

ABSTRACT

“Women’s Work for Women”: Annie Jenkins Sallee in China

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The growth of feminist movements in the wake of the American Civil War inspired the development of foreign missionary work as an acceptable and desirable career for young single women. Southern Baptist Annie Jenkins Sallee took up such a career after becoming the first woman to receive a master’s degree from Baylor University. She journeyed across the world with the intention of rescuing Chinese women and girls from the depths of degradation into which years of sinfulness and cultural repression had plunged them. Sallee worked primarily among young girls and women in China through the establishment of preparatory day schools, a boarding school, and an industrial school for women. Though her work produced positive results with regards to increased literacy among Chinese women, these results must be viewed in light of the impact of issues relating to gender, race, and class upon her work. This paper examines these aspects of Sallee’s educational work for women in China between 1905 and 1925.

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“WOMEN’S WORK FOR WOMEN”: ANNIE JENKINS SALLEE IN CHINA

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CHAPTER ONE

A Rapidly Changing Field: Nineteenth Century Missions in China

China's atmosphere rapidly changed during the mid-nineteenth century. A series of unequal treaties opened the inland of China to foreign presence and trade, creating new opportunities for missionaries. It was in this atmosphere that Protestant missions truly began to thrive and prosper in China, finding themselves placed in an ideal situation for evangelization. No longer confined to a few cities, Protestant missions expanded over the next few decades, establishing permanent missions in areas previously unreachable by foreigners.

Women played a crucial role in the establishment of educational institutions for the Chinese during this time. Missionary women saw an opportunity to not only share their faith, but increase the living standards of Chinese women. They also saw these missions as a means of changing their own role in society. Thus, through the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the number of women working in China increased to the point where women outnumbered men. Though a great number of them were missionary-wives, at least half were single women who desired to make a career out of missionary work.

Annie Jenkins Sallee, a native Wacoan and Southern Baptist, was one such woman who responded to the call to evangelize Chinese women. In order to more effectively reach out to Chinese women, she established several institutions in the Henan province solely for the education of women. These schools were groundbreaking ventures for this area, and many Chinese women benefitted from such social services. Yet these

benefits must be tempered in light of the Western, Christian doctrine through which they were propagated. In order to examine the impact of Annie Jenkins Sallee's work upon women's education in China, we must first consider the historical context into which her actions are placed.

1.1 Protestant Efforts Expand Throughout China

The opening of China, beginning with the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, greatly facilitated missionary efforts throughout China. The Qing government's Canton System strictly limited foreign presence in China, but the Chinese's humiliating defeat in the First Opium War resulting in a series of unequal treaties allowed the West to gradually assert its influence further and further inland. The 1842 treaty opened five main port cities to foreign presence.¹ A second group of port cities opened to foreigners in 1860, and gradually throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century foreign presence moved inland.

Though Catholic missionaries had held a significant presence in China since the fifteenth century, Protestant missions developed much more slowly because missions to Asia were not a primary concern for Protestants during this time. Additionally, most did not have the economic means to expand mission work to Asia. On the contrary, some Protestant nations (primarily Calvinists), such as the Netherlands, made agreements with China not to proselytize in exchange for trading rights within the country.

The London Missionary Society was the first group to reach China, sending Robert Morrison to Canton in 1807. Morrison studied the Chinese language while in a

¹ These cities included Canton (Guangzhou), Shanghai, Ningpo (Ningbo), Amoy (Xiamen), and Fuchow (Fuzhou).

university in London prior to his departure so that he might be able to best witness to the Chinese. He continued his study after arriving in China with a private tutor, but found himself hindered by his inability to travel into China and preach. During this time, missionary work was strictly prohibited by the Chinese government.² Thus he conducted the majority of his mission work through scholarship. He wrote pamphlets and tracts to introduce non-Christians to the primary tenets of Protestant Christianity, translated prayer books and catechism, and created a dictionary and grammar book for use by missionaries.³ A number of other men from the London Missionary Society soon joined Morrison, and they continued to spread their message primarily by writing tracts and employing newly baptized Chinese to carry them further into the country.

