied, and reflected to some extent the different roles of single and married women in the missionary field. In addition, through their missionary experience in China, a peaceful cultural interaction between Canadian women and Chinese women can be displayed. Jean Stewart, Katharine Hockin and Grace M. Webster were chosen for this study because of the significant body of evidence regarding the career of each, and because all were available as informants. However, their life experience as missionaries can also represent a cross-section among the second generation of women missionaries of the UCC: single and married women, born in Canada or in China, coming from missionary or missionary-minded families, well-educated, involved in various missionary activities in China, and working extensively with Chinese women. Through a peaceful cultural exchange, these women missionaries became important change agents. Their careers provide revealing insights regarding the overall experience of Maritime women missionaries of the UCC in the WCM field.



Chapter 2:
A. Jean L. Stewart

CHAPTER TWO

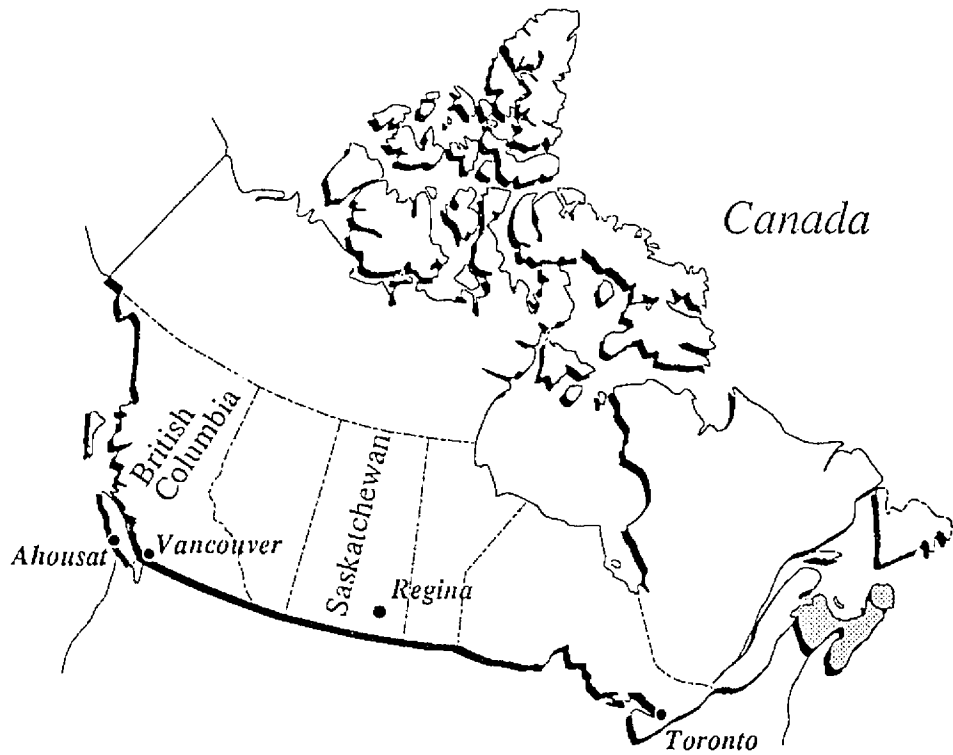
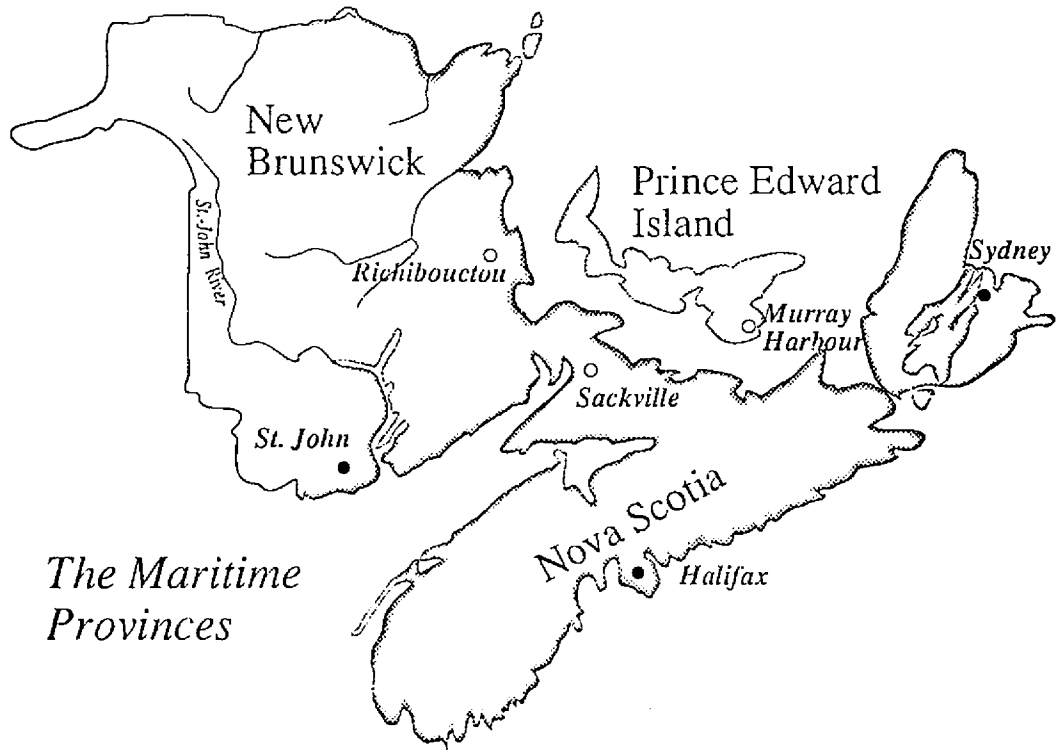
A. JEAN L. STEWART

A. Jean L. Stewart devoted her life to the missionary cause. She was born at Sackville, New Brunswick, (see map, p. 26) on 27 April 1908. At the age of two, Jean's family moved to Saskatchewan Province. After she graduated from the Normal School in Regina of the province, she taught at school for one year. Her aunt persuaded her that Mount Allison was an excellent university so Jean entered Mount Allison in 1928. She became an ardent member of the SCMC and conducted a group of Canadian Girls In Training (hereafter, CGIT).³³

Here it is worth mentioning that Jean's aunt, Harriet Starr Stewart, was the first woman in Canada to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree—from Mount Allison University—in 1882. Harriet greatly admired her Alma Mater, where her father once taught and was Dean of Theology, and she influenced Jean's choice of higher education and career. Jean's family was missionary-minded. She was baptized at two years old by her grandfather. In an interview, Jean told that when

...as a little girl, I heard that my mother had wanted to be a missionary...I knew a lot about China...so there was a children's magazine and a women's magazine. We'd read all these things

³³ Mount Allison Yearbook: 1931 (Sackville: Mount Allison University, 1931), p. 48.



Maps of the Maritime Provinces and Canada

about it. And I knew all about China, and I knew about Japan, about India and all other places. But I chose China.³⁴

Jean recalled that her choice to go to China was influenced by her mother's missionary desire. Thus, the mother's ideals lived on in her daughter. However, her aunt was also very influential. After her mother died, her aunt helped take care of Jean and influenced her much. Harriet Starr Stewart had not only obtained a good education, but was also involved in activities of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She was a charter member when the Union was first organized in New Brunswick. After the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Branch of the WMSMCC was organized in 1884, she became a branch officer. In addition, she was a pioneer in some other ventures: *"...she has rendered splendid service to God and humanity, a woman of fine abilities and culture, coupled with a fine appreciation of the work and worth of others."*³⁵ Though never a missionary herself, Harriet Starr Stewart knew Jean wanted to be a missionary. Having such an inspiring woman as a family member, Jean was greatly influenced in her higher education and career choice. Before her graduation from Mount Allison University she sent a preliminary application to Winifred Thomas, candidate secretary of the WMSUCC, expressing her eagerness to become a foreign missionary and telling of her plans for further preparation for the position. In the letter she told of her determination and the support given by her father,

³⁴ Interview with Jean Stewart, Toronto, 6 September 1992.

³⁵ I. S. Blackmore & Alice Ogden Smith, "Harriet Starr Stewart, M.A.," Missionary Monthly, Vol.VII No.1 (1932): 16.

I sent your letter home for Daddy to see, but so far he has not returned it. However I decided not to delay writing you longer. He says that he would love to have me with him for a time but that he will not let my life be hampered by him in any way. I have been away now for nearly three years and if I could secure some position along the line I wish, in Saskatchewan or Manitoba for a year or two I feel that I would not be "*hampering*" myself and yet would be near him. I couldn't make a real home for him anyway and not do anything for he is home so little, being on the road the greater part of the time.³⁶

From the above we can see that Jean had high ideals of devoting herself to the evangelistic work and put it as her first priority. About her plan she wrote that

My plan is, if it is not too ideal, to secure some sort of position in Religious Education next year say for example in the River Bend School in Winnipeg, perhaps taking a summer course fitting myself more fully. Then the next year to enter the Training School for the year after which I could be sent by the church where there is most need.³⁷

The committee encouraged Jean to expect an appointment under the WMS and also judged that her plan for further preparation "*was excellent*"

³⁸. She was told of the possibility of becoming a foreign missionary in Spring of 1933. In 1931 Jean received her B.A. from Mount Allison

³⁶ Jean Stewart's letter to Winifred Thomas, (7 January 1931) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 83.058C, Subseries 5: 30-2), pp. 1-2.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁸ Thomas' letter to Stewart, (23 January 1931) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 83.058C, Subseries 5: 30-2), p. 1.

University. Then, she studied on further in theology at Victoria University in Toronto during the 1932-1933 year.

Religious education was what Jean wanted and also what the missionary enterprise needed. By her time the WMSUCC chose most applicants with a university education. Higher education at Mount Allison helped to make Jean's ideal of being a missionary come true and further education in



*A. Jean L. Stewart, 1931.
Photo courtesy of
Mount Allison University Archives.*

religion meant she was qualified for missionary work. Something was described in her letter to the author about her practice of evangelism after her religious education.

From then on I used what I had learned there [Victoria University in Toronto] and what experience had taught me and the years of using this knowledge—as I went to the Mission Schools and taught Christian Ed. classes as well as English, C.G.I.T.³⁹ groups (C for Chinese

³⁹ C.G.I.T. stands for both Canadian Girls In Training and Chinese Girls In Training.

G.I.T.) and countless visits to homes, meeting the families in understanding what a Christian Home should be. This was the program also in Trinidad in the Schools and homes where I visited. You can imagine how many homes and people were influenced by God's spirit of love as they learned the story of Jesus and His love.⁴⁰

So before she went to China she had made a full preparation for her future work.

In 1933, Jean arrived in Chengdu and began with her first year of Chinese language study. The first impression in the new surrounding was "*full of adventure of new experience...*" ⁴¹. Her second year's language study was done in Luzhou (Lochow), which is located further southeast of Zigong (Tzliutsing). This was a major city with two hundred thousand people, in Southern Sichuan, and is where the WMS opened its work in 1911. Besides the language study Jean also did some part-time work at the Junior Middle School, while another missionary was away on furlough. After having lived in China for almost two years Jean felt that

More and more I realize that the gift of true Christian friendship is one that we can bring to our Chinese sisters who all too often have a distorted idea of its real meaning. To be at work and play with girls who always are near to my heart's interest, has indeed been an occasion for thanksgiving.⁴²

⁴⁰ Stewart's letter to the author, (29 July 1991), p. 1.

⁴¹ Stewart, "Language Study," Tenth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1934-1935 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1935), p. 227.

⁴² Ibid.

In the summer, Jean visited Mount Emei (Omei; meaning in Chinese the goose's eyebrow) near Leshan. This is one of five sacred Mountains in China for Buddhists' pilgrimage. On Jinding (meaning in Chinese the golden summit), the top of Mount Emei, sometimes a strange atmospheric effect can be experienced: a rainbow halo is seen and inside the halo a person can see his or her own shadow. Even two persons standing together can only see one's own shadow. This halo with a human figure inside is called "*Buddha's Glory*". Buddhists believed that the figure in the halo was what Buddha showed of himself. Seeing this they believed that they could obtain happiness and get rid of suffering in life and so they worshipped the halo. This of course, attracted many Chinese Buddhists to Mount Emei even though a long, hard journey was necessary in order to get there. However, there was no certainty that everyone could see the halo. Many were disappointed, but planned to return at the next opportunity. For those lucky to see the halo with a figure inside, such a state of extreme elation and excitement followed that the believer might step off the cliff of the golden summit, hugging "*Buddha's Glory*". In fact, however, they were hugging Death—according to Buddhism, human beings suffer this life forever unless they die, thus reaching the other life. On Mount Emei, Jean experienced another kind of religious expression. She met a girl, who had come to see "*Buddha's Glory*". She seemed tormented and believed that she could not do anything to release herself from her suffering except to worship "*Buddha's Glory*". But being unable to see the effect, the girl became even more distressed. To Jean the

Chinese girl was in the bonds of Buddhism, for Buddhism did not bring her any joy in life but more sadness and loss. However, it was difficult for Jean to express herself to the girl in Chinese and so she thought: *"I was helpless because I did not have the words to tell her that the Christian message was one of release and not of bondage."*⁴³

This encounter helped Jean to reflect about Buddhism. She thought that a Buddhist could be faced with suffering in life. She believed that Christianity could help release the people from suffering, but Buddhism could not. So she felt the importance of spreading Christianity to China. The frustrating experience of being unable to help the poor girl on Mount Emei made her persist in her efforts to learn Chinese. After another year's language study and some part-time work in Luzhou, she left for Chongqing at the end of January, 1936. Chongqing was a port city of one and one third million people, trading within the province and with foreign countries. There the WMS started work in 1919. Jean was appointed to work at a WMS boarding school called Wende (Wen Deh) Girls' School, before another missionary at the school would begin her leave. There she met Miss Pearl Chiang, a Chinese secretary of the YWCA. Chiang was interested in learning English while Jean was interested in learning more Chinese. So they met once a week: *"We are mutually helping each other in reading some little booklets in Chinese on the principles of the group, it is helping to use that vocabulary in Chinese and also giving her an*

⁴³ Ibid.

opportunity to talk English and express herself.” ⁴⁴ Thus, through her constant efforts, Jean laid a solid base in Chinese. Even when going back to China after having been away for thirty years she surprised her best Chinese friend Penny, a former school principal and minister, by speaking Chinese. Even now she is still able to speak Chinese—a kind of Chinese from which a Sichuanese hears an accent of his/her hometown.

At Wende Girls' School, Jean taught English, held an advisory position and taught religious education when possible, as the former missionary, Miss Marion Coon, had done. Jean was interested in Christian Education which was a major aspect of fulfilling her goals in China. She wrote about her work:

...my duties in the school work do take time, three classes a day and their preparation and correction of work does take time indeed. My activities therefore along the second line have been rather confined to the C.G.I.T. in the school and Sunday S.S.
[sic]⁴⁵

However, Jean still tried to joined in weekly CGIT meetings. She used her experience in the Canadian GIT program at Mount Allison University in training the Chinese girls. This training program for Chinese girls was a Christian cultural transplant, having originated in Canada as the CGIT program in 1915 when the Sunday School Boards of

⁴⁴ Stewart's letter to her father, (1 March 1936) (unpublished, Stewart's possession), p. 2.

⁴⁵ Stewart's letter to her friends, (6 August 1936) (unpublished, Stewart's possession), p. 1.

several denominations organized Sunday School classes for teenagers. In China the WMS used the same organization to train girls.

