

Deaconesses in the South China Missions of the CMS, 1922-51  
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When the fourth general synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (CHSKH) met at Wuchang in 1921, one of the more important items for discussion was the role of women in the church. In considering the types of contributions that women could make to the work of the church, and touching upon the possibility that women might even one day fill leadership roles in the Chinese church, the all-male Synod's discussions were somewhat controversial. Demands for equality for Chinese women were a new and rather upsetting challenge for traditionalists in republican China, but the impetus for discussing these questions had not arisen from any Chinese women's movement but rather out of the resolutions passed by the bishops of the Anglican communion assembled at the Lambeth Conference in 1920. The Lambeth resolutions were in part a response to the aspirations of British women who had been asked to contribute heavily to the war effort between 1914 and 1918, and now sought a wider role in the political, social, economic and religious life of the country, but the bishops were also responding to a growing awareness of the increasingly important role that had been played by women within the Church of England in the previous fifty years. The nine Lambeth resolutions on 'The Position of Women in the Councils and Ministrations of the Church' broadly addressed the role of women in the modern church, but specifically identified the particular works that could be entrusted to them and they ways in which their opinions could be represented in the governing bodies of the church.<sup>1</sup> The first of these resolutions stated that 'Women should be admitted to those Councils of the Church to which laymen are admitted, and on equal terms' (resolution 46); another affirmed that 'Opportunity should be given to women as to men (duly qualified and approved by the Bishop) to speak in consecrated or unconsecrated buildings, and to lead in prayer, at other than the regular and appointed services of the Church' (resolution 53); while the final resolution recommended 'that careful inquiry should be made in the several branches of the Anglican Communion as to the position and recognition of women workers in the Church, the conditions of

their employment, and the remuneration of those who receive salaries' (resolution 54).<sup>2</sup> The other six resolutions dealt mainly with the formal restoration within the Anglican communion of the ancient Order of Deaconesses 'in the interests of the Church at large, and in particular of the development of the Ministry of Women' (resolutions 47-52). Importantly, provincial and national synods were empowered to decide on when and how the principles enunciated in the Lambeth resolutions should be brought into effect throughout the Anglican communion, so it was in response to this resolution that discussions on the role of women in the Chinese church began in Wuchang in April 1921.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the almost revolutionary and generally positive language of the Lambeth resolutions, there had been disagreements at the conference regarding the role of deaconesses within the church. The issue had originally surfaced in 1919 when the League of the Church Militant began pressing for the 'equalisation of opportunities as between the sexes' with special emphasis on 'the primary importance of effecting this equalisation in the ministries of the Anglican Church'.<sup>4</sup> The League challenged the Anglican hierarchy to move with the spirit of the times: '... while lay bodies with no definite religious basis are day by day removing restrictions from women, the Church is still content to ignore the implications of her own teaching in her own life, and to refuse in this particular to act up to that Great Charter of the oppressed, "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, no male and female"'.<sup>5</sup> There had been expressions of fierce opposition to this call in many of the church papers and journals, so it is perhaps not surprising that the bishops were divided in their ideas about the role of deaconesses in the day-to-day work of the church. The recommendations of the committee of thirty-two bishops that was appointed to consider the role of women in the church were debated at length by their brother bishops, but one provision in particular demonstrated the polarisation of opinions. The committee had recommended that, in addition to leading Morning and Evening Prayer during regular church services, deaconesses should also be allowed 'to lead prayer and, under licence of the Bishop, to instruct and exhort the Congregation'.<sup>6</sup> This was a privilege that had been traditionally reserved only to ordained priests, so the traditionalist bishops opposed any role for women in this formal teaching function of the church. This resolution was carried by only 117 votes to 81, indicating that the implementation of the Lambeth policy within individual dioceses would be somewhat problematic. Indeed, the League of the Church Militant openly admitted that many

bishops and members of the clergy still needed to be convinced before they were likely to carry through the Lambeth resolutions.<sup>7</sup>

A similar situation existed within the Chinese church, where the bishops of the eleven dioceses were men of very different characters, while the clergy consisted of a mixed group of Western and Chinese men who were under the influence of several different Anglican and Episcopal missionary societies. This was exactly the situation that the Lambeth committee had foreseen: 'A Missionary Diocese is utterly different from a diocese which looks back over a continuous history of many centuries ... The political and social conditions which surround one Church are in marked contrast to those which surround another.' Their recommendation had therefore been that 'each constituent part of the Anglican Communion is absolutely at liberty to accept or reject our counsel, but ... even if it is accepted by all as essentially wise and right, yet all cannot equally and at once translate it into action'.<sup>8</sup> When the bishops and delegates of the CHSKH met at the general synod of 1921, both the House of Bishops and the House of Delegates readily agreed to endorse the Lambeth Conference's resolutions 46 (admitting women to the councils of the church) and 47 (restoring the Order of Deaconesses), but the mechanism for applying these synod resolutions became a matter of disagreement between the bishops and the other delegates.<sup>9</sup> The House of Delegates wanted the Standing Committee on Canons to make the necessary changes to the Canons immediately during that session of the synod 'in order to enable women delegates to attend the next session of the Synod in 1924', but the bishops took a more cautious view on the matter and rejected this resolution.<sup>10</sup> Instead, a 'Special Committee on the Diaconate of Women' was appointed to report to the next meeting of the General Synod in 1924. The committee was instructed 'to consult the Standing Committee on Canons as to a draft Canon on the subject, and the Standing Committee on the Prayer Book as to the form and manner of making Deaconesses', but it was also instructed to 'enquire into and report on the position of lay-women in the services of the Church'.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, the Standing Committee on Canons was instructed 'to make such alterations or additions to the Canons as will make clearly permissible the admission of women to the General Synod', but the original intention of this resolution to bring the canons 'into line with the principles and suggested practices of the Lambeth Resolutions concerning the position of women in the councils and ministrations of the Church' was omitted.<sup>12</sup> This perhaps indicates that some of the bishops feared the full implementation of the Lambeth resolutions in China would be

difficult to achieve when the role of women in the church was so different to that of their sisters in England. These measures effectively delayed the implementation of the principal Lambeth resolution (no. 46) until the sixth General Synod held at Shanghai in 1928, where women were for the first time formally admitted as delegates.