Karl Gutzlaff, a Prussian missionary, continued on the work of Morrison. His linguistic talents were considered extraordinary, and he served as an intermediary for traders and missionaries alike, as well as working with the Chinese government at Macao and Canton.⁴ He was a firm believer that only the Chinese could convert China, thus supporting the creation of a Chinese Church run by the Chinese.⁵ He was one of the first Protestant missionaries to dress in Chinese style, rather than adhering to Western accouterments. His insistence on a Chinese Church made him discontent with remaining

² For more information on the persona non grata status of early Protestant missionaries in China, see R. G. Tiedemann, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China: 1800 - Present* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2010) 135-138.

³ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1929) 211-212.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁵ Tiedemann, 284-285.

in outside of the interior of China, and he used controversial methods to gain access to inland. His aggressive style was criticized by other missionaries, particularly Calvinists, during this time period who preferred more slow and intensive models of conversion.

The first American missionaries arrived in China at the behest of Morrison. He wrote to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to request American assistance. He and the group of merchants he worshipped with in Canton provided passage and support for each of the American men who joined them in China.⁶ These two men sowed the seeds for the formation of other mission groups in China, such as the Southern Baptist Convention which Annie Jenkins Sallee traveled with in the early twentieth century.

Small groups of Protestant missionaries continued to arrive in China over the next few decades, generally working together to evangelize. Though Protestant missionaries tended to reject working with Roman Catholic missionaries, they did not hold to denominational affiliations in China during these early years. They aimed their combined efforts were primarily at establishing a Chinese Church rather than setting up permanent mission societies.⁷ Though Protestant mission work did not develop in a large capacity for decades, Morrison and these early missionaries' work set the standards for future efforts.

By the mid-nineteenth century tensions between Western nations vying for increased influence and the Chinese government led to the establishment of a series of

⁶ Tiedemann, 139.

⁷ Bob Whyte, *Unfinished Encounter: China and Christianity* (New York: Morehouse Publishing, 1988) 117.

unequal treaties. The first treaty confined foreigners to five treaty ports: Canton, Shanghai, Ningbo, and Amoy. Yet as tensions escalated between the West and the Chinese government, spurred by the debate concerning the legality of opium trade and Western desire for economic influence within China, an increasing number of cities gradually opened to foreign presence.⁸ Five treaty ports rapidly grew into over eighty cities, and in 1858, the Yangtze River was opened to foreign trade. This meant that missionaries could now travel inland and communicate with Chinese living in rural areas or inland cities, many of whom had never been exposed to any form Christianity.

The opening of the Yangtze River caused many missionary groups in Shanghai to expand. The increasing number of missionaries at that time strengthened denominational affiliations among foreigners in China. Also during this time, missionaries came to realize that the work of establishing a Chinese Church would take more time than originally thought. This shifted most missionary societies' objectives, leading many to the establishment of permanent missions. One of the earliest examples of this change is found in Griffith John and Robert Wilson. In 1861 the pair traveled up the Yangtze River from their previous location in Shanghai and established one of the first permanent Protestant missions in China. Their mission center became an operating center from which Protestant missions then extended inward to the rest of the country.⁹

These conditions, and efforts such as John and Wilson's, led to an enormous increase in Protestant missionaries in China. In 1858, there were only around eighty

⁸ For more information concerning the Opium War and unequal treaties, see John King Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979) 143-219.

⁹ Latourette, 363.

Protestants representing twenty missionary societies. By 1864, around one hundred and eighty-nine missionaries represented twenty-four societies, and by 1876 there were nearly five hundred missionaries and thirty societies within China. By 1890, Protestants had established mission societies in each of China's provinces, excluding Hunan. Readily considered by most to be the most hostile area in China to foreign presence, Hunan proved difficult to penetrate, though missionaries still made attempts to establish a presence there.¹⁰

Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) developed similarly to the general trends of Protestantism in China. Southern Baptists held a presence in China as early as 1836, and established a formal institution to regulate missions, the Foreign Mission Board, in 1945. Yet the mission's presence in China remained relatively small until the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865. The war took a significant toll on relations among Baptists in America. Northerner's "broke the ecclesiastical authority of Southern Baptists who had always viewed themselves as the center of gravity in the South." In response to this "spiritual invasion," the Southern Baptists turned their eyes abroad.¹¹ China soon became the favored place for SBC missions, bolstered by the influential writings of missionaries such as Lottie Moon and Matthew Yates.¹² By 1898, SBC missions had grown so extensively that the Foreign Mission Board officially restructured and named each of the stations by their geographic area: South China

¹⁰ Ibid., 405 – 406.