At school, the Scout movement was promoted. This was a part of the New Life Movement which Jieshi Jiang (Chiang Kai-Shek) put forth. It had originally been set up as an Officers' Moral Endeavour Corps founded in 1927 under the charge of J. L. Huang, a graduate of Vanderbilt University and experienced YMCA secretary. And in 1934, the New Life Movement was formally announced to extend to the whole population. This movement promoted cleanliness, truthfulness, promptness, kindness, dignity, etc... It helped build morale. The positive virtues were four principles represented in Chinese characters as: Li (禮), Yi (義), Lian (廉) and Chi (恥). Li is a fundamental Confucian virtue and means human self-awareness in society; Yi is ethics and justice, the element in humans which can make them observe Li; Lian means honesty in personal, public and official life, and the last one, Chi means to feel shame, that is self-respect and honour.⁴⁶ This was a movement that would eventually be implemented all over China. In the school, the new Life Movement was to have a system of Scouts. School boys and girls had a uniform, leg bandages and a system of drill. Such drills and disciplined trips were always carried on. Jean and her students followed this Scout movement.

⁴⁶ Paul M. A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang K'ai-Shek: A Politic Study (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941), pp. 149-151.

In addition, Jean also worked as a local treasurer of the WMS and took part in the Sunday School program and weekly prayer meetings and some other church activities. Although the church in Chongqing was self-supporting, the missionaries kept in the background and could only do their work when the chance came.

Also, Jean spent the hard wartime period with the Chinese people. The Sino-Japanese War broke out on 7 July 1937. In Chongqing, schools and hospitals were ordered, among other things, to provide bombproof shelters. The girls' school could not build a shelter, because the school was set on solid rock. Therefore the school had to move across the river and so was situated out in the country. There was great anxiety during the day-and-night heavy bombing and the sharp firing of the anti-aircraft guns. During the war, the tremendous increase in the cost of living was a problem as price of food and some other necessities increased by eight to ten times their previous amount.

However, with a kind of spirit of "*the tang of adventure and the freshness of a sea breeze*" ⁴⁷, Jean kept busy with studying and working. The surroundings in China were different from those in Canada. She recalled about that time in Chongqing:

It was very very primitive in this place...we had no proper road; we had no power in our mission. We had no car, because we

⁴⁷ Stewart, "School and Religious Education," Twelfth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1936-1937 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1937), p. 270.

didn't have a road. And everybody had to go along in the old way of being carried. We had to stop in Chongqing and gave our orders for hua-gan [滑杆, a kind of carrier]...two poles joined together by a seat, and a place for your feet down here...they would pretty well have a hua-gan...⁴⁸

It took ten days for people to reach Chengdu from Chongqing by hua-gan or jiao-zhi (轿子). Jiao-zhi is similar to hua-gan which “is a canvas seat slung between bamboo poles like a sort of swing, with another piece of bamboo suspended for one's feet and carried by two men”⁴⁹; the difference is that the seat of jiao-zhi is screened with cloth and has a roof on the top. But jiao-zhi cost more money because of the increased privacy and better shelter from rain and sunlight. At that time, hua-gan and jiao-zhi were popular for transportation in Sichuan. Due to industrial under-development, buses and trucks were not widely used.

The new surroundings also interested Jean and inspired her to make some comparisons between the Chinese culture and her own one. She noticed that going swimming was quite a new experience to Chinese girls who were still in awe of it. She guessed that very few Chinese girls had ever had an opportunity to swim and they dared not go in the river, just as their ancestors had never done so. She quickly concluded that “it is not an

⁴⁸ Interview with Stewart, Toronto, 26 December 1991.

⁴⁹ John Munro, Beyond the Moon Gate: a China odyssey 1938-1950 (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), p. 36.

*easy thing to get over tradition, but the youngest of this generation are taking to it fine.”*⁵⁰

In 1939 Jean had her furlough in Canada and she studied her second year theology at Ecumenical College in Toronto. The next year she returned to China, going to Fuling (Fowchow) where she served as a teacher. Fuling was a city between Chongqing city and Zhongxian (Chungchow) county. It was the last central station opened by the WCM, and once had the reputation of being the “*most anti-foreign and the most wicked of all our West China mission.*”⁵¹ The WMS began its work in Fuling in 1925. Jean undertook teaching and evangelizing, till 1942. During the period of working in Fuling, Jean experienced other aspects of Chinese society and learned more in her work. In company with two Chinese Bible women, Misses Lin and Huang, Jean very often visited, by boat, a town named Lidu (Li Du). At Lidu, she held children’s and adults’ meetings and also saw many wounded soldiers in the local hospital, observing a pastor who influenced many through Christianity. In addition, Jean visited the mission hospital in Fuling, where patients felt the healing power of God. The weekly prayer meeting at the church was also helpful to church members and mission workers. On Baby Welfare Day, Jean joined in visiting the homes of the local people and in giving

⁵⁰ Stewart’s letter to her father, (1 March 1936)(unpublished, Stewart’s possession), p. 2.

⁵¹ Winifred Harris, “Educational,” Eleventh Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1935-1936 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1936), p. 245.

leaflets to the mothers. Besides these things, she also visited prisoners. This involved a one-hour journey of walking and climbing up a steep hill. Among the prisoners there were opium smokers and illegal drug traders, to whom Jean and her company brought a message of forgiveness from sin as well as friendship. Finally she was involved in setting up a women's club encompassing child training and the provision of social service to others. Jean enjoyed such activities, supposing that *"these activities are as thrilling and exciting as an adventure from any book of fairy tales."*⁵²

One of her activities that she described was the woman's day of prayer service in Fuling. 20 February 1942 was the World's Day of Prayer for women. Jean with other women missionaries and Chinese Bible women worked on the program. In order to have a diversity of personalities in the prayer group, different women were selected in Fuling, such as the pastor's wife, women of the congregation, some *"down river"* Christians and one woman from the missionary community, only women who had some connection with the church being invited to come. In this way, the whole prayer group would represent different social statuses, embodying a union of women through Christ's spirit. Also, all of them were asked to leave their children at home to make a quiet atmosphere for the prayer meeting. At the usual meetings, women engaged in noisy chatter, punctuated by their babies' cries from time to time. That atmosphere created general confusion. Jean and her companions also set up

⁵² Stewart, "Fowchow," Sixteenth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1940-1941 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1941), pp. 201-202.

rehearsals for this special prayer service days ahead. As a result, forty women took part in the meeting, twenty being on the platform. The congregation received an offering of \$70 and they sent the money to the Department of Literature of the UCC in Chengdu. This prayer helped make the women Christians in Fuling aware that they were linked up to the worldwide fellowship of Christianity. Jean wrote that, *"there was beauty there, beauty of reading, of spirit, and the beauty of holiness was there in the midst."*⁵³ This kind of service was a transplant of North American culture in China. In 1922 the Canadian Women's Boards joined with the Woman's Missionary Board of North America in a nationwide interdenominational Day of Prayer. Later it became the World Day of Prayer. And this had its roots in 1889, when there was call by the WMSMCC to proclaim a Day of Prayer for women's work.⁵⁴ In Fuling, a remote corner of China, the World Day of Prayer was celebrated with Jean and other Canadian missionaries as well as the Chinese women. At that time Jean was very competent in her work and doing very well in this different society. She fulfilled her endeavours with zest, enjoyment and freshness.

In November 1942, when a missionary, Laura Hambley, who was teaching at the Girls' School of Zigong, fell sick and had to return to Canada, Jean was appointed to the school and filled her place. Zigong is

⁵³ Stewart, "Woman's Day of Prayer Service in Fowchow, Szechuan," Missionary Monthly (June, 1942): 256.

⁵⁴ Jean Gordon Forbes, Wide Windows (Toronto: Woman's Missionary Society, United Church of Canada, 1951), pp. 25-33.

located to the east of Rongxian, a city with a population of one million and four hundred thousand and where most people were engaged in the salt industry. The mission station in Zigong had been opened in 1907. Three years later the WMS sent its first worker there. At the girls' school, Jean taught English, music and Bible classes. She felt happy in her relations with the school staff, as some of them were old pupils of the school and the mission girls. After the Chinese New Year of 1943, Jean with other staff organized a Mother's Study Club among these whom they knew. The club's program was concerned with child care and establishing better home conditions. As many illiterate Chinese women reared children in some traditional methods. For example, after a baby was born, its arms were put together with its body and bound tightly in cloth and its legs were also bound together for several months. The baby could not be brought out of the house and was seldom given a bath in order to prevent from a cold within the first month. Children frequently became ill and some died. But they did not know why or how to prevent that, so that they worshipped idols, praying for their blessing. The club's program taught the women how to read and write and also helped them gain some knowledge of child care. They were taught to feed and bathe their babies properly, as well as to dress their babies in loose garments for free movement.⁵⁵ From the program, the women also learned helpful ideas for their housework. Eventually more and more women became interested in the program. The women joined in the activities of the club and together they made some toys

⁵⁵ Beaton, Serving With the Sons of Shuh, p. 166.

and fly swatters and sold these things, using the money to help a number of under-nourished children in the hospital. In their meetings together, Jean told the women about the importance of services of worship to God and ideas of service as well as Christian love to each other.⁵⁶ From the women's club, the Chinese women gained knowledge, learning a scientific way of life and something of the Christian spirit. In this way missionaries such as Jean spread Christian belief to the Chinese women. Within Christianity, more knowledge and a reasonable way of life for women could be reflected. This explains why Christianity gradually drew more believers. This was a process of cultural change. When people with different cultures came together peacefully, the people would learn the best part of the other's culture.

Zigong was the home town of Jean's best friend, Sushan Pen. Jean just called her Penny. She began her friendship with Penny in Luzhou, where Penny was a teacher at the Girls' School. When Penny was about three years old her family started to bind her feet. They started with the little toe by pushing it over the next toe, and bound it with cloth. They left it like that day and night, even if the child might cry. Then they took the next toe and bent it over, then another and another till it was done, the foot was bound. Jean stated:

That daughter-in-law [Penny's mother] said, because she was of that generation that everybody did it...a little grandmother

⁵⁶ Stewart, "Educational Work," Eighteenth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1942-1943 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1943), p. 173.

[Penny's grandmother], the little lady, wasn't so dull. She knew what was going on. She knew that down river in China there was a whole movement to stop doing that to a little girl baby. And she said: "*look, we're going to do that up here. I'm going to stop and take it off.*" She took off the bandage. The little daughter-in-law had to do as she was told. She couldn't go ahead and do that with her daughter. But of course, she got ahead of the grandmother. After that and she did several relatives later on. And they had bound feet...however ...took it off. So Penny's feet were more natural. She had her little toe, just a little close; but it wasn't overlapping, and it came back; I've seen it. That was just very good, no trouble... the Lord was leading that dear little grandma to do that, because when Penny grew older she was able to walk in the field with me just like anybody, wore shoes like everybody. Penny didn't have to go along like her grandmother and mother.... [This was] the Lord's work...⁵⁷

This is Penny's story told by Jean. From the story, some aspects of the anti-footbinding movement joined by the first generation of women missionaries can be seen. The anti-footbinding League was organized in 1892 in order to improve the situation of the Chinese women. It was a reform program which was initiated by some Chinese male reformers. The women missionaries condemned footbinding. They regarded anti-footbinding as their most concrete and realistic way to liberate Chinese women from the unreasonable physical manifestations and they joined in the Anti-footbinding League. In Sichuan the anti-footbinding campaign, directed by a few Chinese women, started in 1916. To support the anti-footbinding campaign, the WMS girls' schools required that girls must

⁵⁷ Interview with Stewart, Toronto, 26 December 1991.

unbind their feet before they could be admitted. In addition, parents were required to sign a contract on their daughter's entrance: they should not betroth the girls without the WMS consent, nor interfere with the WMS.⁵⁸

Unbinding women's feet released Penny and her peers from physical suffering and also led some of them to being converted to Christianity. Thus many Chinese women received education through the missionary activities and Christian schools. Some obtained higher education at home and even abroad since the WMS sponsored Chinese girls for higher education in Canada and other countries. Penny received her early education from the WMS Boarding School for Girls in Zigong. Finally she graduated from the Theology College of West China Union University and became the first ordained Chinese woman in Sichuan.

Eileen Wang was another example of the Chinese girls who had been released from footbinding. Her feet were not bound because of her father's insistence. Her father was converted to be a faithful Christian and ultimately ordained to the Christian ministry. Eileen Wang received her education in the WMS girls' school and the normal school. Later she became principal of the Boarding School in Zigong.⁵⁹ Pearl Chiang also graduated from the WMS girls' school. Later she received a scholarship from the WMS and studied at the St. George School of Child Study, Toronto. She obtained her Master's degree in Education at Teacher's College,

⁵⁸ Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁹ Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh, pp. 154-155.

Columbia University in 1938. Then she went back to the work of Christian education, acting as principal of the Child Study Centre in Chengdu.⁶⁰ Another Chinese woman, Stella Cheng, a principal of the WMS girls' school in Chengdu: Huaying School for Girls; also she received higher education first in a Bachelor degree program at the West China Union University, and then received her M.A. degree from an organic chemistry program at Yenching University in Beijing (Peking). Later she received a scholarship from the WMSUCC, studied Household Science at the University of Toronto, and graduated from a Ph.D. program in nutrition from Cornell University in 1944 and returned to China the next year.⁶¹ Finally she became the head of the Department of Domestic Economics at West China Union University.

Without the anti-footbinding movement, these Chinese women would probably have followed their mothers' and grandmothers' tradition, and would not have even been able to go outside of their own house-yards. How could they begin education and even higher education? And how could they also pursue their professional careers? So the release from physical binding in fact was the first step for the Chinese women's liberation from the feudal society. The second step was to let them receive formal education. Some graduates from the WMS girls' schools were employed at the schools and churches, thus beginning a non-traditional life. They

⁶⁰ Elizabeth M. Turnbull (ed.), Through Missionary Windows (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1938), p. 44.

⁶¹ Ibid.

could now work and become economically independent. Through education, their traditional role had been changed, although:

...some of them would go back home and that would be the end of their education. Some of them would go on to a senior middle [school], because it was just a junior middle [school] we had at Wende...some went on to Nanjing if they went to university... ⁶²

Higher education might lead Chinese women to a career life. In this way Penny and her counterparts were among these new women in China, who played a new role in a traditionally male-dominated society. Jean saw the outcome of the elder women missionaries' work in improving the status of Chinese women and was proud of this evidence of God's power.

At the same time, as was common in missionary endeavours, Jean experienced some disappointments. One problem in the operation of a school such as Wende Girls School lay in the composition of the School Board. Although the practice by which much of the day-by-day management of the school was handled by Chinese members of staff was long-established and successful, the governing body included non-Christians who, in Jean's opinion, were unfamiliar with the moral and educational standards essential to such an institution. This was a kind of conflict between different values. People of different religions and cultures may share the same values. And people of the same culture may have different values. Jean interpreted this conflict of values as the one between

⁶² Interview with Stewart, Toronto, 26 December 1992.

Christians and non-Christians. She worried about the extent to which some board members might regard their connection with the school as a route to more power and gain. However, she still felt hopeful about her work and life. With such a strong Faith, she wrote that

...yet there have marched along with these fresh inspiration and encouragement which have been the leaven of the days, the sunshine of the weeks. And after all, life is made up of light and shadow, which made for diversity in the tapestry.⁶³

Finally, in 1945 Jean returned to Canada on furlough. Her father fell sick and then died. She visited some of her relatives and friends in Saskatchewan. She told them of what she saw and did in China. This inspired some people to begin raising funds for the Chinese people.⁶⁴ Her many years working on the field and her interest in religious education as well as the influence of her professor, John Line, at Victoria more than ten years before, made her choose further studies in religious education. She studied at Hartford in Connecticut during the period 1946-1947.

I will never forget the day when at Victoria College here, Prof. John Line paced the length of his study in distress when he had to tell me that there was no college in Canada for Rel.Ed. So I went to Hartford Conn. School of Missions and received my M.A. degree there.⁶⁵

⁶³ Stewart, "Tzeliutsing," Nineteenth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1943-1944 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1944), p. 241.