The General Synod of 1924 received the report of the Special Committee on the Diaconate of Women and approved the draft canon on deaconesses, but not without further debate. While the synod appears to have had no trouble in according deaconesses the same right as deacons to sit and vote 'in the councils of the Church', the Special Committee's recommendation that the diaconate should only be conferred upon women 'of devout character and proved fitness, unmarried or widowed', and that such appointments must be vacated upon marriage, proved unacceptable to the House of Bishops.<sup>13</sup> The Lambeth committee had also given 'anxious consideration' to the highly fraught question of imposing a vow of celibacy on deaconesses, recognising that opinions were widely varied on the subject. The Lambeth prelates were aware that some deaconesses in England, even though they had not taken vows of celibacy, regarded marriage as being 'wholly out of the question for them', but the committee also acknowledged that the church 'in these days of a falling birth-rate and of all that that sinister phenomenon implies, must do nothing which obscures or renders difficult woman's fulfilment of her characteristic function in human life': in other words, women must not be obstructed in any way from their principal role as mothers. Moreover, they felt that a married deaconess would be likely to possess the added advantage of 'a peculiar power by prayer and counsel to help married women', so they recommended that no promise of celibacy ought to be required for admission to the order of deaconess.<sup>14</sup> Lambeth resolution 49 therefore made it quite clear that:

... the Deaconess dedicates herself to a lifelong service, but that no vow or implied promise of celibacy should be required as necessary for admission to the Order. Nevertheless, Deaconesses who desire to do so may legitimately pledge themselves either as members of a Community, or as individuals, to a celibate life.<sup>15</sup>

In rejecting the requirement for deaconesses to be unmarried women or widows, the House of Bishops suggested that a similar formula to that used in the Lambeth resolution be adopted by the CHSKH, but the House of Delegates would only accept the first part of the statement, rejecting all mention of communities of deaconesses pledged to a celibate life.<sup>16</sup> This would seem to indicate that the lower clergy and the

laity of the Chinese church were strongly opposed to recognising any Anglo-Catholic or High Church practices that were at that time acceptable elsewhere within the Anglican communion.

There were other problems involved in accepting all the recommendations of the Special Committee. In particular, the synod had difficulties in approving the 'Draft Form and Manner of Making Deaconesses' that had been suggested by the Special Committee.<sup>17</sup> The preferred form of service was the Hankow form that had been used for ordaining the first Chinese deaconesses, but this was based on the American Episcopal ordination service which did not comply in all aspects with the Lambeth resolutions. It was therefore felt that a preface was necessary to emphasise the Lambeth understanding of the 'setting apart' of deaconesses (resolution 48), together with an explanation of the function and responsibilities of a deaconess (resolution 52). The suggested preface used the Lambeth formula and stated simply that any woman who was ordained in accordance with the canon would be recognised 'as belonging to the permanent Diaconate in accordance with primitive usage and precedent, this being for women the one and only order of ministry having the stamp of Apostolic authority'.<sup>18</sup> This precluded any other form of ministry for women within the church, and specifically that of the priesthood.<sup>19</sup> The bishops perhaps felt that this statement was too limiting in its definition of the permanent 'character' of the female diaconate, for they suggested that all the words after 'usage and precedent' be deleted.<sup>20</sup> In order to make the functions of the deaconess absolutely clear, the bishop's questioning of the ordinand was also altered to conform with Lambeth resolution 52. The ordinand was to be told that she would be appointed by the bishop to serve in a particular parish

... to prepare candidates for Baptism and Confirmation, to assist in the administration of Holy Baptism, and to be the ministrant in cases of necessity in virtue of her office, to pray with and give counsel to such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities, and if the Bishop and parish priest allow, to read prayers in church and exhort and instruct the congregation'.<sup>21</sup>

It should be noted that the controversial clause in the Lambeth resolution was changed to make it clear that the deaconess could only take an active part in church services with the permission of the bishop and parish priest, and not by right. The deaconess's more widely accepted duty of reading 'Morning and Evening Prayer and the litany, except such portions as are assigned to the Priest only' are omitted entirely. Even with

this watering down of the Lambeth provisions, however, the bishops felt that the role of the deaconess needed to be further subjugated to that of the parish priest: she was appointed merely 'to aid and assist the Pastor in his spiritual ministrations', especially those duties specifically mentioned.<sup>22</sup>

The bishops ultimately referred the 'Draft Form and Manner of Making Deaconesses' to the Standing Committee on the Prayer Book for further discussion, so it could not be resubmitted to the general synod until 1928. It seems clear from the Standing Committee's report on this matter that there was some disagreement within the committee regarding the suggestions made by the bishops at the 1924 synod. In their final report, they considered it 'inadvisable at present to draw up a uniform Service for the Making of Deaconesses', suggesting instead that 'each Diocese should be free to make its own use', so long as five points were observed. The most important of these was that the deaconess should be told clearly that she 'exercises all her Ministry under the direction of the Parish Priest ... [with] permission (under his direction) to administer Holy Baptism to women and children'.<sup>23</sup> The fuller declaration of the duties of an deaconess as contained in the Fukien service were recommended for adoption by all the dioceses, but the Standing Committee was not prepared 'to make any proposal with reference to terms for the Ministry'.<sup>24</sup> The Fukien formula stated that:

It appertaineth to the Office of a Deaconess in the Church where she shall be appointed to serve, to aid and assist the Pastor in his Spiritual ministrations; Especially to prepare women candidates for baptism and Confirmation; to assist at the administration of Holy Baptism; to pray with, and to give counsel to, such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities; with the approval of the Parish Priest, and under such conditions as shall from time to time be laid down by the Bishop, in Church to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the litany (except such portions as are assigned to the priest only), in Church also to lead prayer and, under licence of the Bishop, to instruct and exhort the Congregation.<sup>25</sup>

It was recommended by the Standing Committee that the Hankow usage form the basis of the service, but that significant portions of the Fukien service also be included. By this time, three dioceses were using their own forms of ordination service, so 'in order to avoid multiplication of uses' the synod resolved that the bishops of North China, Hankow and Fukien should revise their services according to the Standing Committee's suggestions 'in the hope that those three uses might satisfy the varied needs of the Church'.<sup>26</sup> In effect, however, little appears to have been done

to harmonise the various uses after the 1928 synod, perhaps symptomatic of the wider problems faced by the CHSKH in approving a 'unified' Chinese version of the Book of Common Prayer for use in all dioceses.<sup>27</sup> The ordination of deaconesses therefore continued to be performed according to the various forms that were available to bishops of the CHSKH from the early 1920s.