¹¹ Li Li, "Diversifying the Operation: Southern Baptist Missions in China at the Turn of the Century: 1890 – 1910," *Baptist Heritage and History* 43, no. 2 (1999) 42.

¹² Ibid., 42 – 48.

Mission (Canton), Central China Mission (Shanghai), North China Mission (Chefoo, Yantai), and the Interior China Mission (Chengchow and Kaifeng).

The opening of the inland of China to foreign presence, and Protestant's newfound ability to evangelize directly to the Chinese came with its own set of problems. Missionaries now needed to be adequately prepared before they could preach to the Chinese. This included obtaining some degree of fluency in Chinese. While confined to Canton, missionaries struggled to learn the language. The government prohibited foreign study of Chinese in an attempt to restrict Western and Christian propaganda. After the treaties opened more port cities, and then opened the majority of China to foreign presence, missionaries were free to study with private tutors, allowing many to gain sufficiency in the language. Often, they made use of dictionaries and textbooks created by the first generation of missionaries in Canton who attempted to study in secret.¹³ This was a time consuming and difficult process, which many missionaries found to be a stumbling block.

Though denominational affiliations separated groups by 1860, the majority of missionary stations operated on similar principles, following the standards set by Morrison and the early missionaries. In the twentieth century they developed and expanded upon these principles, establishing institutions for social services as well as evangelism.

Denominational affiliation served more to separate mission stations physically than theologically. Though each group possessed its own unique theological views, the

¹³ Tiedemann, 165-167.

instruction of Chinese catechumens remained generally consistent throughout Protestant missions. All missionaries emphasized the basic tenants of Protestant Christianity: God as the creator and sustainer of all, the sinfulness of man, Jesus' perfect life, death, and resurrection, the salvation of mankind from sin by faith, and eternal life achieved through Christ.¹⁴ Though occasionally groups espoused different theological beliefs, these were the generally accepted beliefs which they busied themselves with teaching to the Chinese. However, there was a large degree of disagreement concerning the issue of Bible translation. Numerous debates occurred over the proper Chinese terms to use for key words such as "God," "Spirit," and "baptism." In order to ease tensions and prevent conflict which would turn both potential converts and the Chinese government against Christian missions in general, geographical districts were divided so that each mission resided within its own area.¹⁵

Two methods were used for the reaching of converts: itinerant preaching and the establishment of mission stations.¹⁶ Itinerant preachers hearkened back to the work of the Chinese converts employed by Morrison. The proportion of missionaries to Chinese was so unequal that the only way for missionaries to reach a large audience was to leave the city they resided within and preach while travelling throughout the country.

Yet Protestant missionaries' primary means of converting the Chinese was through their permanent mission stations. Prior to the rapid expansion of Protestant

¹⁴ Ibid., 420.

¹⁵ Tiedemann, 179.

¹⁶ Latourette, 418.

missionary work in China, efforts had been primarily focused upon evangelization. Therefore missionaries viewed money spent on anything other than sharing the Gospel with the Chinese as superfluous and wasteful. They established churches, bible studies, and Sunday schools geared toward instruction in Christian doctrine.

However, as missions developed, most came to recognize the necessity of establishing social service institutions. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Southern Baptists discovered that developing social services was an effective means of adapting to Chinese culture. Matthew T. Yates, a missionary from 1844 to 1888, advocated for missionary provision of social services to sway the opinions of uninterested Chinese. Many missionaries during these early years cited frustration at the fact that many Chinese were not interested in listening to what missionaries had to offer. Yates saw this as an extension of the pervasive influence of Confucianism upon Chinese culture.¹⁷ Confucianism emphasized the role of benevolence, or right relations between human beings, over the contemplation of things of the afterlife. Yates believed that the missionaries had to show the Chinese benevolence before they could teach them about Christianity. This was best done through the creation of social service institutions to care for the poor, the sick, and the uneducated. Southern Baptists primarily focused upon education because they believed it to be the most effective means of leading the Chinese to Christ. The requirements for baptism into Christianity often required a certain amount of education that much of the peasantry lacked.¹⁸ Focusing their social efforts upon

¹⁷ Li, 47-48.