⁶⁴ Stewart's letter to the author, (ND, April 1993); "A Missionary Visits Saskatchewan", Missionary Monthly (August, 1946): 357.

⁶⁵ Stewart's letter to the author, (29 July 1991), p. 1.

After her graduation and spending some time in Canada, Jean returned to China, going back to Chongqing and doing evangelistic work at Wende School again. Now that the Sino-Japanese war had ended. But China was in the civil war between Jieshi Jiang's Nationalists and Zedong Mao's Communists, which would lead to the victory of the communists.

Until this time, Jean served as an experienced missionary. She found her life divided into three parts: the work with the school, the church and the evangelistic team. She observed that there was a happy relationship between girl students and teachers at Wende School through their religious activities. The CGIT program on Sunday evening service and Bible classes and prayer meetings were very worthwhile. These activities reflected the spirit of happy co-operation of the school life. In addition, they implied that Canadian culture was adjusted to the Chinese surroundings through the missionary activities. Jean served in the church as well, trying to enlist new people in the community to follow Christ. By her evangelization among the factory and farm workers, a number of women became her friends and asked her to help when they were afflicted by fire, bereavement, or other tragedies. In these meetings with them, Jean told Bible stories, spreading her Christian belief to them. At the same time she also taught general knowledge of health care and family care to these Chinese women. As well, she worked harmoniously with Chinese Christians.

With Penny and a Chinese pastor named Liu, she also made a number of trips to Pengxian and Renshou districts for a Workers' Conference and set up a Bible school for the people. The missionaries also visited some small stations and carried on special meetings in Chongqing.⁶⁶ All through this time she maintained a harmonious relationship with her surroundings and she enjoyed her positions. Although she still compared her own culture with the Chinese culture, Jean had become virtually a member of the new culture. She enjoyed travelling by rickshaws and wheelbarrows. She liked Chinese food very much, including sweet potatoes. And her liking of sweet potatoes surprised the people of Sichuan. The people were for a long time tired of its taste for they ate it as it was cheap. Rice and bread were expensive. These people thought it was simply terrible for the missionaries to eat such food. But Jean loved sweet potatoes and when she ate it she wanted more. Jean also wrote that, *"I like the Chinese buildings and country yards but I wonder what some of our fastidious housewives would say at the dirt that is taken for granted."*⁶⁷ Her attitude towards the Chinese culture was very positive and she felt happy about enjoying different things in China. With satisfaction, she talked to her CGIT girls in Wende School about her trips and her enjoyment in the Chinese ways:

⁶⁶ Stewart, "Educational and Evangelistic Work," Through Missionary Windows: Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of WMSUCC: 1949-1950 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1950), p. 160.

⁶⁷ Stewart, "An Evangelistic Travel in West China," Missionary Monthly (October 1948): 439.

I sleep the Chinese way, too; wrapped up in a padded quilt that I have had made, sleeping on the hard Chinese bed. We have had anything from a good bed, to a blackboard on trestles, from chapel seats, to the bare floor boards, and there in many unusual places which make things seem more interesting. I generally take my own mosquito net; it is supposed to keep out more than those pests but too often they get in anyway.⁶⁸

She also wore Chinese dress, using the qi-pao (旗袍), a kind of long tight-fit gown with some buttons down the side. In an interview, while talking about walking speed, Jean said that if she could not walk fast enough, she would unbutton the skirt and then she could walk as fast as she liked. One time her friend Penny decided that Jean's new blue cotton gown for travelling was too good and would attract attention to her, so she insisted that Jean wear one of her old ones. So she told her pupils:

...it was too warm for a sweater that time, and the sleeves were short. Then the neck would not meet and so I put a large safety pin to hold it together. With a large coolie hat on my head fastened with strings under my chin, I am really like something out of this world.⁶⁹

She had peaceful satisfaction with life, and a humorous attitude. Without devotion to the Christian cause and enjoyment in one's own work, it would be hard for a person to create such a humorous approach in such a different culture. It also suggests that Jean was somewhat beyond seeing

⁶⁸ Stewart, "The Evangelistic Team in West China Travels," Missionaries Monthly (October 1949): 444.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

cultural difference as very important and enjoyed privileges from a combination of the two cultures. Without a watch in the countryside, she enjoyed living by the sun and the habits of the people. It was her Christianity that led her to such an accommodation. For example, when she rode on the wheelbarrow which was pushed by men, she could walk several times during the trip. She felt sorry for the workers even though she paid good money for the ride. On the way to a remote village, when Jean knew that the place was being harried by robbers, she thought that the pitiful thing was that the robbers were just poor farmers finding life hard and seeing no way out but to rob others. Her conclusion was that it *"is a situation for which you cannot blame them but rather the state of the country now."*⁷⁰ With her love of Christianity, she had understood the people; with a spirit of devotion, she enjoyed her work; with this attitude obtained through knowledge and acceptance of the Chinese culture, Jean spent her last period in China, telling about her feelings: *"These were great adventures for Christ and we were all so happy about the feeling of welcome and interest shown in every place we visit."*⁷¹

In 1949 the Chinese Communist party won in the civil war and established the People's Republic of China. The new Chinese government sent a message to all Chinese Churches: *"(1) to advise the missionaries cooperating with them to return to their homes, and (2) to refuse to accept*

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Forbes, *Wide Windows*, p. 184.

*any financial assistance from outside China.”*⁷² Therefore, the Executive Committee of the Board of Mission suggested that the missionaries would stay until they felt they could not serve the people as they had done. Under the circumstances, the missionaries left one by one. Jean was given her permit to leave for Canada in July 1951.⁷³ Almost all missionaries had withdrawn from China by late 1952. Ultimately all the three missions in China including the WCM were closed in this way.

From 1952 to 1958, Jean worked in the home mission field in Montreal and Hamilton. In Montreal, she acted as a port worker at the Department of Stranger of the WMSUCC, to help immigrants by sending them supplies from the church. In Hamilton she did evangelistic work with a Japanese group. She was also involved in the English Family Service and Woman's Association program for these people. She enjoyed her work very much.

After a break during 1958-1959, Jean reentered the foreign mission field. With the retirement of two missionaries of the WMSUCC in Trinidad, she received the chance to work there and stayed until 1974. Then she finally retired from the missions and settled down in Toronto. But she was still involved in the church. For example, in the late 1970s, some boat-people came from Vietnam to Canada as refugees. The church helped them and Jean joined in. Among them was a woman with two

⁷² Ruth H. Taylor, “The Year in Review,” Through Missionary Window: Twenty-Seven Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1951-1952 (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1952), p. 151.

⁷³ Stewart's letter to the author, (ND, April 1993), Note 2.

little boys; the woman's husband had been separated and may have been killed. Jean recalled that:

One day, we were on the bus in the subway going downtown together...I started to talk with... words in Chinese. The woman looked up at me and said: "*You know Chinese!*"...so we got along fine. And I was her interpreter...I had a little bit of a refresher course with her for a while.⁷⁴

This showed that Jean longed for things Chinese, even after absence of more than two decades. In fact the Chinese culture had become one part of her life.

In 1981, when the economic reform in China opened the door to the outside world, Jean had an opportunity to visit Sichuan. She especially wanted to see her Wende School in Chongqing. To her joy and surprise, Jean met one of her former pupils who had by then become a doctor. Her former student came to say, "*Oh! Si Jiaoshi [斯教士, Missionary Si]! It is wonderful to see you!*" Then she showed Jean around Wende School. Jean also had a look at the house once she had lived in. At the school one teacher cried: "*Oh! I am seeing Stewart this evening, wonderful! Lovely!*" Also, Jean visited her close friend Penny in Chengdu and they had a long conversation. However, Penny did not mention what she experienced in the Cultural Revolution. During that period all religions were banned and most people with a religious belief were persecuted. Perhaps Penny did not

⁷⁴ Interview with Stewart, Toronto, 26 December 1991.

want to make Jean feel sorry for her. The two good friends had not seen each other for thirty years, and Jean hoped to stay with Penny for one week. Unfortunately, she spent only one day with Penny. According to regulations, as a foreigner, she was not permitted to stay overnight in a Chinese citizen's home.⁷⁵ While reminiscing about Penny and their happy reunion in 1981, Jean had tears in her eyes. Fortunately, in 1985 and 1988, Jean made two more trips to China, and met Penny again.



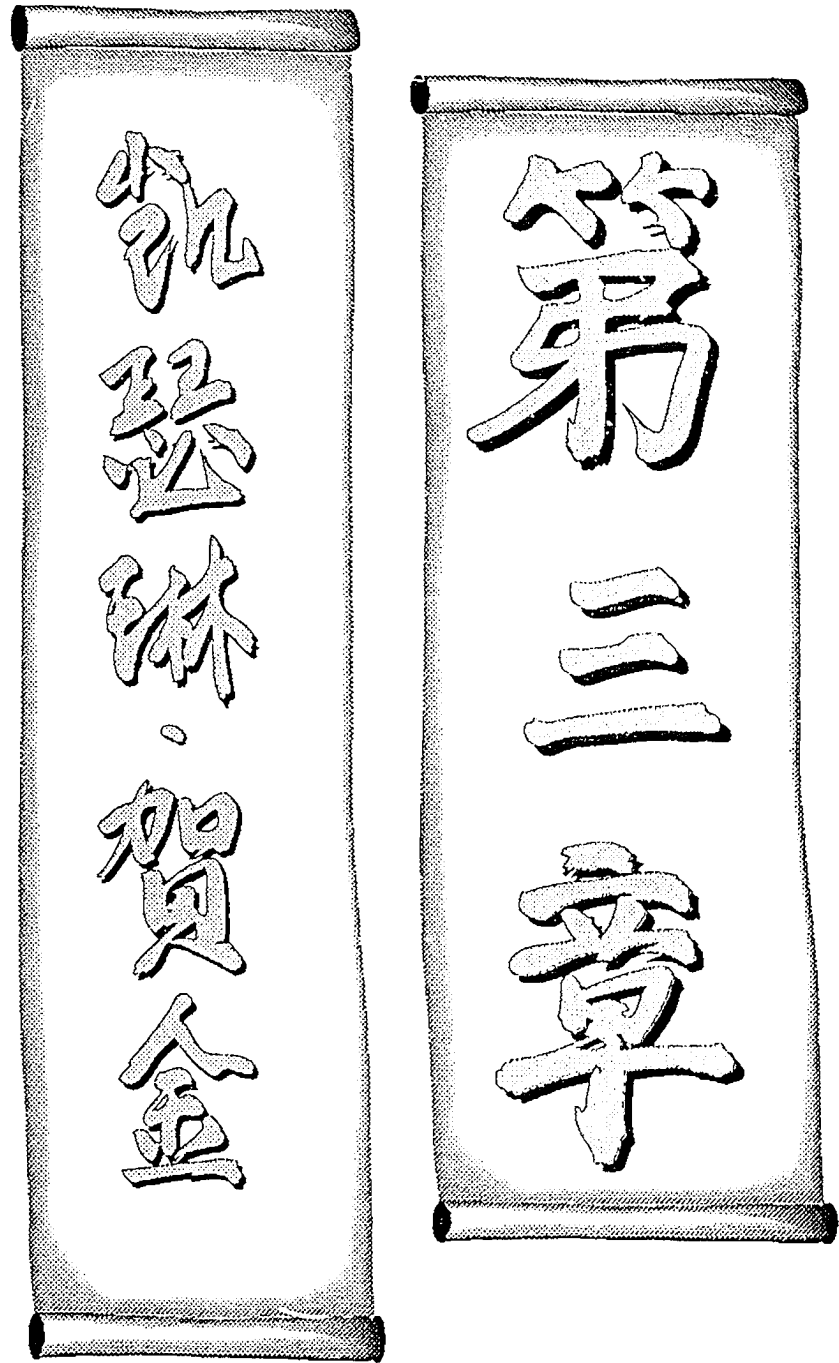
*A. Jean L. Stewart
in Toronto, 1991.*

In 1991 she moved into a nursing home run by the United Church. Jean is still concerned about China and keeps in touch with some Chinese friends. Sometimes she reads about China, where she spent most of her life. In her memory, Chongqing is a beautiful and foggy city. Across the city Jialing River is small and with fresh water, that is a blue, blue colour. Jialing River still flows softly in her mind.

The foreign mission story of Jean Stewart displayed her Christian spirit and her industrious work in spreading of the gospel to women in China. She undertook teaching and evangelistic duties. She helped educate many Chinese girls and led them to discover a knowledge of the world including the Christian world. She spread her religious belief to many Chinese women and helped release them from their suffering. At the same time

⁷⁵ Ibid.

she learned the Chinese language which helped her to deeply understand a very different culture and to communicate well with the Chinese people. During this process of spreading the gospel, Jean experienced a different culture with a joyful mind. Faced with meagre material conditions in China as compared with these in Canada, she was not discouraged. However, with a confirmed faith in her Christian belief, she analyzed and compared the two cultures. In addition, she learned from and adjusted herself to the foreign culture in order to realize her own ideal—that is, to spread Christianity to the Chinese people. Because of her strong faith in her belief, she spent about eighteen years working for the WCM with an enthusiastic sense of adventure, and found great satisfaction in her work.



Chapter 3:
Katharine B. Hockin

CHAPTER THREE

KATHARINE B. HOCKIN

Katharine B. Hockin was not originally a Maritimer. She was born on 19 August 1910 at Mount Emei, the sacred mount in Sichuan for Chinese Buddhists. However, her mother, Lily May Howie was born at Richibouctou, New Brunswick, and attended Mount Allison University. There she met a theology student, Arthur Hockin, a son of a missionary from England. They married on 4 August 1905. Lily's inspiration was Martha Cartmell, the first single woman missionary sent to Japan by the WMSMCC. And Lily's elder sister Jessie had been in Japan. Thus the young couple applied to go to Japan as missionaries. But there was no money for the mission there and they were asked to go to China. In 1908, with her now-ordained husband, Lily M. Hockin arrived in Sichuan under the BFMMCC. Tragically four years later, Arthur Hockin died in Shanghai while doing famine relief. As a result, Lily Hockin with her baby girl Katharine, returned to Canada.

In 1913, Lily was appointed to the WCM, this time by the WMS. She was the first single mother to be employed and sent to Sichuan by the Society. Thus as a child, Katharine with her mother returned to her birthplace where she *"attended the Canadian School for Missionaries"*

*Children at Chengtu for varying periods between 1918 and 1925*⁷⁶. Her biography in the UCC / Victoria University Archives shows that she had a thorough education.

Katharine's choice to become a missionary was spread over a number of years. At her birthplace of Mount Emei, she spent some holidays that made a profound impression on her childhood. Katharine recalls in her *"My Pilgrimage in Mission"*:

The great cliff towered above, crowned with Buddhist temples, the goal for the faithful on the long pilgrim way to the 10,000-foot summit. Our intermediate mountain was a magic summer location, particularly for the children of the holidaying missionary community. The idea of pilgrimage has this remembered context for me.⁷⁷

When she was sixteen years old she returned to Canada. Initially, it seemed that she did not like this country, for she knew nobody here and felt alone and frightened.

Return to Canada in 1926 was difficult, as such a culture shock is for many missionary kids. I was homesick for China, and for many years nurtured a sort of nostalgia for a time and a place that could never be realistically experienced again.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ "Biographical Sketches: Katharine Hockin," Canadian School in West China ed. Brockman Brace (Canada: Canadian School Alumni Association, 1974), p. 157.