Another resolution of the 1924 general synod regarding the training of deaconesses also appears to have been disregarded by the Standing Committee of the General Synod. The House of Bishops had discussed the establishment of a 'Central School of Higher Theological Studies for Women' where Chinese deaconesses could be trained, but further discussion of this idea seems to have lapsed before the next synod.<sup>28</sup> With most of the church's energy and resources for theological education being poured into the establishment of the Central Theological School at Nanking, there was perhaps little enthusiasm for establishing a sister institution to train the very limited number of deaconesses who were presenting themselves for formation in the 1920s.<sup>29</sup> The deliberations of the general synod and its standing committees clearly envisaged the development of chapters of Chinese deaconesses such as the one that had been established in Hankow in 1924, but the number of Chinese deaconesses in the CHSKH was always so small that deaconess chapters were not formed in any other diocese.<sup>30</sup> The Hankow diocese had a long tradition of American deaconesses, most of whom had been prepared for missionary work at the large deaconess training colleges in New York and Philadelphia. These institutions were established soon after the passing of the Episcopal church's canon 'Of Deaconesses' in 1889, but the first American deaconess missionaries did not arrive until the early 1900s. They worked mainly in the field of girls' education or nursing in the early years, but later became involved in the training of Chinese Biblewomen.<sup>31</sup> The dioceses of Shanghai, Hankow and Anking also benefited from the services of lay missionaries who had trained at the New York and Philadelphia schools but who had not been ordained.<sup>32</sup> The number of women from these American deaconess schools working in China and Japan had grown to such an extent by 1921 that the New York alumnae were able to hold a gathering of twelve missionaries at Kuling that summer.<sup>33</sup> The other Chinese mission field that became acquainted with the deaconess movement was North China, where Jessie and Edith Ransome opened St Faith's Home in Peking in 1897, but this was never a very large establishment.<sup>34</sup> Another source of deaconesses in the south China mission fields was the deaconess training school in Sydney, but until 1924 the

small number of Australian and New Zealand deaconesses who volunteered for missionary work in China were treated as lay missionaries, rather than as members of the clergy.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the presence of foreign deaconesses in nearly every diocese of the CHSKH from the first decade of the twentieth century, by early 1924 there were only two Chinese deaconesses working in the church, both in the diocese of Hankow, but in that year another deaconess was ordained in the diocese of North China and sent to work in the city of Xi'an, within the new missionary diocese of Shensi. Very little is known about these first three Chinese deaconesses, but their work appears to have inspired the members of the general synod to hope that great things would come of the tentative beginnings that had been made in the early 1920s. In Shensi, Deaconess Liu (or Liao) was one of only three workers in the mission, and was considered by Bishop Norris to be 'the right leader for all our women's work in Shensi'. She proved to be 'a tower of strength to her fellow workers' during the long siege of Xi'an in 1926, but her inspirational work in this outpost of the church lasted only three years, for she died in 1927.<sup>36</sup> No further Chinese deaconesses were ordained in North China. Greater success was achieved in the Fukien diocese under Bishop John Hind, where seven Chinese deaconesses were ordained by the early 1940s.<sup>37</sup> An attempt to train a deaconess for the Kwangsi-Hunan diocese in 1931 failed, while in Hong Kong, the only Chinese deaconess to be ordained before the outbreak of the Pacific War was Florence Li Tim Oi, in May 1941.<sup>38</sup> Despite all the efforts of the CHSKH to encourage the development of the female diaconate from 1921, very little success was achieved in the south China missions of the Church Missionary Society.

While the clearly stated aim of the CHSKH was to establish the female diaconate as an important part of the church's ministry among its Chinese adherents, in the first decade after the 1921 general synod discussions most of the deaconesses ordained in south China were foreign women who had been working for some time as missionaries under either the CMS or the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS). Although none of the China bishops had been involved in the deliberations of the Lambeth committee that drew up the 1920 guidelines for Anglican deaconesses, nine of them had attended the conference and of these Bishop Roots of Hankow and Bishop Norris of North China already had considerable knowledge of and experience with deaconess missionaries. It seems likely, however, that the real impetus for developing the female diaconate in south China came from



Bishop John Hind of Fukien (1918-40). When he returned to his diocese from the general synod in April 1921, he took the first opportunity available to notify the Women's Conference of missionaries in Fukien that he intended to open applications for the female diaconate, even though the general synod had not yet agreed on a policy regarding deaconesses in the CHSKH. A number of applications for ordination were submitted 'spontaneously', so he then consulted all his clergy during the diocesan synod in February 1922 and sought the endorsement of the pastors in each parish where a candidate deaconess was working. All seemed to agree that the female diaconate would be a welcome addition to the ministry in the diocese.<sup>39</sup>

Unfortunately, the CEZMS Committee in London heard about the scheme from one of its missionaries and subsequently raised concerns about 'precisely what would be the position of a Missionary ordained as a deaconess in relation to (a) the Society, and (b) the diocese or Diocesan Synod'.<sup>40</sup> Bishop Hind was able to reassure the CEZMS that he was simply planning to carry out the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference in his diocese and that he did not foresee any change in the relationship between a female missionary and the missionary society that had sent her to China. He was adamant that 'I am certainly not going to ask for any vows of celibacy'. While he did not think that many women would come forward for ordination, or that ordination would make any great change to the type of work that they did on the mission, he nevertheless believed that ordination for some of them would bring 'the work that is being done by our noble band of women workers' into 'some kind of orderly relation to the ever-strengthening Church administration' of the Fukien diocese.<sup>41</sup> The CEZMS eventually gave its blessing to the Fukien scheme for any of their missionaries who of their own accord asked for ordination, but it was to be quite clearly understood 'that no pressure will be brought to bear upon them, and that their position as Missionaries of the Society will remain as at present'.<sup>42</sup>

Bishop Hind's wider aim in admitting missionary women to the diaconate was to attract some of the better educated Chinese women to this form of service within his diocese:

I am greatly hoping that in a very short time I shall have applications from some Chinese sisters. The [ordination] service yesterday is a promise to the better educated of the Christian women, that the Church has for them positions worthy of their attainments, which some of them have begun to feel did not exist outside of educational institutions. The average Fukien Biblewoman has very modest educational attainments, yet where there is zeal and earnestness they have accomplished great things, but the position of Biblewoman does not

attract those women who had the advantages of a good modern education, and yet already the districts are beginning to feel the need for a much better educated type of woman worker. I hope that the female Diaconate will partly supply this need.<sup>43</sup>