¹⁸ Ibid., 48-49.

provision of education enabled the Southern Baptists able to more effectively carry out their mission. These institutions soon became vital parts of Protestant mission stations. Yet they always remained secondary to evangelization. These institutions held value so long as they continued to lead people to Christ.¹⁹ Their willingness to only provide social aid in return for “Christianizing” the Chinese makes the implications of their social work more controversial, raising the issue of cultural imperialism. With this concern in mind, the Chinese often viewed these schools with suspicion. This attitude of suspicion began to dispel somewhat as time passed, and Christians became known for the establishment of institutions of higher education in China.²⁰

1.2 The Chinese Christians

Converts to Christianity during the early years of Protestant missions were rare. This is primarily because of the hostile anti-foreigner conditions created by the government. Activities of missionaries such as Robert Morrison were mostly confined to translating the Bible and producing religious tracts because the opportunities for preaching and reaching out to the Chinese were so rare. The effectiveness of the tracts that these missionaries sent out into China is often questioned. It is clear that the tracts were widely circulated and readily available to many Chinese.²¹ However, without anyone to guide their interpretation and context, many Chinese synthesized their own culture and religious beliefs with the newfound Christian information. Perhaps the most

¹⁹ Latourette, 416.

²⁰ Whyte, 132-133.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 250.

well-known and disastrous example of such a cultural synthesis can be found in the Taiping Christian Movement.²² Yet once missionaries were able to freely travel throughout China, their evangelistic efforts, though not without misunderstandings and conflict, became much more successful. Numbers of Chinese converts greatly increased during these years.

Returning to the original goals of Protestant missions, Christian workers in China hoped not just to bring knowledge of Christ to China but to establish a living, self-sustaining Chinese Christian Church. The issue of the ratio of foreigners to Chinese played a large part in this issue. This, combined with cultural and language barriers, inhibited missionaries from reaching large populations. There was no way that foreigners could reach such a vast nation by themselves and they knew that they would have to train a group of Chinese leaders to eventually take the reins of the Church. Originally, missionaries planned to ordain young men using the same standards as would be used in America. Yet several factors complicated this idea. Firstly, there was no similar occupation to a minister or pastor in China. While there were Buddhist and Daoist monks and priests, these occupations were not considered honorable.²³ Many Chinese associated the position of a Christian minister with these ascetic and undesirable positions. Missionaries had to overcome this cultural difference in explaining the role of a minister, likening it to a teacher.

²² Hong Xiuqian believed himself to be the brother of Jesus and established the Taiping Movement. This ultimately led to a deadly clash with the Chinese military. For more information on Hong Xiuqian, see Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996).

²³ Latourette, 426.

Secondly, many of the men and women they reached out to train lacked the education necessary to become a minister. The high standards for baptism and subsequently for ordination required that the missionaries first school a great number of Chinese for the positions they hoped to have fulfilled. This was a time consuming project and most missionary societies did not accomplish their goal of establishing independent churches led by Chinese ministers for many years.

For the first few decades of mission work in the inland of China the Chinese Christians remained “helpers” to the missionaries’ efforts. Missionaries ordained some men and continued to train them in the fashion of an apprenticeship. Once men were ordained, their duties aside from preaching and teaching included home visitations, prayer meetings, counseling, and organizing the structure and life of the church.²⁴

Missionaries also trained a group of women who became known as “Bible Women” throughout China. These women enabled missionaries to more easily reach out to Chinese women. In the beginning, these women were simply graduates of schools established for girls in the mission stations. Yet as time passed and the need for the help of more Chinese women increased, training schools specifically for Bible women were established. A Bible woman’s primary duties included teaching women to read, caring for the ill, evangelistic work, and on occasion, preaching.²⁵ Bible Women served a crucial role in the establishment of women’s education, because they allowed the missionaries to offer more services for women, as well as more classes for girls that were taught in Chinese subjects.

²⁴ Tiedemann, 262.

²⁵ Ibid., 264.

1.3 Women in the Mission Field

Up until this point, all of the missionaries discussed in this paper have been male. Yet women played significant roles in the missionary field, especially in China. By 1890, more than half of the missionaries to China were women. Half of that statistic is composed by the wives of missionary men sent to China. The majority of these women's lives were occupied by caring for the household and raising children, but this does not preclude any involvement in evangelistic work in China. It was generally assumed by Protestant mission boards that the wives of missionaries will also serve in the missionary work of their husbands, though they may not receive a salary for it. On a most basic level, this meant presenting the ideal of a Christian home to society. Just as the missionaries were expected to live out the social teachings of the Gospel before the Chinese were willing to accept it, Christian wives were expected to present the perfect Christian household for the Chinese to imitate.