⁷⁷ Katharine Hockin B., "My Pilgrimage in Mission," International Bulletin of Missionary Research (January 1988): 24.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

Probably, the only English she spoke was related to the country of her parents, where she might have been born—if her parents had not gone to China in 1908. But in China she actually knew a little about that country where she spoke English, growing up among the Canadians and studied on the campus of the Canadian School for Canadian missionary children. Katharine wrote that:

My young life was thus set in an accepted context of missionary service and dedication. Childhood in China was a very rich and privileged experience, but bounded by the foreign missionary community. We knew few Chinese apart from the servants who cared for us.⁷⁹

It appeared that Katharine experienced both cultures but could not really accept either of them while she was very young. She belonged, to adopt the terminology of the sociologist Robert E. Park, to the category of marginal person. According to the theory, migration creates a situation in which an individual strives to live in a cultural diversity so that the personality of the person is of unstable character. In the mind of the marginal person, the process of the conflicting cultures is visible and may be studied.⁸⁰

In fact the life of Katharine would indeed indicate that her early life in cultural diversity made her thoughtful. She experienced culture shock

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁸⁰ The concept of marginal person is originated from "*marginal man*" of Robert E. Park's "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, Vol.XXXIII, (May 1928): 881.

when very young, which emphasized to her the difference between the two cultures. Her own experience of diversity stimulated her to be interested in studies of cultural evolution and to have a mind for cultural explorations. Finally Katharine would understand both the cultures better and represent a combination of the two cultures.

In 1926, she entered a B.A. program at the University of British Columbia. During her college years she became much involved with the SCMC. Also, according to her recollection, *"courses in Asian and world history, and fellow students of Chinese and Japanese origin, made me aware of discriminatory immigration policies and also why so many in other lands were vocal about the Western colonial exploitation."*⁸¹ Thus she was reluctant to make any commitment to becoming a missionary to Sichuan when an inquiry came from there about her possible return. Being a *"life member"* of the WMS since the age of three, she had some missionary obligation. In reality she hoped to become a teacher at the Canadian School in Chengdu, not a missionary. Before Katharine considered taking education courses, she had consulted a respected senior friend and received some memorable advice from her:

"No one should be a teacher, unless compelled to, and the compulsion must come from within!" That bit of wisdom became very important for the decision that would eventually take me back to China!⁸²

⁸¹ Hockin, "My Pilgrimage in Mission", p. 25.

⁸² Ibid.

Her dream of teaching at the Canadian School could be explained by her fond memories of her school in Chengdu. There is some other evidence by Lelah A. Kerr, the first teacher of the school, which shows such feelings in former pupils: *"Another very interesting feature is that pupils who have left us even six years ago still remember and write to us...while another, already a gold medalist, has decided to enter the ministry and return to China."*⁸³

In 1931 Katharine obtained her B.A. from the University of British Columbia. She needed teaching experience before she went to China to instruct at the Canadian School, but

Canada was in depression at that time so she could not find any work. As a result she went back to the University of British Columbia and took courses in social work and followed others in education. Finally in 1933 she obtained a teaching position at the Ahousat Indian residential school on the coast of Vancouver Island.



*Katharine B. Hockin with her mother,
Lily M. Hockin, 1931.
Photo courtesy of Katharine Hockin.*

⁸³ Lelah A. Kerr, "Canadian School," Our West China Mission ed. Frederick Clark Stephenson, (Toronto: Missionary Society of Methodist Church, 1920) p. 377.

In 1936, after three years of teaching in this isolated place, Katharine received a bursary from the UCTS in Toronto, a school that allowed women to prepare for work in the church, following the decision of the UCC to ordain women. "*Gertrude [Rutherford, the principal of the UCTS] felt that once this decision had been made, trained women should be available.*"⁸⁴ Thus she arranged for a number of women, including three university graduates, to attend the training school, Katharine was among the three. All the three women university graduates at the training school were registered in advanced courses at the neighbouring Emmanuel College, to prepare them for ordination.⁸⁵ From this time Katharine realized the potential for women in theology. The year also marked a time that women in the UCC gained more opportunity for the theological training. This was an important progress for women's role in the mission field. As Katharine stated:

When the foreign missionaries went to China, and other societies where women were kept in the home, it was difficult for men to meet women in their function of teachers of evangelists. Doctors could not see women in bed. So, it was that the Women's societies had a special role in reachins [sic, reaching] women, and out of this grew the differentiation of mission work.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Hockin's letter to the author, (13 April 1993), p. 1.

⁸⁵ Mary Rose Donnelly & Heather Dau, Katharine Bochner Hockin: a biography (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books Inc., 1992), p. 77.

⁸⁶ Hockin's letter to the author, (13 April 1993), p. 1.

Katharine received the training at the School, while enrolled at Emmanuel College. This became her preparation for going to China.⁸⁷

However, fate intervened. She was told that her mother had been shot in the arm while travelling by bus on the way from her mission station, Leshan, to Chengdu. The bus had been held up by bandits and Albert Quentin, a missionary, told the driver to run through. When the driver did so, the bandits opened fire. Several persons, including Katharine's mother, were wounded and one elderly Chinese lady was killed. Katharine was unable to sleep through the night after she had heard of her mother's injury, mulling over what had taken place:

My father died and mother had always taught me that father died because he loved Chinese people. And he died because he was trying to help an old lady and that's when he got his typhus...father gave his life for China. And now if mother doesn't make it... and so next morning I went down and saw Gertrude; and said that "*I guess, I'd better be a missionary after all.*"⁸⁸

After having been examined, her application was accepted and she was then scheduled to go to Sichuan in 1937. However, that year, the Sino-Japanese war broke out, and it became impossible for Katharine to go to China. Therefore, instead of going to the East, Katharine went to the eastern part of Canada—she was sent to the Maritimes, working for two years as a field secretary of the SCMC in Halifax. During the time,

⁸⁷ Interview with Katharine Hockin, Toronto, 27 December 1991.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Katharine began to be familiar with the Maritimes where her parents met. Also the two years provided her “*with many occasions to clarify mission priorities*”⁸⁹. Combining some conflicting events in China with her understanding of missionary activities, she recalled a number of memories. For example, she thought of the class struggle in China:

...a leader of tu-fei [土匪, bandits] had been caught and executed for murder...that year when he had robbed the rich people and given money to the poor, he wasn't just greedy....but he certainly had an ideal. And before he was killed he gave a little speech and said that they could kill him, his father had been killed before him...and he said “*You can kill me, but this will go on as long as the poor suffer as they do.*”⁹⁰

Katharine regarded the young man as a combination of Robin Hood and Biblical prophet, Amos, a country man, who really preached to the rich on their duties to share.

Katharine also recalled another event which happened in 1925, during an anti-foreign period in China. One day a woman missionary, Edith Sibley, (mother of Mary Sibley who was one of Katharine's fellow students in the training school,) went into the street for a walk, not far away from the missionary compound in Chengdu. A Chinese man came up behind her and suddenly beheaded her, throwing her head into mao-

⁸⁹ Hockin, “My Pilgrimage in Mission”, p. 26.

⁹⁰ Interview with Hockin, Toronto, 27 December 1991.

fang (茅房, public toilet). Ultimately, the man was arrested and executed. But Katharine later said:

And when I think of the whole history of China, he was the one that what he did made me reconsider my own life...I've often thought of this young man as a sort of Chinese Robin Hood....he was also saying to the people: *"You have to have justice that as long as people suffer this way; you're going to have upsets and have violence."* ...So I went out to China with this very high evangelistic zeal. I was going to be a preacher of the gospel, the evangelist.⁹¹

Katharine analyzed the conflicts over killings of missionaries in China in terms of the Christian perspectives. It seemed to her that the spread of Christianity to the Chinese people was very important that it would help people to know the Christian spirit of love, and violence might be swept away, despite the fact that she might be seen as an imperialist.

Katharine's pursuit of her education and missionary career demonstrates that her parents' lives, especially her mother's, had a very important influence on her. The missionary compound in which she grew up nursed certain tendencies in her. Naturally she was tending to become a missionary, even though her original ideal was somewhat different. However, finally she carried on what her parents' generation had done or were doing. In addition, *"naturally, her birth in China meant a good deal of moving about as a child."*⁹² Her moving about gave her a broader view of

⁹¹ Interview with Hockin, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, 1 July 1992.

⁹² "Biographical Sketches: Katharine Hockin," Canadian School in West China ed. Brockman Brace, p. 158.

the world and she gradually saw more clearly the need of the people, which helped her to devote her life to evangelistic education. Her thinking confirmed her choice. Perhaps her experience of being a marginal person also influenced her sense of empathy or understanding of the people and oppressed bandits.

Finally, on 19 November 1939, Katharine received her chance to return to the East and sailed for China with her mother. As this was war time, travelling was difficult. The *Empress of Russia* sailed from Vancouver, through winter storms with Japanese air power threatening ahead and German submarines lurking behind. Fifteen days later, the ship reached Shanghai. Because of Japanese occupation of the coast, normal routes into Sichuan were blocked, and Katharine with other missionaries had to take another ship to Hong Kong, and from there they flew to Chongqing in Sichuan. In Chongqing they stayed overnight and took a truck to their destination, Chengdu. With another eleven missionaries Katharine began to study the Chinese language through a language program. It was a difficult course for them. Katharine and Margaret Meuser Day, both China-born, had some advantage over other students. Even then it took time to remember enough vocabulary, for Chinese has 10,000 characters as its functional vocabulary. After half a year formal language classes were ended, and all the students were posted to different stations in the region for independent language study for another year and half. Katharine was sent to Leshan where her mother,

Lily, had worked for years. She then continued the language study by working eight hours a day with two private tutors.

Because of the war, many colleges and universities in the Japanese-occupied areas were evacuated elsewhere. Wuhan National University, originally located in Wuhan (漢口), the capital city of neighbouring Hubei Province, now was evacuated to Sichuan, and the makeshift campus at Leshan was overcrowded. The mission compound offered a boarding school to the women students of Wuhan University. A number of young people wanted to learn English, so Katharine at least had a small class to teach. Thus, she received unusual acceptance among the Chinese. She was invited to take part in the university activities of the students' Christian group. However, another problem arose—inflation followed so that the missionaries' incomes declined in value. Katharine and her mother had very simple meals and journeyed on foot from village to village to preach and to visit church workers and schools. Then in the summer of 1941, Katharine attended a YW-YMCA student secretaries' conference during vacation at Mount Emei. She met many Chinese Christian leaders. At the conference there were also discussions like those during the Student Christian Movement in Canada. They even talked about the taboo subject of communism.⁹³ And from this time, Katharine began to pay attention to communist ideas.

⁹³ Donnelly & Dau, Katharine Boehner Hockin, pp. 89-105.

Thus in 1942, Katharine was transferred to the station in Pengxian in order to teach spoken and written English to Chinese girls in Huaying (Hwa Yin) School. This school was the oldest WMS girls' school in China. It had been located in Chengdu and evacuated to Pengxian because of the war. Initially, Katharine felt uncomfortable about her experience in Pengxian. First, she felt regret at terminating language study. Second, she felt sad to be separated from her mother. Katharine left her mother at the age of eight and lived at the boarding school. Since then she had lived for years without her mother nearby. Third, at Huaying School Katharine found it difficult to teach Chinese children at least at the start, it seemed as if they were not as eager for her approval as the young Indian children at Ahousat. She felt they did not even need her. There was only one pupil who responded favourably to her efforts. The mutual affection was obvious. But the result was that the other girls began asking Katharine when she would "*invite them for candy*". Without recognizing the cultural meaning of the question, Katharine answered "*anytime*". Then her favourite pupil became shy and even did not dare to meet Katharine, just ignoring her.⁹⁴ In China, a person's invitation of others for candy implies an invitation to celebrate an engagement or marriage or at least a claim of a special friendship. Also, in the pattern of arranged marriage, Chinese girls were always chosen, only men or parents had the right to choose. In addition, according to the Chinese tradition, there is always a social distance between teachers and students, and the students' status was

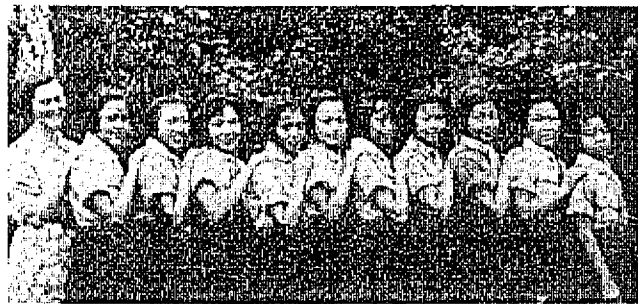
⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

inferior. A close relationship between teachers and students would meet with gossip and it was vulnerable to criticism. The girls' attempt to know how close the relationship was between Katharine and that girl pupil through such a question suggested that these girls were still under the influence of the traditional Chinese attitude towards women. They regarded Katharine's answer of "*anytime*" as her statement of a favour for that girl. Katharine was unhappy. If she had known the meaning of the question, she might have answered "*no*

candy" or "*nonsense*" or just ignored it. This was an example of cultural misunderstanding in Katharine's teaching

experience at a Chinese girls' school. However, Katharine had "*an*

emotional adjustment to a 'teaching' assignment...in education, and in doing a fairly professional piece of work in teaching English...and Class 18...eventually was a unit which was very loyal to me."⁹⁵



*Katharine with Class 18 at Huaying School
in Pengxian in 1943.*

Photo courtesy of Katharine Hockin.

In addition, Katharine had some other successes. She "*was responsible for the voluntary religious programs in the school...*"⁹⁶ She spent some time

⁹⁵ Hockin's letter to the author, (14 April 1993), p. 2.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

surveying the status of religions and education among girl students at the school. She found that 82 of 240 students held some religious beliefs, 50 were Christians and 30 were Buddhist as well as 2 of other beliefs. This indicated that some change had taken place in the general attitude about religion. In addition her survey showed that three-fifths of the girls hoped to go to university. One third of them had a definite goal there and the choice of 21 girls among 51 was medicine. Through the survey, Katharine concluded that *"these are the new women of China who regard scholarship as more to be coveted than the ancient arts of the home."*⁹⁷ Obviously, the girls' school helped create new women who had a different role from the traditional one. Education became the second step in the liberation of the Chinese women, the first one being the release of women from footbinding. According to a recent study, *"in the first decades of the twentieth century, missionary schools for girls provided leadership for Chinese government and private education and trained many other girls and women in handicraft industries."*⁹⁸ Through education, the status of Chinese women was changed. The WMS girls' schools were important in the change.

⁹⁷ Hockin, "Penghsien: Middle School and Religious Education," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1942-1943* (Toronto: United Church of Publishing House, 1943), p. 178.

⁹⁸ Marjorie King, "Exporting Femininity, Not Feminism: Nineteen-Century U.S. Missionary Women's Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women," *Women's Work for Women* ed. Leslie A. Flemming, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 124-125.

Because of the declining state of her mother's health, it was decided to send Katharine back to Leshan. By mid-August of 1943, Katharine was transferred back to Leshan and shared the WMS work with her mother.⁹⁹ Katharine reported that "*...my responsibilities involved educational administration, institutional accounts, and general station work rather than actual classroom teaching.*"¹⁰⁰ She found that the following year was filled with opportunity and frustration. Opportunity came from the fact that more groups and individuals showed that they welcomed and were interested in her evangelistic work. Frustration meant that her personal power was limited and some material things were not available. However, she was involved in many activities, such as Sunday School, choir practice, Young People's, Teacher's Fellowship, the Student Christian Fellowship in connection with the University, an English class with some bankers, teachers' play Bible study and so on.¹⁰¹ Two activities especially gave Katharine a sense of contentment. According to her report to the WMS, the first was:

...the Sunday School with high school age girls in which we have gone through the Old Testament and they have kept quite good note books, and the second a Bible study group with seven Wuhan University students preparing them for church membership...

⁹⁹ Hockin's letter to the author, (14 April 1993), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Hockin, "My Pilgrimage in Mission", p. 26.

¹⁰¹ Hockin, "Kiating," Twentieth Annual Report of the WMSUCC: 1944-45 (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1945), p. 245.

and one girl is devoting herself professionally to religious work under the auspices of the Y.W.C.A.¹⁰²

Katharine found the years in Leshan were gratifying despite the usual mix of contentment and frustration. This time she had the opportunity to live close to Chinese colleagues. Katharine and her mother opened their house to some of their dearest Chinese colleagues. By 1945, Katharine and her mother were the only foreign personnel left in the county of Leshan. They kept especially busy with a whole variety of church, school, hospital and student-relief activities. Then in August of 1945, Japan surrendered and the Sino-Japanese war ended.