While he freely admitted that it was natural for the first deaconesses to be volunteers from among the foreign workers in the diocese, his primary aim in introducing the order into the diocese 'was to secure that the Church of the future might have the advantage of having Chinese women to serve her in the sacred ministry, and I believe that the time is not far distant when some of our Chinese sisters will be found ready to offer themselves for this service and altogether worthy of the holy office'.<sup>44</sup>

Bishop Hind expected his newly ordained deaconesses to continue to be involved in a wide range of missionary activities, but the character of their ordination gave them a heightened status and additional duties within the parishes where they worked. In future, they would be expected to act as curates in their parishes, performing in an 'assistant and advisory capacity' towards their pastors. They would be permitted to read Morning and Evening Prayer in the church, and at these and other times they would be permitted at the invitation of the pastor 'to address and exhort the congregation'. Under commission from the bishop, they would 'prepare, examine, and present to the Pastor and Bishop respectively women candidates for Baptism and Confirmation'. They would also baptise 'in cases of necessity in virtue of [their] Office and would be permitted to Baptise women and Girls at the request of the Pastor', and they would also advise the pastor 'in all cases of women offenders before he recommends to the Bishop for Discipline or Restoration'. Deaconesses would also have 'a seat and voice on the Synod and other Councils of the Church in the Diocese'.<sup>45</sup> Many of these duties were already being performed by the ordinands, so Hind's intention was 'to regularise such work and ... to bring it into orderly relation to the whole work of the Diocese'.<sup>46</sup>

The first ordination took place on 3 September 1922, although by this time Hind had also issued a licence to Sophie Newton who had originally been ordained by Archbishop Saumarez Smith of Sydney in 1892.<sup>47</sup> The service used by Bishop Hind for the ordination of the first six Fukien deaconesses was of his own invention. It combined various features of the services used in the dioceses of Llandaff in Wales, Lahore in India, Sydney in Australia and Peking, together with the Lambeth resolutions of 1920. Hind believed that it contained 'all that is best' in the other forms

of service that he consulted, making the service a 'solemn and important' occasion for the local church. He reported that the ceremony received 'a very general welcome' from the large congregation 'which testified to the interest taken by workers and Church members alike'.<sup>48</sup> The six ordinands were Clara I. Lambert, Aileen J. Armstrong and Mrs Alice Phillips (nee Hankin) of the CMS, and Kathleen Loader, A. Wade, and V. Armstrong of the CEZMS. It is interesting to note that one of the women was already married; in fact her husband, Archdeacon H. S. Phillips, was a member of the general synod's Special Committee on deaconesses, and after his retirement from the mission in 1929 became the warden of St Catherine's Deaconess House in Canonbury, London. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the women who wished to be ordained as deaconesses in the Fukien diocese were given every encouragement and support by both their bishop and the male clergy.

Only one of the Fukien deaconesses has left an account of her call to the ministry. Kathleen Loader wrote to Miss Millner of the CEZMS in October 1921 to announce her call to the diaconate. Before Bishop Hind's invitation earlier that year, she said that she had 'frequently had it in my mind that as a deaconess one could so often help our Chinese sisters and the little ones more, e.g. at a time of Baptism more especially, but I have never particularly thought of it for myself'. She felt that she was only an 'ordinary' lay missionary and did not think herself worthy for 'such a great responsibility and privilege' as ordination. Nor did she think it would make any difference to her work, but in other ways it would have a great impact on her: '...inwardly and deeply I should feel the importance and the spiritual help through the setting apart in the laying-on of hands and the prayers offered on that occasion and afterwards'. She also believed that her ordination would be a boon to many Chinese women in the mission outposts who had to wait years for a priest to baptise them. She would now be able to instruct and baptise during her 'off-the-main-road' itinerations, bringing these women more quickly into the church.<sup>49</sup> Six months later, she had been accepted as a candidate for the diaconate after 'constant prayer for guidance', even though she was fully aware of her own 'weakness and sinfulness and all my constant failings':

It seems wonderful above all things that the Holy Ghost should be calling *me* to this Office, when *He* knows my heart and all its blackness better than even I do myself. Yet the call has come quite clearly and definitely and though I do feel so unworthy and sometimes think I must withdraw my name, that persistent Voice within reminds me that His grace is sufficient for all things.

He has laid help upon One that is mighty and the Blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin; and I dare not draw back.<sup>50</sup>

The decision to come forth for ordination as a deaconess was certainly a major turning point in Kathleen Loader's life, a moment in which her previous work as a missionary and her future role within the church were considered in the context of the missionary's personal relationship with her God. It is likely that other candidates for female ordination went through a similar process of discernment as they considered the call to ministry.

There is a sense of spiritual awakening in the experiences of the three women from the diocese of Kwangsi-Hunan who were ordained ten years later on 15 May 1932. Each of them had been through the political upheavals of China in the mid-to-late 1920s, and each of them had experienced serious ill health in the period immediately before their ordination. Each of them had also taken furlough in the years prior to their ordination, and they seem to have had mid-broadening experiences while on leave in England. Pat Blenkinsop wrote about her furlough being 'a tremendous time to me – a bigger vision – new ideas – new thoughts – crowding in on one's mind and I feel – if I could have time to read ... it would be a great help to one's future work'.<sup>51</sup> Edith Couche had been involved in writing the China section of the CEZMS's jubilee history, while Elizabeth Law had used her time to attend university courses and prepare herself at St Catherine's Deaconess House in London.<sup>52</sup> Another female missionary, Maud Dinneen, was going through her own personal crisis at this time, but ultimately decided to retire from the mission and return to New Zealand, while Miss E. M. Prentice chose not to apply for ordination. Blanche Tobin was initially accepted as a candidate for ordination in late 1932 to the great satisfaction of both the bishop and the CMS Home Committee, but ultimately chose not to pursue her vocation this direction.<sup>53</sup> The example of Kwangsi-Hunan therefore demonstrates a range of responses to the call for candidates to the female diaconate, but it is singular in that more than one half of the unmarried women on the mission offered themselves for ordination in the early 1930s. And this time there was no hesitation from the CEZMS committee in London; they gave their enthusiastic support because deaconesses had proven their 'usefulness and service to the Church in China' over the previous decade.<sup>54</sup>

The Kwangsi-Hunan diocese was in fact rather slow to introduce the female diaconate that had proven so successful in Fukien. This may initially have been

because old Bishop Banister was reaching the end of his time in China when the general synod first discussed deaconesses in 1921; he was struggling to keep up with his demanding duties and perhaps did not feel able to pursue an important new project such as this to its completion. His successor, John Holden (bishop 1923-33), decided to wait until late 1929 before informing his diocesan synod that he would allow the order of deaconess to be established in Kwangsi-Hunan, but he had been wanting to introduce deaconesses into his diocese since his consecration.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, his diocese had been caught up in the widespread banditry and political turmoil that so disrupted the interior of China during the second half of the 1920s, and most of his missionaries were in fact not able to return to China until 1929. He was also perhaps a little more cautious than Bishop Hind, waiting until the general synod had finally approved the form of ordination that was to be followed within the CHSKH. In all other matters, however, his approach to female ordination closely followed that of Bishop Hind. His explanation of the character of the female diaconate used exactly the same formula used first introduced in Fukien in 1922.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, his final goal was to attract Chinese women to the diaconate and he was prepared to guarantee their training, having already determined the best places where that training could be given.<sup>57</sup> In the meantime, however, it was hoped that Kwangsi-Hunan would follow the example of other dioceses in which deaconesses had made 'a big contribution to the building up of the Christian Church'.<sup>58</sup>

In his letter to female missionaries regarding ordination to the diaconate in 1929, Holden commended 'the careful and prayerful consideration of this important matter to all my women colleagues'. He emphasised that the diaconate was open to all woman in the diocese, either married or single, in any branch of the church's work. He also outlined the content of the examination that was required before ordination. It would include general Bible history, Old Testament (Isaiah and Jeremiah), New Testament (1 Corinthians and the Pastoral Epistle), a general paper in Christian Doctrine, the Book of Common Prayer, preaching to Chinese women, Constitution and Canons of the CHSKH, and Constitution and Canons of the Kwangsi-Hunan diocese. Although the examination was quite broad and may have seemed somewhat daunting to the candidates, Holden reassured them that 'there will be no difficulty in passing it, and it need not constitute a hindrance to any who would otherwise seek Ordination'.<sup>59</sup> All of the ladies performed well in the exam, with Bishop Holden commenting that except for their Greek papers, 'the standard they attained was more

than equal to the average of men ordinands'.<sup>60</sup> Holden was evidently enormously proud of the three new deaconesses: 'I felt it a great privilege to set apart for special ministry those who in every way had proved themselves so worthy. They will now take their place in the ranks of the clergy of the diocese, and their functions will include, among women, all that a deacon would be commissioned to do, except that they will not, for the present at least, assist in any way at the celebration of Holy Communion.'<sup>61</sup> Soon after the ordination, he made a pastoral visit to the region where Deaconesses Edith Couche and Pat Blenkinsop were at work, so he had an opportunity to see at first hand how they had adjusted to their new responsibilities. He could not praise them highly enough. Pat Blenkinsop was assisting in a parish where the Chinese pastor was described as 'somewhat weak'; but 'the strength imparted by the missionary is beyond all praise, especially as she gives the needed help in a way that does not in the least intrude in the sphere of the clergyman in charge'. Edith Couche was covering a very large district and having 'a very rough life ... for the most part, but it is very easy to see definite results of her work in the widely separated congregations where her direct influence extends'.<sup>62</sup> While Holden was worried about Deaconess Couche's health, he was delighted to acknowledge that 'a woman with her nature cannot rest content not to try to help to meet the situation immediately before her'.<sup>63</sup> The introduction of deaconesses into the remote Kwangsi-Hunan diocese was, therefore, an enormous success.

The Diocese of Victoria, centred on Hong Kong but stretching across most of southern China from Guangdong to Yunnan, was less successful than either of its sister dioceses in introducing deaconesses. Although the well-known story of Deaconess Florence Li's ordination to the priesthood in 1944 has put the spotlight on Hong Kong and Bishop R.O. Hall's role in the long march for women's ordination, it is not realised that Florence Li was the only Chinese deaconess ordained before the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, and before her only one foreign missionary had been ordained. This was perhaps a failure of leadership from Bishop Charles Ridley Duppy (1920-32), who did not mount a campaign to attract women to the diaconate in the same way as Bishops Hind and Holden, but Lucy Vincent's ordination on 20 December 1931 did exert an extraordinary influence over the twenty-five-year-old Florence Li, who felt that Archdeacon S. T. Mok's call for a Chinese girl in the congregation to 'sacrifice herself for the Chinese church' was directed at her personally.<sup>64</sup> Finishing her high school course at the age of twenty-seven in 1934, Li

was further encouraged by her pastor, Canon T. F. Tso, to act on the call that she felt towards the ministry, but her father insisted that she work for a time as a teacher. When she eventually entered the four-year theology course at the Canton Union Theological College her father was quite disapproving. Having passed all her examinations, she returned to Hong Kong in 1938 to labour as a lay-worker and youth-group leader in Kowloon. It was not until she had moved to Macau to serve the small community of Anglicans there that she was finally recalled to Hong Kong in May 1941 at the age of thirty-four to be ordained as a deaconess by Bishop Hall.<sup>65</sup> It had taken nearly ten years from her call to her ordination, a course that few young Chinese women were prepared to follow at that time.

The introduction of the female diaconate into the three southern dioceses of the CHSKH where the Church Missionary Society was active was hailed in the 1920s and 1930s as the beginning of a new phase in the life of the national church that would eventually see Chinese women taking their place in the leadership of that church after a short period of transition when missionary deaconesses would lead the way. While a number of foreign missionaries from the CMS and CEZMS were indeed ordained during this time, they were quite a small band of women who represented a negligible percentage of the entire female workforce in the three missions. While it would perhaps be unfair to judge the experiment a failure, neither was it the great success that Bishops Hind and Holden had hoped it would be. Even fewer Chinese women presented themselves for ordination. By 1947, the number of foreign deaconesses in the CHSKH had dropped to six (down from twenty in 1938), and the number of Chinese deaconesses was only five (up from four in 1938).<sup>66</sup> How can we account for the fact that women did not grasp the opportunity for leadership in the ministry of their church? It should be remembered that the deaconess movement in China was beset with disagreements from the very start; the initial call for this role for women in 1921 did not lead to an immediate set of canons and forms for ordination, but rather took seven years before the full canonical and liturgical mechanism was in place. This was perhaps to be expected in a church that consisted of missionaries from three separate branches of the Anglican communion and several different missionary societies, all with their own traditions and churchmanship. While Bishop Hind no doubt believed sincerely that the ordination of deaconesses was 'a matter which on the whole is being so warmly taken up by Evangelicals everywhere', his defensiveness when explaining his action to the CMS headquarters in London

indicates that the evangelical wing of the Anglican communion was far from united in its attitude to female ordination.<sup>67</sup> The personality of individual bishops was also quite an important factor; both Hind and Holden launched definite campaigns to attract women for ordination, while Banister and Duppuay did not, so it is not surprising that Fukien and Kwangsi-Hunan were more successful, at least in attracting foreign women to be deaconesses. Moreover, the central theological training institute for deaconesses that was suggested in 1924 was never pursued, nor was there ever an attempt outside of Hankow diocese to form diocesan deaconess chapters, deaconess houses, or a church-wide organisation for deaconesses in the CHSKH. In national churches where these institutions were present, the deaconess movement tended to be much stronger.