The next year Katharine and her mother finally returned to Canada for furlough. At the suggestion of the Chinese church and the WMS in Toronto, Katharine entered Columbia University for graduate study. She took her Master's and Ph.D. degree studies in education.

I had been asked by the Sichuan Educational Committee to return to work with the voluntary religious programs in high schools as well as carrying responsibility for English teaching. This assignment provided the focus for study and allowed me to soak in records of China's educational development, as well as mission history. This was an opportunity to reflect on the time spent in China and strive for new perspectives.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Hockin, "Educational Work," Twenty-first Annual Report of the WMSUCC; 1945-1946 (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1946), p. 239.

¹⁰³ Hockin, "My Pilgrimage in Mission", p. 26.

During these years Katharine was engaged in meaningful research. This would be a real preparation for mission work in the future. Katharine's mother had retired, and she came to Yonkers near New York and stayed with her old friend Nettie Cadwallader and her husband. She also helped Katharine with her studies, taking notes, clipping papers and collecting periodicals. In addition they analyzed the educational system of Sichuan province and the missionaries' role as well as the influence of Christianity on the Chinese over years. Katharine recalled that:

...I remember she [mother] stopped and she said: "*When I went to China in 1908, I had my Bible and my love for the Chinese people. But I had never heard of unequal treaties.*"¹⁰⁴ She didn't know that she was tied up with a kind of imperialism that the unequal treaties made. And then she said to me, "*You do, you've got a difference.*" And so I had been one of the people who have tried to see things from the Chinese point of view as I learned after the liberation...¹⁰⁵

Katharine was indeed different from her mother. With a different inborn background and more cross-cultural experience as well as advanced studies, Katharine represented a brand new theological ideology among the second generation of missionaries. In her dissertation, **Education for Christian Secondary Schools for Girls in Szechuan, China**, Katharine did

¹⁰⁴ Since the first Opium War (1839-42) in China, some treaties between China and other invading countries have been assigned. For example, Treaty of Nanjing and Treaty of Tianjin (Tientsin) and so on. These treaties were of humiliating exactions by foreign powers. For example, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain and the opium trade was allowed in China. Freedom for missionary activity was assigned in Treaty of Tianjin in 1858. They were called unequal treaties.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Hockin, Dartmouth, N.S., 1 July 1992.

research on women's education and the change in women's status in China. She stated:

It has been pointed out how with the changing status of women in China that there becomes open to her constantly widening doors of opportunity. Most of the professions have significant representation from women, and even in politics there are more women than in many of Western countries.¹⁰⁶

In New York Katharine also met some Chinese colleagues, and they offered her a different view of China. The scholarship student of the WMS, Eleanor Liu, former principal of Wende School was one of her fellow students. Katharine came to know the couple Ting Kuang-hsun and Guo Siu-may. As well, she again met Y. T. Wu, who later became the leader of the Three Self movement in China, which called the church in China to be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. From them Katharine also received some Marxist ideas. Many years later, she still talked about Marxism. When talking about Marx's saying that religion is opium to the spirit of the people, she noted that this *"...was not original with Marx, but was quoted from a Christian sermon which Marx had heard in which the speaker had noted that opium is sometimes needed to help endure pain and continue to live. And sometimes religion can serve in this function!"*¹⁰⁷ Opium can reduce pain, Katharine stressed. In fact,

¹⁰⁶ Hockin, Education for Christian Secondary Schools for Girls in Szechuan, China (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1948) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 9083.058C, Subseries 5: 29-2), p. 171.

¹⁰⁷ Hockin's letter to the author, (14 April 1993), p. 3.

the function of religion is similar to that of opium¹⁰⁸, since religion can release the people from a suffering life or lessen people's suffering. Here we see Katharine's viewpoint on Marxism. At this period the communist revolution was taking place in China. She foresaw that missionaries "*...may suffer persecution, but more because of our unyielding support of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists than for our Christianity.*" ¹⁰⁹

In 1948, Katharine finished with her studies in New York, also having developed some political understanding of China as discussed amongst and formed through the influence of the young Chinese studying at Columbia. She shared with them the opinion and feeling that their option of Marxism was the most viable. Her book, Servants of God in People's China, which was published in 1962, shows her ideas concerning Christianity and communist ideas in China through examining Chinese modern history period by period. She stated that her approach "*...is very much affected by the experience of living through days of the revolution in West China, of seeing a change come about that was limited to government structure, but which molded and continues to shape minds and hearts.*"¹¹⁰

In December 1948, with the first doctorate sponsored by the WMS, Katharine left Canada again for China. The WMS's "*stake in women's education and that of promising women church workers had been the*

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Hockin, Dartmouth, N.S., 1 July 1992.

¹⁰⁹ Donnelly & Dau, Katharine Boehner Hockin, p. 125.

¹¹⁰ Hockin, Servants of God in People's China (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), p. 9.

major factor in the institution's remarkable success." ¹¹¹ Katharine had grown up under the WMS and her education was sponsored by the Society so that she felt a duty to work with the Society and repay it. After having been back in Sichuan, with a female Chinese colleague, Xiji Yu, Katharine visited the WMS schools in the region as education secretary for the province. By that time Katharine felt quite at home in China. She rode her bicycle through the streets for meetings, and sometimes she and Xiji took walks and rides in the countryside.

Katharine and Xiji became very close friends. Xiji came from a scholar's family in Beijing; her father was liberal and permitted all of his daughters to receive education, unlike most other parents in China at that time. Xiji got her early education at a school run by a former British missionary. One time when Xiji chose a red crayon to colour a map of China, the British mistress rapped her knuckles and told the child not to use red; she said "*Red belongs to the British Empire*". The experience of being scolded stayed in Xiji's mind and formed her private antagonism toward Christianity. During the Sino-Japanese war, Xiji took refugees to Chengdu and went to the Child Studies Centre for the training program for women in early childhood education. Because of being a gifted and bright student, Xiji was chosen by the director of the school, Annie Thexton. Through the WMS, Annie arranged to send Xiji for a Master's degree at the Child Studies Institute in Toronto. Two years later she

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 133.

returned to China, travelling on the same ship with Katharine. Two years of studies in Canada did not change her attitude of distrust of missionaries, and she still kept her distance from Christianity. However, after a long voyage with Katharine, Xiji came to feel Katharine was different from other missionaries, and this was how she became friends with Katharine.

The friendship remained important for both Katharine and Xiji. They often visited each other and cooked for each other and they also went to visit schools and churches together. The pattern of friendship between Katharine and Xiji was common among single women missionaries and educated Chinese women. For example, another pair of close friends in the compound were Annie Thexton and Pearl Chiang.¹¹² Jean Stewart also had her close friend, Penny. How did these women of different cultures become good friends? Why did they like each other? This phenomenon could be explained as a result of cultural interaction within missionary activities. To the women missionaries, their working associates often involved Chinese women. They learned Chinese and became used to the new surroundings. At the same time they influenced more Chinese women by teaching, preaching the gospel and letting them know their ideas and their idealistic life according to the Bible. In this way their ideals and values were gradually accepted by the Chinese women, particularly by the well educated Chinese women. They also learned from

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 129-138.

these Chinese friends in many important ways. Katharine also indicated in her last letter to the author:

...by the time my generation arrived, a new generation of Chinese had developed with the same standards of living and educational background as we had. That was why we were assigned to work under the authority of the Chinese church which today has developed to a careful and affirming statement of partnership with overseas churches.¹¹³

Some Chinese women had abandoned the former life style and chose the new one by obtaining more education and pursuing a career life. These women needed understanding and support and their ideal models were the missionaries. Thus these women of different cultures came to identify with each other, the real links being Christianity and women's culture. The single missionaries also had less chance of finding ideal husbands in the mission fields, and the educated Chinese women faced the same situation. Most Chinese men could not accept these oriental women outside the Chinese tradition. The friendship between the single women, occidental and oriental, became very important for them. They shared both English and Chinese, Christian spirit, economic independence, teaching and preaching the gospel, emotional loneliness and even some antagonism from Chinese society. This was a marginal culture, that originated and grew within the missionary activities in Sichuan, as a sub-product of the WMS's project. According to Katharine's memory, most

¹¹³ Katharine's letter to the author, (17 April 1993), p. 3.

women missionaries quite naturally had their close Chinese friends. The function of the friendship was the same as the family.¹¹⁴ This also indicated a pattern of women's life during the transition from working at home to working outside of home. According to Katharine:

It was part of the social structure of that time. (This is some what parallel to a change that I am much aware of in Canada today. In the past women working in the church were also single—now I seldom meet anyone has not been married, or is married and probably has had children.)¹¹⁵

In addition, the friendship also became a sort of shelter for both the Canadian and Chinese women, particularly on the eve before the new regime was to appear in China, because they did not know what was the future situation would be. The close friendship between Canadian women missionaries and Chinese educated women also indicated some change in the missionary attitude toward the Chinese. Katharine's generation was somewhat different from Lily's.

Lily's generation had kept a physical and emotional distance from the Chinese, believing it was in the best interests of their health to do so; in Chinese homes water not boiled and any hygiene was unpredictable. Katharine, on the other hand, had intellectual and spiritual equals among the Chinese.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Interview with Hockin, Dartmouth, N.S., 1 July 1992.

¹¹⁵ Hockin's letter to the author, (17 April 1993), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Donnelly & Dau, Katharine Boehner Hockin, p. 138.

From the recent study by Rosemary R. Gagan, more examples of this can be found. A case is of Mary Foster of Nova Scotia. Foster's petition to go back to Sichuan, after her recovery from a nervous breakdown during the furlough in Canada, was rejected, because of her former close relationship to a male Chinese tutor, about which other women missionaries were reluctant to talk. *"Foster's fate became an object lesson for any newcomer who might have questioned the women's circumspection about mingling with Chinese society."*¹¹⁷ Through a long period of working in the mission field, the attitude of Canadian missionaries towards the Chinese had changed, and a close friendship between missionaries and educated Chinese was a statement about this kind of change in Chinese society and among the missionary community.

As the regional education secretary, Katharine was asked to carry the work of association educational secretary in order to lighten the load of the WMS's secretary-treasurer, who was tremendously over-burdened. Katharine spent some time at Huaying School in Chengdu and the stations in Zigong, Rongxian and Leshan. She valued her experience very much as a background for her future work.¹¹⁸ In addition she found that:

Both at Wen Teh and Hwa Yin, which are our two full scale high schools, the principals and staff show an interest in Christianity

¹¹⁷ Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, p. 133.

¹¹⁸ Ruth H. Taylor, "The Year in Review," Through Missionary Window; Twenty-Fifth Annual Report Of the WMSUCC: 1949-1950 (1950), p. 150.

that is active and warm, and students are very openly friendly. If only we are allowed to carry on for a few years something worthwhile should be accomplished. ¹¹⁹

However, in 1949 in Sichuan there was great political tension. *"Liberation came on December 24th."* ¹²⁰ And the communist government gradually took over control of Sichuan. Because of the extreme dissatisfaction with the former regime, most of the Chinese people welcomed the change. A complete reorganization of all administration involved all institutions whether government or private, including Christian schools and hospitals. Facing the new political situation in China, Katharine wrote to Mrs. H. D. Taylor, secretary of the Society:

I realized that my own determination to work on in Communist China must be checked by the willingness of my Chinese colleagues to have me...I came to the conclusion that we were lacking in any really comprehended common goal in terms of immediate action or policy, and that there would be some overall plan, so that the problems of going and staying were thought of in group term instead of putting so much responsibility on the individual-a responsibility which was really put there by virtue of the fact that we have freedom of personal choice in staying or leaving. ¹²¹

At that time Katharine thought a lot about missionary work in China and tried to compromise between her Faith and the new order. It was

¹¹⁹ Hockin's letter to people in Canada, (24 February 1949) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 83.058C, Subseries 5: 29-2), p. 3.

¹²⁰ Hockin's letter to the author, (17 April 1993), p. 3.

¹²¹ Hockin's letter to Mrs. H. D. Taylor, (11 November 1949) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 83.058C, Subseries 5: 29-2), p. 1.

obvious that the most Chinese welcomed the communist regime.

Katharine had memories of that:

In the early days after "*liberation*" the Chinese church recognized a lot of improvement and really had no alternative but to "*live*" in this situation. They had some feeling about God's assignment to them within the new society, and we as foreigners seemed to be most creative in trying to understand and support their decisions.¹²²

On 18 January 1951 Katharine applied to leave the WCM, because Xiji was sent by the Chinese educational colleagues to tell Katharine that her presence was more negative than positive. Later, the Chinese Church had to issue the Christian Manifesto to affirm its loyalty to the new government and country. The manifesto asked Christian churches and organizations in China to get rid of the imperialistic influence which was brought by missionaries from the imperialistic countries and stressed the spirit of the Three Self Movement. In a letter to Mrs. Taylor, her affection about the change in China and her introspection on the missionary enterprise can be traced:

I...thought of how very much I love this country and how much a part of me it has become. The Land Reform is bringing a very real release from old oppression and wrongs, and in the towns through Labour Union organization there is a new consciousness of self-respect and a desire for independence that are basically good. It is a deep hurt to realize that in all this there is no place for what we have to give.

¹²² Hockin's letter to the author, (17 April 1993), p. 4.

...

We are very confused these days—I say we because that is the atmosphere of most informal conversations between missionary friends. Why have we failed so badly? It is true that the West has sown the wind in the last century of exploitive and unequal relations with this land and other territories. Now the harvest is the whirlwind, and it looks as though nothing could abate the force of this tempest. As with Pandora's famous box, the lid is off and the force is released. And who can say that God is not at all in the whirlwind? The trouble is how do we get ourselves on God's side? Certainly we can no longer be complacent about fitting Him into our comfortable human pattern.¹²³

In April 1951 Hockin was supposed to receive an exit visa to leave China. She had been treated as an guo-ji jian-die (国际间谍, international spy); she did not know why but it seemed that she had been linked with a Chinese woman who had been arrested in Zigong for anti-government activities.¹²⁴ Katharine did not get the Foreign Affairs Office permission to leave until November, and the last period in China was hard for her, both spiritually and physically—she caught typhoid before she left. Finally Katharine left China as the last Canadian single woman missionary from Chengdu. Although she was misunderstood in China, Katharine had a theory concerning the withdrawal of missionaries. She believed that it was because of the outbreak of the Korean war in June 1950 and not because the communists came to power in China that the Christians left. The Americans' defence of South Korea was seen as an enemy action since

¹²³ Hockin's letter to Mrs. Taylor, (4 February 1951) (UCC / Victoria University Archives: WMS papers: 83.058C, Subseries 5: 29-2), p. 1.

¹²⁴ Donnelly & Dau, Katharine Boehner Katharine, p. 156.

China was fighting in North Korea and almost all the Chinese regarded Western foreigners as enemies. Katharine told that

...the reason I was uncomfortable in China...after the liberation had nothing to do with the fact that I was a believer. It was because I had oppressed Chinese people. And when the Korean War came I became an enemy alien. Canadians can understand because we treated the Japanese the same way. The Japanese were put in concentration camps here in Canada. And it got the point in West China where the Chinese church that wanted to support his own government...so the war in Korea was a political issue and it made me an enemy alien.¹²⁵

Having returned to Canada, Katharine lived in Toronto, where initially

she worked at the UCTS for six years as a member of the staff. After a furlough, she went to India for one year of study. Then in 1961, she obtained a degree of Bachelor of Divinity while working for the SCMC.