There were also a number of insurmountable cultural barriers that Chinese women had to face in pursuing a calling to the deaconess ministry. While these cultural factors differed from province to province, China in the early twentieth century was still a society that was dominated by the old Confucian ideals that allowed no place for women in leadership roles, and the new women of the nationalist era were interested in making their careers in more secular areas. Moreover, most Chinese women lacked the basic education that was necessary to rise any higher than the position of Biblewomen, and those who did attain a higher level of education tended to find their careers in teaching or nursing before ultimately being married. Finally, there was probably a real stigma attached to the obvious sacrifices that a woman had to make in order to work as a deaconess. Although it was continually stressed by the bishops that either married or single women could apply for ordination, it was quite obvious that all foreign deaconesses were unmarried. This simple fact presented an especially strong disincentive for Chinese girls who considered such a vocation of service within the church. Very few Chinese women, therefore, appear to have been either prepared or able to answer the call for the life of a deaconess in the first half of the twentieth century.



Appendix 1: Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 relating to 'The Position of Women in the Councils and Ministrations of the Church'<sup>68</sup>

46. Women should be admitted to those Councils of the Church to which laymen are admitted, and on equal terms. Diocesan, Provincial, or national Synods may decide when or how this principle is to be brought into effect.

47. The time has come when, in the interests of the Church at large, and in particular of the development of the Ministry of Women, the Diaconate of Women should be restored formally and canonically, and should be recognized throughout the Anglican Communion.

48. The Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only Order of the Ministry which has the stamp of Apostolic approval, and is for women the only Order of the Ministry which we can recommend that our Branch of the Catholic Church should recognize and use.

49. The office of a Deaconess is primarily a ministry of succour, bodily and spiritual, especially to women, and should follow the lines of the primitive rather than the modern Diaconate of men. It should be understood that the Deaconess dedicates herself to a lifelong service, but that no vow or implied promise of celibacy should be required as necessary for admission to the Order. Nevertheless, Deaconesses who desire to do so may legitimately pledge themselves either as members of a Community, or as individuals, to a celibate life.

50. In every branch of the Anglican Communion there should be adopted a Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses such as might fitly find a place in the Book of Common Prayer, containing in all cases provision for:-

- (a) Prayer by the Bishop and the laying on of hands;
- (b) A formula giving authority to execute the Office of a Deaconess in the Church of God;
- (c) The delivery of the New Testament by the Bishop to the candidate.

51. The Forms for the making and Ordering of Deaconesses should be of the same general character, and as far as possible similar in their most significant parts, though varying in less important details in accordance with local needs.

52. The following functions may be entrusted to the Deaconess, in addition to the ordinary duties which would naturally fall to her:-

- (a) To prepare candidates for Baptism and Confirmation;
- (b) To assist at the administration of Holy Baptism; and to be the ministrant in cases of necessity in virtue of her office;
- (c) To pray with and give counsel to such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities;

(d) With the approval of the Bishop and of the Parish Priest, and under such conditions as shall from time to time be laid down by the Bishop: (i) in Church to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, except such portions as are assigned to the Priest only; (ii) in Church also to lead in prayer and, under licence of the Bishop, to instruct and exhort the Congregation.

53. Opportunity should be given to women as to men (duly qualified and approved by the Bishop) to speak in consecrated or unconsecrated buildings, and to lead in prayer, at other than the regular and appointed services of the Church. Such diocesan arrangements, both for men and women, should wherever possible be subject to Provincial control and co-ordination.

54. The Conference recommends that careful inquiry should be made in the several branches of the Anglican Communion as to the position and recognition of women workers in the Church, the conditions of their employment, and the remuneration of those who receive salaries.

Appendix 2: Resolutions of the Fourth Meeting of the CHSKH General Synod (1921) relating to "the Position of Women"<sup>69</sup>

XIV. That the Standing Committee on Canons be instructed to make such alterations or additions to the Canons as to make clearly permissible the admission of women to the General Synod.

XXIV. That this Synod endorses Resolution No. 47 of the Lambeth Conference, and asks the Chairmen of the two Houses to appoint a special committee on the Diaconate for Women: to report to the next meeting of the General Synod: the said Committee to consult the Standing Committee on Canons as to a draft Canon on the subject, and the Standing committee on the Prayer Book as to the form and manner of making Deaconesses.

XXV. That the Special Committee on the Diaconate of Women shall also enquire into and report on the position of lay-women in the services of the Church.

XXVa. That this General Synod endorses resolution 46 of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 which runs as follows: Women should be admitted to those Councils of the Church to which laymen are admitted and on equal terms. Diocesan, Provincial, and National Synods may decide when or how this principle is to be brought into effect.

Appendix 3: Resolutions of the Fifth Meeting of the CHSKH General Synod (1924) relating to Deaconesses and Laywomen<sup>70</sup>

XXXVI. That this Synod refer the Draft 'Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses' together with the Synod's recommendations on the same, back to the Standing committee on the Prayer Book, to report to the next Synod.

XLVIII. The House of Bishops refers to the Standing Committee the question of the advisability of establishing a Central School of Higher Theological Studies for Women, and report at the next Synod, with a suggestion that they appoint a special committee for this purpose.

???: [adoption of Canon XIV]

LV. That Deaconesses equally with Deacons should be entitled to seats and votes in the councils of the Church.

LVI. That in the opinion of the Synod, the Deaconess dedicates herself to life long service, but that no vow or implied promise of celibacy is required as necessary for admission to the Order.

???: That opportunity should be given to women as to men (duly qualified and approved by the Bishop) to speak in consecrated or unconsecrated buildings, and to lead in prayer, at other than the regular and appointed services of the Church.

Canon XIV. Of the Ordination of Deaconesses (renumbered as Canon XV in 1928 and Canon XX in 1948)<sup>71</sup>

1. No women shall be ordained Deaconess until she shall be fully thirty years old, and until she have been admitted for two full years as a candidate; unless the Bishop with the advice and consent of the majority of all the members of the Standing Committee shall reduce the limit of age or candidacy. But the limit of age shall not be reduced to less than twenty-five years, nor the limit of candidacy to less than one year. The regulations for admission and training of candidates shall be decided by the diocesan authorities.
2. A candidate nearing the completion of her term of preparation and desiring to apply to be ordained Deaconess, shall send her application to the Bishop and with it a certificate in the following form, signed by two Presbyters, two Deaconesses and four lay-communicants, of whom two shall be women. When there is only one Deaconess in the Diocese, or none, the signatures of one or two laymen shall be required instead.

CERTIFICATE

Name of applicant:

Age:

We hereby certify that we believe the above-named person is of virtuous and pious life and conversation, and well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and is loyal to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, and that she possesses such other qualifications as fit her to be ordained a Deaconess.

Date:

Signed:

To:

3. The Bishop upon receipt of such application and certificate if he deem the candidate suitable and possessed of sufficient general education shall cause her to be examined in such subjects as he shall decide.
4. The Bishop shall not proceed to ordain the candidate Deaconess until he shall have received the recommendation of the Standing Committee of the Diocese.
5. If the Bishop, after examination has been completed and the recommendation of the Standing Committee has been received shall deem the candidate duly qualified, he shall give notice to that effect to her, and to the Standing Committee, and shall fix a day and proceed to her ordination.
6. No Deaconess shall accept work in a diocese without the express authority in writing of the Bishop of that Diocese, nor shall she undertake work in a parish without the like authority from the rector, pastor or priest-in-charge of that parish, and while so working, she shall be under the authority of the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Rector of the parish.

Appendix 4: Resolution of the Sixth Meeting of the CHSKH General Synod (1928) relating to the Service for the Making of Deaconesses<sup>72</sup>

XVIII. That the proposals regarding forms of services for the making of Deaconesses (as contained in the Report of the Standing Committee on the Prayer Book) be approved, but that in order to avoid the multiplication of uses, it is advised that the Bishops of North China, Hankow and Fukien revise their services according to the above proposals, in the hope that these three uses might satisfy the varied needs of the church.

Appendix 5: Report of the Standing Committee on the Prayer Book with regard to the 'Draft Form and Manner of Making Deaconesses' (1928)<sup>73</sup>

We consider that it is inadvisable at present to draw up a uniform Service for the Making of Deaconesses, but that each Diocese should be free to make its own use with the following directions:

- (a) There shall be a ceremony of Delivery of the New Testament with a form of words, the choice of which is left to the several Dioceses.
- (b) The position in the Communion Service of the actual ordination is left to the several Dioceses.
- (c) In the questions to the candidates, taking the Hankow use as the model, in the first question the first half only shall be required. The 2nd and 3rd questions are to be retained. The 4th question shall in general follow the Fukien model; it shall be made clear in the language adopted that the Deaconess exercises all her Ministry under the direction of the Parish Priest as in the Fukien form (Chinese), and that it contains permission (under his direction) to administer Holy Baptism to women and children. Questions 5, 6 and 7 in the Hankow use shall also be retained.
- (d) After the Blessing following the questions, the versicles and responses should be omitted and a rubric added providing an opportunity for silent prayer.
- (e) The words of Ordination are to be used as in the Fukien (English) form.

This Committee is not able to make any proposal with reference to terms for the Ministry.

- <sup>1</sup> The resolutions (nos. 46 to 54) are listed in the *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops,*
- <sup>2</sup> *Ministrations of Women*, pp. 9-10.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9 (resolution 46).
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- <sup>6</sup> *Encyclical Letter*, p. 104.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ministrations of Women*, p. 3.
- <sup>8</sup> *Encyclical Letter*, p. 99.
- <sup>9</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, London, H5663.C4, *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1921), pp. 12-13.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. The special committee consisted of Bishop Thomas Arnold Scott of Shantung (chairman), Rev A. E. Evans (West China), Archdeacon Hugh Stowell Phillips (Fukien), Rev Wu Hung-ching (Kwangsi-Hunan), and Archie T. L. Tsen (Shanghai), p. 8.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- <sup>13</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, London, H5663.C4, *Report of the Fifth Meeting of the General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: NCDN, 1924), p. 21.
- <sup>14</sup> *Encyclical Letter*, pp. 101-103.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ministrations of Women*, p. 9.
- <sup>16</sup> *Report of the Fifth Meeting*, p. 23.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- <sup>19</sup> *Encyclical Letter*, p. 105; Oscar Hardman, *The Anglican Deaconess in the Light of the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1920* (London: SPCK, 1921), p. 15
- <sup>20</sup> *Report of the Fifth Meeting*, p. 23.
- <sup>21</sup> *Report of the Fifth Meeting*, pp. 77-78.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- <sup>23</sup> HKSKH Archives, Hong Kong, *Report of the Sixth Meeting of the General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1928), p. 98.
- <sup>24</sup> HKSKH Archives, Hong Kong, *Report of the Sixth Meeting of the General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1928), p. 98.
- <sup>25</sup> Church Missionary Society Archives [hereafter CMSA], G1.CH4/O/1922/80, 'The Form and Manner of Ordaining Deaconesses, Fukien 1922', pp. 7-8.
- <sup>26</sup> HKSKH Archives, Hong Kong, *Report of the Sixth Meeting of the General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1928), p. 16.
- <sup>26</sup> *Encyclical Letter*, pp. 101-103.
- <sup>27</sup> For this problem, see Feng Guo, 'An Analysis of the Compilation and Writing of the Book of Common Prayer in the Chung Hua Sheng kung Hui', in Philip L. Wickeri (ed.), *Christian Encounters with Chinese Culture: Essays on Anglican and Episcopal History in China* (Hong Kong: HKU Press, 2015), pp. 103-16.
- <sup>28</sup> *Report of the Fifth Meeting*, p. 12 (resolution XLVIII).
- <sup>29</sup> For the Central Theological College at Nanking, see Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942*, vol. 2 (London:

SCM Press, 1977), p. 219; and 'Report of the Central Theological School, 1924 to 1927', in *Report of the Sixth Meeting*, pp. 109-15.

<sup>30</sup> No evidence has been found for such chapters in any of the other ten dioceses.