Three years later,

Katharine was appointed as Dean of Studies of the

Ecumenical Institute of Canada with responsibility for training missionaries and teaching courses in Christian Mission. Once she was even nominated



*Katharine at her home
in Toronto, 1991.*

¹²⁵ Interview with Hockin, Toronto, 27 December 1991.

for Moderator of the UCC. Finally in 1976, she retired but remained still very active in church activities. After 1977, Katharine visited China four times and had in touch with the Chinese Church members. She still retained hope for the Chinese church and for the Chinese people, saying that her duty in Canada was to help more Canadians to understand China.

Katharine was one of the few missionaries who became interested in the influence of communism. The reason is that she was born in China and later experienced the country like the Chinese. Also, she did a lot of research on Chinese history, as did other young educated people who were seeking a way for the future of China. In 1949, the majority of the Chinese chose the Communist Party. Katharine tried to understand. Several decades later, Katharine still held hope for the Chinese people. She stated:

I do know that the Chinese people have a deep understanding that *"when the son of heaven ceases to bring harmony to the people, that imperial power will suffer the judgement of heaven."* It does take generations though. So I have faith in the Chinese people. But my present connections are with the Church in China, its need for connections with other parts of the world Christian community, its work in the Amity foundation [a Christian organization in Nanjing, China].¹²⁶

Katharine Hockin had come from a traditional missionary family. Her birth in Sichuan and her family background influenced her towards missionary work in the WCM, though her original goal was not to be a

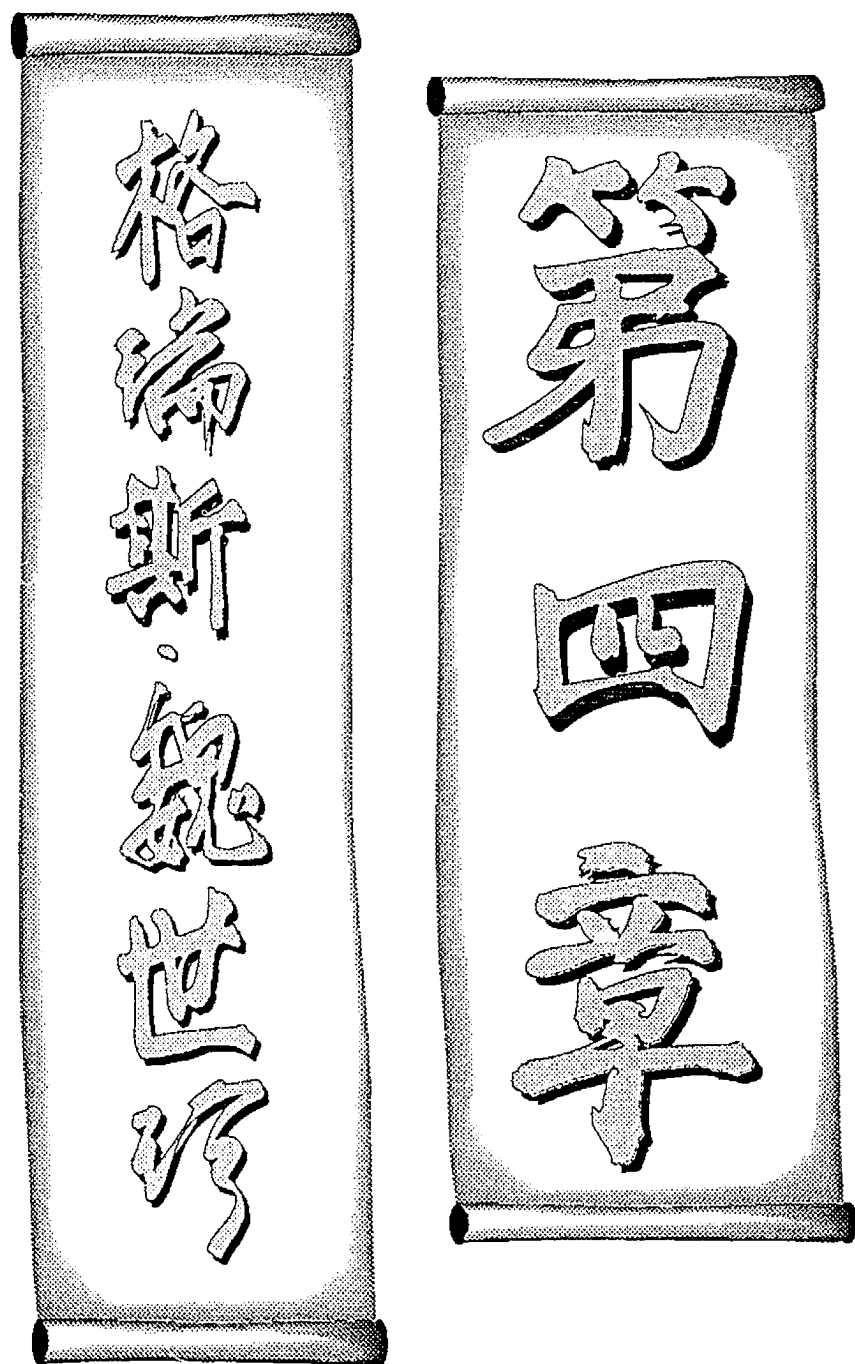
¹²⁶ Hockin's letter to the author, (17 April 1993), p. 4.

missionary but to be a teacher at the Canadian School in China. Katharine was among the second generation of Canadian women missionaries who grew up in a more liberal society which provided more chance for women to express their humanity. Katharine had the opportunity to receive more education, something that helped her to have a broader view of missionary activities and to take a different approach to the Chinese society.

Katharine's childhood spent in the Canadian community in Sichuan led her to understand both the missionary cause and the Chinese society more deeply in the future. Katharine's life in China spans three periods of Chinese history: the last year of the Qing Dynasty, the Republican period with the Sino-Japanese War, and the Civil War as well as the emergence of the People's Republic. She had lived in several different countries: China, Canada, the United States and India. Her unusual life experience and cross-cultural work helped her think more, seek truth more widely and understand the different cultures better. Christianity is the source of her strength. From it she absorbed ideals of justice with which to judge the world. Her attitude towards Chinese women, Chinese history, and even towards the Chinese communists, as well as her feelings on Marxist ideas, identified her with educated Chinese. Her liberal way of thinking and enlightened approach showed her Canadian educational background and independent womanhood. Katharine herself can be regarded as a person with a combination of the different cultures of Canada and China. Theresa Chu, former Director of the Canada-China Program, the Canadian Council of the Churches, has described Katharine as

Deeply rooted in and attached to Canada, her heart embraces the whole universe, while China remains a passion in her life. ... Mary Rose [Donnelly] and Heather [Dau] point out that, "*for Katharine, there is no distinction between sacred and secular.*" Because the secular is sacred for her, her faithfulness is carried with joy into every iota of her life. This is why, though born towards the second decade of this closing century, she is a woman of the future.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Theresa Chu, "Foreword," Katharine Boehner Hockin, by Donnelly & Dau, p. 7.



Chapter 4:
Grace M. Webster

CHAPTER FOUR

GRACE MURRAY WEBSTER

Margaret Grace Murray is the maiden name of Grace Murray Webster, who was born on Cape Breton Island on the first of October 1911. While she was in school, there were several girls in her class named Margaret, so in order to avoid confusion, the teacher decided to call her Grace, and this name has been used since. In the year 1938, with her husband Rev. Roy E. Webster, Grace left for China with her four-month-old baby boy under the BFMUCC. Not till 1949 did the family return to Canada. In a letter Grace tells that:

I was born on a farm near Sydney, N.S.. My mother died in child-birth when I was 4 1/2 years old. From what my relatives have told me, she was very much interested in missionary work. I think she must have planted the ideas in the first place. My younger brother was 2 years old at the time, and my aunt Kate took the 2 of us to live on a farm near New Glasgow, N.S. with my grandmother, Mrs Margaret MacLean. Her nephew was Rev. George Ross, a missionary to Honan [Henan]. He hoped I would go as a missionary to Honan!¹²⁸

Ross and his wife had been sent by the Presbyterian / UCC to work in Henan Province of China for the NCM from 1903 to 1940. Every time when he came back to visit the family, he used to say "*Margaret for Henan*". The

¹²⁸ Mrs. Webster's letter to the author, (20 July 1991), p. 1.

story of Ross made a deep impression on little Grace and a seed of being a missionary was nurtured in Grace's heart. A mother's wish and an elder's hope made Grace regard missionary work as her ideal during her childhood as it did for Jean Stewart. Grace's grandfather had been a minister, and when Grace was just a few months old she was baptized in a Bible class, because the nearest church was several miles away from her home. When about 14 years old she herself decided to join the United Church, hoping to become a medical missionary. When Grace was sixteen years old, Aunt Kate died. Aunt Lena Maclean bought a house in Halifax to make a home for her. In 1929, Grace entered Dalhousie University for three years of studies, receiving her B.Sc. in 1932; then she studied medicine for another four years.¹²⁹ Because she was the only female student in her class, the school could not provide her with a uniform but gave her five dollars for material. Thus Grace had to



*Grace in her self-made dress,
1935.*

Photo courtesy of Grace Webster.

¹²⁹ "Pharos", Year Book of Dalhousie University, Vol. 8, (Halifax: the Council of the Students, 1936), p. 37.

choose the pattern and made the dress herself. In the immediately following years in the medical program at Dalhousie there was still generally only one woman in class every year, and sometimes not even that.¹³⁰ In the 1930s, women students in the medical program were still very few. This pattern had been kept for decades, even though Dalhousie had taken in its first woman medical student, Annie Isabella Hamilton, in 1888. Finally Annie went to China as a medical missionary after finishing her M.D..¹³¹ One reason is that it was very hard for women graduates to find work after graduation at that time, the major cause being sexism; it took many years for women to be accepted in society in such roles. Like dentistry and university teaching, medicine had been a male-dominated profession for a long time. A recent study by Judith Fingard shows that:

Gender discrimination was often the lot of women who continued to work until retirement age, married or not. Women in the professions found they could not compete with the men for the lucrative positions despite their identical training at university. Their quarrel was not with the university but with society, which allowed them to think of themselves as equals during the years of their education and then consigned them to job ghettos once they entered the work-force.¹³²

At the university, there was a group of medical students who were

¹³⁰ Interview with Mrs. Webster, Toronto, 6 September 1992.

¹³¹ Enid Johnson MacLeod, Petticoat Doctors (Lawrencetown Beach, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press, 1990), pp. 11-12.

¹³² Judith Fingard, "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," Youth, University, and Canadian Society ed. Paul Axelrod & John G. Reid, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 44.

interested in missionary work; Grace joined them and they influenced each other. As did Jean and Katharine, Grace often took part in the activities of the SCMC. As well, Grace acted as co-president of the Student Volunteer Group at Dalhousie. A report carried in the Missionary Monthly in 1931, stated the following:

The Student Christian Movement Conference for the Maritime Provinces met at Deep Brook, Nova Scotia May 28,-June 4. 35 students present. Dalhousie's only representative was Miss Grace Murray, a medical student volunteer of the United Church.¹³³

Thus, being both a female student in medicine and a student Christian activist, Grace Murray was a somewhat special figure for her time. She worked very hard for her ideal and ultimately realized it. Sixty years later in one of her letters, she tells of how she met Jean at that "*Deep Brook Conference*" in 1931. And seven years later they met again, this time in Chongqing, China. She remembers: "*When we flew into Chungking on our way to Chengtu in 1938 she [Jean] was there to greet us! She went to Chungking in 1933.*"¹³⁴

Grace's childhood dream was to go to Henan Province as a missionary, but she went to Sichuan Province instead. There were two factors that influenced her: her marriage in 1937, and the out-break of the

¹³³ Mina McKenzie, "In the Annapolis Valley," Missionary Monthly Vol.V, No.9 (1931): 399.

¹³⁴ Mrs. Webster's letter to the author, (31 July 1991), p. 2.



*M. Grace Murray, 1936.
Year Book of Dalhousie University.*

Sino-Japanese War in the same year. Grace received her degree of Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery from Dalhousie in August 1936, then after her graduation she worked on an ad hoc basis in the medical field in Nova Scotia. Roy Webster graduated from a B.A. program from Dalhousie in 1935, then from the theology program of Pine Hill Divinity College in 1937. Both of them applied for overseas missions, hoping to be able to go right away.

But due to the church's financial situation, they had to wait for a more opportune time to go overseas.

Therefore, in 1937, Grace took a post-graduate residency at Saint John General Hospital in New Brunswick. Roy took a congregation at Murray Harbour in Prince Edward Island after his graduation, with an understanding that if the way was open they would leave for China. Six weeks later they got words from the overseas board, asking, "*can you be free to go to China right away?*" So Grace received permission from the hospital and Roy resigned from his position. Then they got married on 17 August 1937. Part

of the marriage announcement read as follows:

The bride was a graduate of Dalhousie University, Halifax, in medicine this year and her husband, a 1937 graduate of Pine Hill Divinity College, Halifax. They expected to leave for China in September where they were to do mission work for the United Church of Canada.¹³⁵

But the situation changed so quickly that immediately after the wedding, Roy's brother handed them a telegram which he had just received. The telegram said: "*All sailing postponed, delay shopping, writing particulars.*" This message arrived because the Japanese had launched an attack on Shanghai.¹³⁶ Grace did not go back to the Saint John Hospital but instead went with her husband back to the congregation at Murray Harbour, from which Roy had resigned. Now, with a delay of at least a whole year ahead, they decided it was a good time to start a family. Thus Grace had her first child born in Prince Edward Island. Upon being asked why she did not go ultimately to Henan. Grace wrote in a letter:

...when we decided to be married, circumstances changed. At that time a married woman was not employed separately from her husband. So we went out to China as a married couple. I don't know for sure, but I think the war with Japan made it unwise to send any more missionaries to Honan in 1938.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ "Personals," The United Churchman, Vol.12, No. 34 (25 August 1937): Page Five.

¹³⁶ Mrs. Webster's talk to a group of church women in Zion Wexford United Church, Toronto, 8 February 1990, (tape recording, Mrs. Webster's possession).

¹³⁷ Mrs. Webster's letter to the author, (31 July 1991), p. 1.

Her marriage implied combining her career with her husband's, so she was sent out with him to Sichuan under the BFMUCC. Concerning this realization of her ideal, Grace felt she was fortunate. It was hard to get sufficient funds for sending missionaries overseas, as Canada had not yet come out from the shadow of the Great Depression. Sending each missionary meant a lot of funding collected among many Christians. In another letter Grace indicated that there were

...the groups of church women across Canada who met in small groups to study, pray, and give money to send missionaries. It would take hundreds of women's gifts to send one missionary overseas.¹³⁸

It was not easy to get funding for missionary activities, especially for overseas missions during that period. For example, during Grace's studies at Dalhousie, there were three girls in medicine, all of them wanted to be missionaries, but

I was the only one of the three that actually got overseas...And they said "*India wants you; Africa wants you; China wants you.*" So we said we'll go where we were sent...¹³⁹

Finally, on the first of October 1938, on her twenty-seventh birthday, Grace and her husband sailed from Vancouver to China with their new-

¹³⁸ Mrs. Webster's letter to the author, (20 July 1991), p. 1.

¹³⁹ Interview with Mrs. Webster, Toronto, 20 December 1991.

born baby boy in their arms and their long-held dream in their hearts, sailing on the same ship with Pearl Chiang, a former secretary of YWCA in Chongqing, who was going back to China after her studies in Canada. Upon reaching Hong Kong they expected to fly to Sichuan. At this time it was impossible and it was arranged that they should go on board a French-Indo China (Vietnam) boat. At last they landed in Haifeng (Haiphong) in Guangdong Province. Travelling by rail, they reached Yunnan Province in China; and from there they flew to Chongqing, and then they flew to Chengdu.

After this very hard journey from Canada to China, Grace and her husband and settled down in Chengdu. However, more difficulties were waiting for them in the form of Japanese bombers. The first time Grace saw the bombers, she was mesmerized by their terrible beauty; the tiny forms high in the sky, the steady drone of their engines, and the flashes of their explosions in the city. She simply grabbed her baby in her arms, and continued staring until the airplanes had gone over. The next time she hid with the baby under the dining-table. There was no air-raid shelter in the city, because in Chengdu, the water-table is ten inches below the surface. As a result, the couple made sure they were never more than fifteen minutes away from their baby in case of an air-raid.

In addition, during the war period, food was in short supply. Milk was hard to get and expensive. But because they needed it for their baby, Murray, they sought out an unusual source. Grace got milk for Murray from Frank Dickinson, an agriculturalist, who was in charge of the

foreign cows of Madame Meiling Song, the wife of Jieshi Jiang. When, later, the Websters went to a small town, they had to buy their own cow for milk.

In order to learn Chinese, Grace hired a da-niang(大娘, nanny) to take care of her baby. Then, she attended language classes Monday to Friday and there at the Canadian School on the campus of the West China Union University. From her Chinese woman helper she became aware of footbinding, since this da-niang had tiny feet of which all her toes were crowded together. When talking about footbinding the woman felt she had been misused, but she was happy about her daughter, for her daughter had escaped the mother's fate, benefiting from the anti-footbinding campaign. So when Grace saw Chinese women in the late 1930s, large numbers of them had been released from such cruelty. Grace noticed that almost all women older than her had tiny feet, but the young women about her age had normal feet. And many Chinese women felt that the unbinding of feet was a very important change in their lives or their daughters' lives. At this time, the Chinese women's social status had been changed considerably, so that they had more choice for their own lives. During June of the second year, the Websters went to Pengxian (Penghsien) to continue their language study. There Grace experienced her first emergency case, a woman's delivery. At the beginning things seemed normal as the baby's head emerged. But every time between contractions the head was drawn back inside the body. Grace recalled that:

I realized it was a very serious situation, and I put my arm around my head to explain because I did not have the Chinese word to explain. The baby's cord was around the neck. Fortunately the midwife had forceps and was able to deliver the baby quickly and get a cord from around the neck, but the child appeared to be dead. And there was a woman standing around, making comments: "*Nothing we can do! Nothing we can do!*" ¹⁴⁰

Faced with this terrible situation, Grace started artificial respiration. And she also asked for warm water, cold water and basin in order to stimulate the baby. After some artificial respiration, she put the baby in cold water, then in warm water and again she repeated the respiration. She did this without knowing how long it would last or even if the process would work. Finally the baby started breathing and there was great joy in the room when it became obvious that the baby would survive. Forty days later the baby's family had a traditional party to celebrate its survival. This was because Chinese families often lost babies. When a baby was born and survived, the family and relatives would have a party to celebrate.¹⁴¹

During this birth crisis, Grace experienced both feelings of frustration and joy. A language problem was the first difficulty almost every missionary would meet in this foreign country. Being unable to speak Chinese fluently made communication difficult. Grace met the same situation as Jean Stewart did on Mount Emei. As she could not express herself well in Chinese, she felt helpless. As early as the

¹⁴⁰ Mrs. Webster's talk to a group of church women in Zion Wexford United Church, 8 February 1990, (tape recording, Mrs. Webster's possession).

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

beginning of the WCM, the missionary pioneers realized that good spoken Chinese was the first requisite of missionary work, so that they

...laid it down as a fundamental principle that missionaries must master the spoken language... Soon the regulations required two full years of language study before beginning work.¹⁴²

However, Grace had used her medical skill to overcome the frustration. Her success in helping in the emergency was satisfying to her. Furthermore, it led some Chinese to believe that the medical power of the missionaries came from Christianity and some of them came to believe in Christianity. Healing thus became an essential expression of the spirit of Christ. Because of this, the medical missionaries faced less frustration than preaching missionaries and it was easier for them to be accepted by the Chinese. Their work was typically described by Beaton: *“Medical Mission also has a task in the relief of suffering through medicine and surgery, the prevention of disease through teaching hygiene, sanitation and other public health subjects in both Government and Mission schools and is a powerful evangelistic agency.”*¹⁴³

Like Jean and Katharine, Grace spent a lot of time learning spoken Chinese, and practising it with her Chinese tutor and trying it on any Chinese she met. During language study in Chengdu, Grace was taught Chinese pronunciations in *“phonetic script”*, and then she learned

¹⁴² Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh, p. 23.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 100.

Chinese characters. But she concentrated on the “*spoken language*”, it was easier to master than the written language. In a letter to the author, Grace recalls this experience:

When the Chinese teacher came to the house for my lesson, I would have him read the hymn slowly & I would write it in “*script*”. Then on Sunday I could sing along with the rest of the choir.¹⁴⁴

In this way she learned to speak Chinese and many years later, after she returned to Canada, when she was studying French she could not help letting Chinese words slip in.

In Pengxian, because Roy stayed at home more often, Grace received a chance to do missionary work. She taught at the girls’ school and spent a joyful time with the students. She taught them to sing songs. Besides these, she also observed some local customs. In winter the people stored up the waters in Min River by digging irrigation canals, which control flooding and feed the Chengdu Basin. In the spring the people would open the banks and let the waters go down to water the fields. Grace still remembers how cheerfully she and the girls went to see the “*opening of the waters*”.

...I went with the girls’ school, and those girls, most of them walked all the way from Pengxian up to Guanxian and back... I went with teachers of this girls’ school... I went with them up to

¹⁴⁴ Mrs. Webster’s letter to the author, (18 February 1993), p. 1.

see the opening of the waters...Then I went there in a rickshaw and came back in the rickshaw... That was a wonderful experience... These girls, they walked all the way like seventy li [里 ; one li is equal to half a kilometre]. [They were] big strong healthy girls... ¹⁴⁵

She also observed that by this time there had been changes to Chinese girls and women in their lives. Not only had most young girls been liberated from footbinding, but also more girls had a chance to receive an education. It was becoming more acceptable for women to participate in social activities as men did. The Chinese women had obtained more freedom in their lives both physically and spiritually.

In October 1940, the Websters moved to Luzhou (Luhsien, Luchow), where the WCM began its work in 1908. The journey took six days by boat to Luzhou. According to Roy's report in The United Churchman:

This is a city of ruins. Over half the city was destroyed by a fire after a Japanese bombing a year ago last September. By the super-human efforts of Mr. Hoffman our property was saved from fire but the Woman's Missionary Society's property a few hundred yards away was destroyed as well as the medical property.¹⁴⁶

During these years Grace filled roles of wife, mother and missionary worker. In 1941, she gave birth to her second boy, Eric, in Luzhou. As a result she had to spend more time with the children and less time in

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Mrs. Webster, Toronto, 20 December 1991.

¹⁴⁶ "Personals," The United Churchman, Vol. 25, No. 49 (4 December 1940): Page Five.

missionary work. In June 1942, the family moved to Rongxian, a county with twenty-five thousand people at that time, and about one hundred and twenty miles south of Chengdu. The first WSMCC missionary began work there in 1910. In Rongxian the third son of the family, Peter, was born in 1943.

During the war, conditions were hard. In Rongxian, there were three missionary families. Only the Websters had a kerosene lamp; very often they did not use it so as to save the oil for an emergency. Because the electricity went off at midnight the lamp was the only light for the medical work after this time. Grace called their lamp Aladdin's lamp. She has a picture showing their working with that lamp, she told:

I have this picture, as I remember, of Margaret Day, one of our missionaries just having a baby. And me, giving the anaesthetic and Dr. Outerbridge delivering the baby and Roy standing behind with the Aladdin's lamp.¹⁴⁷

Grace helped pregnant women in two trips. Once a pregnant woman was in serious condition before her baby was delivered. The woman's husband was a doctor but he was sick and could not assist. Grace felt that the best thing to do was to send the woman to Chengdu. So Roy drove the truck and Grace brought some sterilized equipment in case of emergency. The second time was a three-day trip. Grace and Roy sent another pregnant woman to Zigong. One day, they had to cross the river by barge.

¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Webster's talk to a group of church women, 8 February 1990

The barge was twice the size of the truck. When it started taking the truck and all of them across the river, the barge started to sink because of the overload. It returned and all the people had to get off. The three had to return to the missionary home in which they had stayed the previous night. Next morning, Roy drove the truck onto the barge without any other passengers and crossed the river. Grace and the pregnant woman then took the second trip across and reached the other side of the river. Finally they reached Zigong and the woman had a baby safely born in the mission hospital.

In December 1944 the family returned to Canada for furlough. Because of the war conditions, it took more than eight months for them to arrive in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. During the two years on furlough, in May 1946, Roy received his B.D. after taking a post-graduate course at Victoria College, Toronto.

Then, in 1947, the Websters returned to China. By this time the Sino-Japanese war had ended, but China was involved in civil war and inflation was terrible:

It cost ... \$6,000 each to get carried up the steep river bank at Chungking, China,...However, in Canadian money the fare would only amount to about ten cents each, so great is the inflation in China.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ "Personals," The United Churchman, Vol. 32, No. 45 (19 November 1947): Page Five.

The Webster family now lived in Zigong. When Grace found time from her family responsibilities, she would join in missionary work. She taught English at the Nursing Training School. Such schools provided China with the development of the nursing profession, and gave good training to women. English was very important for nurses' work, for all doctors' orders and prescriptions were written in English, even those of the Chinese doctors. This was because the WCM had influenced a number of Chinese doctors to come to Canada for further training. Having learned Western medicine and practised it, the Chinese doctors used English as the medium in their work. Meanwhile, the program of training nurses began to develop. In 1910, some informal training for medical helpers was provided by the WCM, and several years later a formal nursing school with fewer than ten students was established in Chengdu.¹⁴⁹ At the beginning, according to Beaton, *"...it was difficult to find young women from good families or with an adequate education who were willing to undertake the course."*¹⁵⁰ It was as in Canada about a half century previous to this time. The Victoria General School of Nursing in Halifax was established in 1891, because of the difficulties in recruiting enough nursing staff. A recent study shows that the reason was: *"Nursing was generally considered less desirable employment than domestic service, owing to the low pay, the drudgery of the work, and the sometimes recalcitrant or threatening*

¹⁴⁹ Yeut-wah Cheung, Missionary Medicine in China: A Study of Two Canadian Protestant Missions Before 1937 (Lanham, N.Y.: University Press of America Lanham, 1988), p. 47.

¹⁵⁰ "West China," The United Church of Canada Year Book (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1945), p. 122.

*behaviour of the patient population.”*¹⁵¹ In China, nursing was also regarded as doing menial work. In addition, Western nursing was a new enterprise in China. Chinese women were reluctant to accept this new occupation, for most of them had been kept illiterate and ignorant for centuries. However, through evangelism and Christian education, more Chinese became Christians, more women received education, and the perspective on nursing work was gradually changed among the Chinese. Here Christianity and scientific development were the factors for the change. As Kenneth Beaton suggested in 1941 that “*nothing but the grace of God could lead any Chinese girl to choose that profession*”¹⁵². During the 1920s, nursing schools were opened by the WCM in Chongqing, Zigong, Rongxian and Fuling. By 1937, the total number of the nursing students had increased to 121 from 57 five years earlier.¹⁵³ At the time during the 1940s when Grace was teaching, the nursing training had attracted many young women into the program. Thus Grace had helped the training of Chinese women for a new profession and, after having received the training, many Chinese girls could find employment. The program was a powerful helper for the economic independence of the Chinese women and for their career choices.

As a mother, Grace also took responsibility to educate her children.

¹⁵¹ Colin D. Howell, A Century of Care (Halifax: Victoria General Hospital, 1988), p. 39.

¹⁵² Beaton, Serving with the Sons of Shuh, p. 172.

¹⁵³ Cheung, Missionary Medicine in China, p. 48.

She taught them at home, following the curriculum of the Ontario Public School. In order to create a more formal classroom atmosphere for the children, Grace had the class set up in one bedroom of her house. When her eldest son, Murray, went to live in the residence of the Canadian School in Chengdu, Grace obtained correspondence courses from the Ontario Board for her younger boys and taught them at home.¹⁵⁴ This was a typical method of education for their children. According to a recent study, American missionary mothers were inclined:

...to take a defensive position toward other worlds and other possibilities. Even personally adventurous women were unwilling to inflict adventures on their children. Instead, women worked hard to recreate an American home environment, to educate their children according to American standards, and to keep them as free as possible from the opportunities, as well as the corruptions, of their Chinese surroundings ¹⁵⁵

Grace's education of her children shows a similar tendency in her efforts to keep the children influenced by Canadian culture. This was a tradition also within the Canadian missionary compound. In this way her three children received home schooling from their mother. Learning in their childhood at home made up the formal part of the education most of the children received from kindergarten to higher education. Murray and Eric would later pursue computer training and work in the field in

¹⁵⁴ Mrs. Webster's talk to a group of church women, 8 February 1990.

¹⁵⁵ Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the Century China (New Haven: Yale University press), p. 112.

Canada. The youngest boy, Peter, followed his parents' cause; he became a medical missionary, working in Vanga, Zaire from 1970-72 and then went to work in a hospital in Canada. This demonstrates the influence of the mother's education on them during their childhood.

In 1949, the Communist Party took power. The UCC had to withdraw from all mission stations in China. The response, the couple decided upon was as follows:

Neither the Mission Board nor the field knew if we were going to be able to continue our work under a new communist regime. So the board asked each missionary to choose and they would stand behind us... Our reading of the situation was that the presence of foreigners would be more hindrance than help to our Chinese colleagues.¹⁵⁶

So they decided to leave. They went to Chengdu first, then were fortunate to be able to ride on a Lutheran Mission Plane "*Spirit of St. Paul*" to Hong Kong. When the Websters finally landed in Los Angeles, a letter was waiting for them, inviting Roy to become minister at St. Paul's Church in Orillia, Ontario, because the minister had taken ill. So in less than two weeks Roy was at his new job there. Thus the couple had come full circle and returned to pastoral work in their home country.

Later, they bought a house in Toronto. Roy continued to work until 1976 when he retired, while Grace remained at home rearing the children.

¹⁵⁶ Mrs. Webster's talk to a group of church women, 8 February 1990.

Following the years of tension during the war and the busy life, the Websters were content, although disappointed at being forced out of China. Forty years later, they still carefully keep a number of things as special souvenirs: a fan woven from fine bamboo fibre with Grace's name in Chinese (魏世珍) woven into it, which was presented by a Chinese friend; a long-stemmed smoking pipe still with a taste of home-made tobacco, given by a senior elder of the Church, Pengxian; and a beautiful and classical Chinese style tapestry with a picture of a spot in Chengdu on it, sent by their friends in China before they said good-bye. All these have their stories and all the stories are related to the



M. Grace Murray Webster, 1989.
Photo courtesy of Grace Webster.

*Give me Wide Windows for my House of Life,
Windows of beauty, pointing to the light;
Windows of service, calling forth my might.
Give me a Window open to the sky
That greed and hate of earth may pass me by.
Give me a Window looking to the sea
That vision of world friends may come to me.
Give me Wide Windows for my House of Life.¹⁵⁷*

years the family spent in China. As well, very often Grace's memory goes back to the years in China. She has "wide windows" from her house, through which she sees the world.