<sup>31</sup> These women included Theodora Paine (Soochow, 1902), Maud Henderson (Shanghai, 1905), Gertrude Stewart (Hankow, 1904), Katharine Phelps (Wuchang, 1905), Edith Hart (Hankow, 190\_ ), Elsie Riebe (Ichang, 1912), and Deaconess Pitcher. For further information on these women, see *An Alumnae Bulletin, passim*.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs Cameron F. McRae (Shanghai, 1905), Ruth Kent (Hankow, 1910), Althea Bremen (Shanghai, 1913), Annie Brown (Wusih, 1913), Olive Tomlin (Wuchang, 1916), Lucy Kent (Anking, 1919), Lillian Minhinnick (Soochow, 1919), Pauline Flint (Wuchang, 1920), Mrs Hollis S. Smith (Shanghai, 1922), Ann Torrence (Shanghai), Marion Mitchell, Louise Hammond, and Laura Wells.

<sup>33</sup> New York Deaconess Training School for Deaconesses, *The Alumnae Bulletin*, (Nov. 1921), pp. 12-13.

<sup>34</sup> Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *Work among Women and Children in the Far East* (London: 1909), pp. 2-3, 7-8.

<sup>35</sup> Sophia Newton, for example, worked in Fukien for twenty-five years before her ordination was recognised by Bishop Hind in 1922 and she was given a licence; see Robert & Linda Banks, *View From the Faraway Pagoda: A Pioneer Australian Missionary in China from the Boxer Rebellion to the Communist Insurgency* (Melbourne: Acorn Books, 2013, pp. ? Rose Bachlor worked in both the Fukien and Kwangsi-Hunan missions for many years before finally being recognized as a deaconess while working in the Hankow Diocese.

<sup>36</sup> *Report of the Sixth Meeting*, pp. 8-9, 92.

<sup>37</sup> Hewitt, *The Problems of Success*, vol. 2, p. 242. The name of only one of these seven Fukien deaconesses, Ding Sieu-giong, has so far been found.

<sup>38</sup> Miss Liu Ya-hsiu was sent by the Kwangsi-Hunan synod for training at the Wuchang Union Theological seminary in the autumn of 1931, but she does not appear to have completed the course; see CMSA, G1.CH5/O/1931/14, 'Resolutions of Boards and Committees of Synod held at Yungchow (30 July-1 Aug. 1931)'. For Florence Li's long-delayed ordination to the diaconate, see Ted Harrison, *Much Beloved Daughter: The Story of Florence Li* (Wilton: Morehouse-Barlow, 1985), pp. 17-29.

<sup>39</sup> CMSA, G1.CH4/O/1922/78, Bishop John Hind to Dr Garfield Williams, CMS Secretary, 5 September 1922.

<sup>40</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1921/52, Rev Douglas Sargent, CEZMS Secretary, to Bishop Hind, 5 December 1921.

<sup>41</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/24c, Hind to Sargent, 3 February 1922.

<sup>42</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/25, Sargent to Hind, 20 July 1922; see also 1922/25b, Sargent to Kathleen Loader, 20 July 1922.

<sup>43</sup> CMSA, G1.CH4/O/1922/78, Hind to Williams, 5 September 1922.

<sup>44</sup> CMSA, H.H5.E1.CH1/4, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Fukien Diocesan Magazine* (Jan. 1923), p. 4

<sup>45</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/24c, Hind to Sargent, 3 February 1922.

<sup>46</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/24c, Hind to Sargent, 3 February 1922.

<sup>47</sup> Banks, *View From the Faraway Pagoda*, p. 19. Hind granted Deaconess Newton the licence on 24 April 1922.

- <sup>48</sup> CMSA, H.H5.E1.CH1/4, 'The Bishop's Letter', *Fukien Diocesan Magazine* (Jan. 1923), pp. 3-4; G1.CH4/O/1922/78, Hind to Williams, 5 September 1922; see 1922/80 for a copy of the ordination service used in Fukien. CE
- <sup>49</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/25b, Kathleen Loader to M. I. Millner, CEZMS Foreign and Candidates Secretary, 8 October 1921.
- <sup>50</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH1/1922/25, Loader to Millner, 15 April 1922.
- <sup>51</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1928/37, Pat Blenkinsop to Douglas Sargent, 6 January 1928.
- <sup>52</sup> Edith Couche's letter to London informing the CEZMS of her decision to seek ordination is very different to that of Kathleen Loader; she does not refer to any spiritual struggle or enlightenment, see CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1931/12, Couche to Miss C. Priscilla Smith, 4 October 1931.
- <sup>53</sup> CMSA.CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1933/4, Bishop John Holden to Rev A. J. Mortimore, CEZMS Secretary, 27 December 1932, & Mortimore to Holden, 2 March 1933.
- <sup>54</sup> CMSA.CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1931/12, Mortimore to Holden, 6 November 1931 & Mortimore to Edith Couche, 6 November 1931.
- <sup>55</sup> Elsie M. Holden, 'First Ordination of Deaconesses', *The Kwangsi-Hunan Diocesan Newsletter*, no. 98 (July 1932), p. 5.
- <sup>56</sup> CMSA.CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1930/2, 'Extracts from the Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of Diocesan Synod (Kwangsi-Hunan) held November 11th-13th, 1929'.
- <sup>57</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1931/4a, 'Extract from a Letter from Bishop Holden to Missionaries in his Diocese, 1929'.
- <sup>58</sup> Holden, 'First Ordination', p. 5.
- <sup>59</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1931/4a, 'Extract from a Letter from Bishop Holden to Missionaries in his Diocese, 1929'.
- <sup>60</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1932/4(255), Holden to Mortimore, 19 May 1932.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>62</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1933/1(500), Holden to Mortimore, 19 November 1932.
- <sup>63</sup> CMSA, CEZ.C.AC1.CH2/1933/4, Holden to Mortimore, 27 December 1932.
- <sup>64</sup> Harrison, *Much Beloved Daughter*, p. 16.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-27.
- <sup>66</sup> HKSKHA.II.3.10, *Report of the Tenth General Synod, Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui* (Shanghai: 1948), pp. 19-20.
- <sup>67</sup> CMSA, G1.CH1/O/1922/78, Hind to Williams, 5 September 1922.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ministrations of Women*, pp. 9-10.
- <sup>69</sup> *Report of the Fourth Meeting*, p. 11, 12-13.
- <sup>70</sup> *Report of the Fifth Meeting*, pp. 11-13, 23.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-19 (English and Chinese texts).
- <sup>72</sup> *Report of the Sixth Meeting*, p. 16.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.