Some verses written by

Jean Gordon Forbes whose book Wide Windows tells the stories of Cana-

¹⁵⁷ Forbes, Wide Windows, iii.

women missionaries for overseas missions, can describe Grace's life and those of most of Canadian women who had a desire for the overseas missions in her time, Grace's story concerning her mission life in China may be summed up, beginning with her education in a Christian and missionary-minded family. Her entry into medical education was an important part of her efforts to realize her missionary ideal. Marriage was a major factor leading her to a path with a modern combination of roles both at home and in society. This was a transition position in which women began to pursue a career life, but had to play a traditional role at home for the family because of marriage. In China she spent most of her time with the family but also did anything she could for the missionary cause. She used her medical skills in helping the patients, she learned Chinese and taught English, and communicated with and helped Chinese girls and women. She studied, and did considerable work for Chinese women. As the study by Jane Hunter shows:

Though the wife's location in the home and her husband's in the school ostensibly represented separate female and male spheres, wife and husband shared immediate goals, similar techniques, and a common global purpose.¹⁵⁸

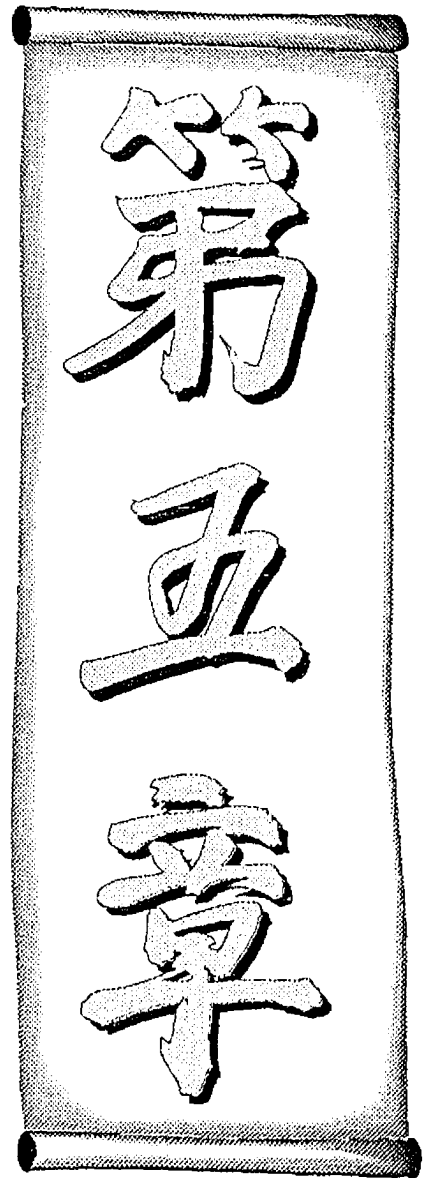
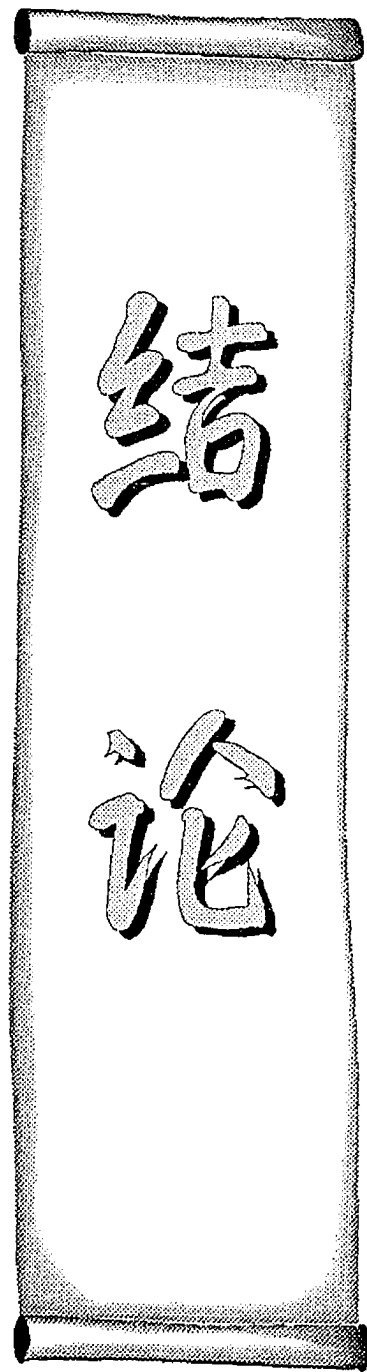
Grace also meditated on women's place in society and realized that women were limited by their roles. For herself, she wrote:

¹⁵⁸ Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility, p. 95.

I guess the main reason that Woman's Missionary Societies were formed in many of the churches was because women had no voice in church government. Of course they couldn't vote in the Government of Canada either! And in those days married women did not hold paying jobs separate from their husbands! We would help in any way we could if we had the skills and the time and strength but we did not get extra pay for that!!¹⁵⁹

At present in Canada, the issue of married career women is being studied by scholars and more attention is being paid to it. The expanded roles of married career women have been admitted in society. Compared with the time when Grace pursued her career, women of today have a greater voice in society. Married career women have found their niches in society. This is the result of progress made by efforts of women and men. But there is a long way to go yet.

¹⁵⁹ Mrs. Webster's letter to the author, (19 January 1993), p. 1.



Chapter 5:
Conclusion

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The life stories of Jean Stewart, Katharine Hockin and Grace Murray Webster demonstrate their pursuit of missionary careers and the roles that they filled in the WCM field. In their work in education, evangelism and medical care, they actively promoted emancipation of Chinese women. Their own involvement in the Chinese culture and society also influenced them. According to a recent study by Leung Yuen Sang:

In many cases, as seen in history, the missionary is influenced by the local people and cultural values of the land where he or she works... The missionary is a receiver as well as a giver, thus becoming a transmitter between two cultures.¹⁶⁰

By using the Christian spirit, they interacted with women in a completely different social setting. Two cultures met, they observed each other and doubted each other, but ultimately mixed with each other. This peaceful meeting of the cultures was a shared experience.

Concerning these women's career pursuits of the missionary enterprise, a number of interesting results can be demonstrated. The family background of Jean Stewart, Katharine Hockin and Grace Webster was similar. All of them were from Christian-minded families or had

¹⁶⁰ Leung Yuen Sang, "Between Two Worlds: Young J. Allen: China and America, 1836-1907," Ching Feng: Quarterly Notes on Christianity and Chinese Religions and Culture, (December 1989): 190.

missionary relatives who had a very strong influence on their future career choices. Their families were also able to support them for higher education, both morally and financially. This indicates that they came from middle or upper class families. As well, all three lost a parent in their infancy, which might explain their strong dependence on Christianity. All of their choices were influenced by their mothers. Though the mothers of Jean and Margaret died in their childhood, their mothers' wishes of being a missionary perhaps became a kind of internal call in the children's minds.

Their pursuits of an overseas missionary career ultimately were realized. Besides their own efforts, the social environment was also a major factor in their decision. The expansion of the overseas missionary movement influenced their families and themselves. Their own involvement in the SCMC developed a motivation for the overseas mission while they were studying at university. In this era, also, the WMS became powerful in supporting single women in their missionary pursuits. Both Jean and Katharine received sufficient support from the Society. Both of them also received training in their fields of interest, which helped them with their evangelistic work and even academic research. In particular, the education that Katharine received was superior to that of most of the women missionaries in her time. This indicates how influential the WMS was—women had begun to get their own voice in society as a whole. Not being married, Jean and Katharine were able to spend and devote their whole lives to the missionary cause—playing their roles in society. Being

married, Grace had to play roles both at home and in society. Family care occupied a lot of her time and energy so she could not pursue her medical career independently. She could not receive as much education as other missionaries who had used their furlough to receive more education—only single women could do that, but they sacrificed their chance of having a family.

In Sichuan province, Jean's life went more smoothly than Katharine's—she enjoyed the different culture very much. The conflict between the two different cultures did not appear much in her life, the reasons possibly being that Jean's perspective on the missionary work was simple and she was mature when she began to experience the Chinese culture. Besides this, she had more of a sense of adventure. Jean met and absorbed the different culture in her imaginative thoughts. Her consciousness concerning cultural difference only went as far as the difference between Christians and non-Christians. Her confident belief in Christianity made her ignore a number of differences between the two cultures while other differences did not bother her much. Her enjoyment of the different culture shows more of her spiritual dependence on Christianity. As long as she did some work for God, she would feel joyful. Perhaps this is a process in which spiritual life gives the believer strength to overcome reality. In this process cultural exchange and replacement became peaceful and natural.

Katharine's experience was somewhat different from Jean's. The major reason was her actual birth in Sichuan, which had provided her

with more complicated cultural surroundings and much change in her childhood and teenage years. The large span of cultural differences during her teenage years put Katharine in a state of cultural flux and qualified her as the marginal person at the beginning. She experienced "*culture shock*" as a teenager. That made her sensitive about the contrast in the two cultures. The effort of trying to live in two diverse cultural surroundings made her think more and see more clearly these differences as well as leading her to study the cultural processes. This observation and study helped her understand both of the cultures more deeply. Because of her birth in China, she was given an opportunity to receive more influence from the Chinese culture, even though most of her teenage years were spent in the missionary compound and most of her formal education was taken outside China. Her generation of Chinese peers was intellectually pursuing truth and seeking Marxist ideas which had much influence on Katharine. She came to believe in a combination of communism and Christianity through the study of Chinese history. In the process of learning in this cultural mixture, Katharine became no longer a marginal person, but a powerful transmitter between the two cultures.

A study indicates that:

Once in China, single women and married women experienced different dilemmas of identity,... Single women came to discover social autonomy in shared spinsterhood, while married women struggled to balance their missionary vocation with maternal responsibilities.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, xvi.

As single women, both Jean and Katharine devoted their life to the missionary cause. Jean and Katharine also influenced their Chinese Christian converts with their marital status. For example, Susan Pen, Pearl Jiang, Xiji Yu did not marry. They became pioneer career women in China. This is an example of a new cultural practice resulting from the women's work for women. As a recent scholar indicates:

Women's personal work had significant consequences. For one, it drew single women close to female converts and their families. "Special friendships" with native women were particularly common for single women without families of their own.¹⁶²

In other words, pursuing and engaging in the missionary career was connected with decisions not to get married. Their pursuit of missionary careers identified them with career women who were pioneers playing very important roles in society and representing the women's culture in modern times.

Grace played her role in a more complex life. She had about the same family and educational background as Jean and Katharine, but marriage provided different roles and some difficulties in her pursuit of a career. However, like other married missionaries, Grace had her own role to play. As Jane Hunter's study shows: "*Married women's status as instructors in the appropriate rituals of home life, in cleaning, cooking, and dressing,*

¹⁶² Hunter, "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," Women's Work for Women ed. Leslie A. Flemming (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 162.

joined them with other female lay workers as practitioners of the social gospel—practitioners of the doctrine that just as was the state of their soul, the circumstances of a heathen's life were appropriate concerns for the true Christian." ¹⁶³ Geographically Grace moved as far as the former two, but in term of cultural exchange, she had less mobilization both physically and psychologically, because of having a family. From her case we can see evidence of how marriage enforced a limitation on a career woman half a century ago. The lives of these three women show that the Canadian missionaries tried to release Chinese women from their inferior status. This was accomplished through spreading Christianity, after they had first turned their own social roles in Canada from work at home to work outside of home as well.

The WCM was one part of the expansion of the "*Social Gospel*" movement originating from the MCC. The WMSMCC / WMSUCC was involved in the WCM activities and spread the "*Social Gospel*" to Chinese women. According to Beaton:

The biggest and most hopeful thing that has happened in China in the last fifty years has been the emancipation of women. These Chinese women and girls who have entered into a freedom of thought, action and life in generation, that their sisters of western lands have taken centuries to achieve, are the real hope of China.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Hunter, "The Home and the World", p. 161.

¹⁶⁴ Beaton, West of the Gorges. (Toronto: Committee on Missionary Education, UCC, 1945), p. 36.

The work done by the women missionaries of the Methodist / United Church evolved into a liberation movement for Chinese women in several ways through a peaceful cultural exchange. In the exchange, Jean Stewart, Katharine Hockin and Grace Webster played their own roles in different experiences. They spread their Christian belief and its cultural context to Chinese women and were also influenced by the Chinese culture to a lesser or greater degree. As Jane Hunter points out in her study on American women missionary activities in China:

For women missionaries, Christianity was the great liberator of women. They hoped for heathendom what they had for themselves: not the vote, in general elections or even within the mission, but acknowledged pre-eminence in a separate world of piety, purity and domesticity.¹⁶⁵

In the work by the Canadian women missionaries for Chinese women, there was an exchange between the women's cultures through missionary activities. These three women missionaries became very important facilitators of the exchange.

¹⁶⁵ Hunter, "The Home and the World", p. 160.

APPENDIX

Women Missionaries of the Methodist / United Church of Canada,
from the Maritime Provinces to Sichuan Province, China, from 1897 to 1952

Name	Education	In Sichuan
<i>Mary A. Foster</i>	Nursing, (no data)	1897-1907
<i>Maud Killam</i> (<i>Mrs. James Neave</i>)	M.D., N.Y. Medical College	1897-1920
<i>Florence M. O'Donnell</i>	M.D., Dalhousie Univ.	1902-1908
<i>Eleanor L. Wilkins</i> (<i>Mrs. John R. Muir</i>)	(no data) MNTS	1905-1908
<i>Matha Agnes Philp</i>	M.D., Dalhousie Univ.	1906- NA
<i>Minna May Austin</i>	M.D., Dalhousie Univ.	1907-1917
<i>Mrs. Henry H. Irish</i> (<i>Margaret Taylor</i>)	County Publish School	1908-NA

Name	Education	In Sichuan
<i>Lawson E. Lottie</i> (<i>Mrs. Walter Small</i>)	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ. MNTS	1908-1951
<i>Mrs. Arther Hockin</i> (<i>Lily M. Hockin</i>)	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ. Nursing Training, MNTS	1908-1912 1913-1947
<i>Mrs. E. R. M. Brecken</i> (<i>Vida Overland</i>)	(no data)	1908-1924
<i>Sadie M. Folkins</i> (<i>Mrs. Parker Bayne</i>)	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ. Nursing, Toronto General MNTS	1909-1912
<i>Elizabeth J. Elderkin</i>	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ.	1909-1922
<i>Mrs. J. B. MacHattie</i> (<i>Janet S. MacDonal</i>)	B.A., Dalhousie Univ.	1913-1940, (Henan) 1940-1950
<i>Mildred J. Armstrong</i> (<i>Mrs. J. Cunningham</i>)	Normal School MNTS	1913-1917
<i>Mrs. Frank Dickinson</i> (<i>Annie Alice Fuller</i>)	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ.	1913-1947
<i>Katheryn Dorothy Ross</i>	Training School for Nursers	1919-1925

Name	Education	In Sichuan
<i>Mary E. Gormley</i>	Mt. Allison Univ.(no data) B.A., Columbia Univ.	1921-1944
<i>Nellie E. Tait</i> <i>(Mrs.George Rackham)</i>	N.S.Normal Sch.(no data) MNTS	1922-1951
<i>Eunice Louise Peters</i>	Normal School, First Class Teacher's License	1923-1948
<i>Pearl Young</i>	Dalhousie Univ.(no data)	< 1925-NA
<i>Mrs.T. S. Outerbridge</i> <i>(Dorothy Lenore Watson)</i>	(no data)	1933-1951
<i>A. Jean L. Stewart</i>	B.A., Mt. Allison Univ. M.A., Hartford School of Religious Education UCTS	1933-1951
<i>Mrs.Robert L. Bacon</i> <i>(Mildred Alma Dickinson)</i>	(no data)	1934-1949
<i>Mrs.Roy G. Webster</i> <i>(M. Grace Murray)</i>	B.Sc., M.D. Dalhousie Univ.	1938-1949

Name	Education	In Sichuan
Katharine B. Hockin	child B.A., U.of B.C. UCTS M.A., Ed.D., Columbia Univ.	1910-1926 1939-1952
<i>Mrs. Ian Rona Robb</i> <i>(Rowena Jean Benson)</i>	N.S. Normal College B.A., Dalhousie Univ.	1947-1949

The primary list was collected in the Maritime Conference's **The United Church of Canada: Section III Directory of Conference in 1990** which is at the Maritime Conference Archives. Then the author checked the WMS biography files in the UCC / Victoria University Archives and discovered the women's education background. Some data were collected through scattered sources.

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