Yet many married women's work extended beyond the home in China. The Chinese idea of propriety required the participation of women missionaries in order to spread the Gospel to Chinese women. One example of a missionary wife who took on more than the care of her home is Maudie Albritton Ethel Fielder. She travelled to China after her husband-to-be wrote her from China, asking her to join him in Kaifeng and become a missionary wife. After they were married and had served for a few years in Kaifeng, Wilson and Maudie Fielder moved to Zhengzhou and established schools to complement the mission station there. In addition to caring for her husband and taking

care of their home, Maudie Fielder raised their children while also serving the citizens of Zhengzhou.

After completing the two years of language study followed by exams that were required by the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board, Maudie turned her eyes to the women of the city. She lamented the way girls were treated in Chinese society. She noted the way in which women only counted their sons when asked the number of children in their family, or how many of the older women of the city were often not able to read because of the expectation that they serve as good wives. In order to combat this poor treatment of women, she worked in the Women's Bible School and established Sunday school classes for girls. She also participated in many home visits with the women of society.²⁶ Maudie Fielder's experience is typical of many of the missionary wives in China.

Single women also participated in missionary activities. The majority of mission boards recognized the absolute need for women in the missionary field because of the separation of women and men in Chinese society. Male missionaries could not reach out to women, and missionary wives such as Maudie Fielder often found themselves stretched thin between preparing the perfect Christian home, caring for their own children, and serving Chinese women. This led to women's missionary societies within in denominations, operating for the idea of "Women's Work for Women."²⁷ Women's roles in mission stations consisted of preaching to and instructing Chinese women, running

²⁶ Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder, *Life History: Maudie and John Wilson Fielder*, unpublished manuscript Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder Papers, *The Texas Collection*, Baylor University.

²⁷ Tiedemann, 180.

Sunday Schools, training Bible Women, in some instances establishing girl's schools, and occasionally, in cases like that of Lottie Moon, itinerant preaching.²⁸

Though the American Civil War dealt a significant blow to Baptists as a whole in China, it expanded the role of women within society. During this time, Christian women developed their own version of feminism, based upon gaining equality through the principles of the Bible. Endowed with this new sense of equality, women began to emerge more and more in the professional world. However, women did not immediately enter all aspects of the professional world. Teaching, missionary work, and medical work were the primary professional fields for women during this time.

The opening of China to foreign presence and the expansion of missionary movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided women an opportunity to spread this newly gained "feminist spirit."²⁹ These women based their newfound freedom from a patriarchal society upon the equality, freedom, and salvation found in Christ. As knowledge of Chinese culture and life became more and more accessible with the opening of China to the West in the nineteenth and twentieth century, many Christian women found themselves moved at the plight of their Chinese counterparts. In China, no clear gospel existed for the emancipation of women. In fact, Confucian ideology ran contrary to the idea of a "feminist spirit." This provided missionary women with a mission and a purpose beyond the evangelism that male missionaries had been carrying out for years. Their newfound taste of freedom from the patriarchal structures led them to

²⁸ Ibid., 188-199.

²⁹ Hyatt, 67.

turn their eyes to China and attempt to provide women there with similar opportunities as they had received. Again, they saw this as “Women’s Work for Women.” Their primary method of executing this “emancipation” of Chinese women occurred through the establishment of education for girls.

1.4 Education in China

Prior to the dissolution of imperial China, education in China consisted of civil service exams which young Chinese men took in order to obtain government status. Generally only wealthy, young men had access to opportunities. However, there were occasional instances of poor men taking the exams and raising their social status. Confucian philosophy established a patriarchal system which ensured that women did not have a place with this system. Traditionally, Chinese women were encouraged to faithfully fulfill the positions of wife and mother to the best of their ability.

The formal system of schooling for preparation for the civil service exams excluded Chinese women. Their primary education consisted of schooling in how to properly run a home and behave as a woman within society.³⁰ Whereas Chinese men obtained their social status from their occupation, schooling, and performance on the civil service exams, women earned their status by marrying well and serving their husband.

In some instances girls from wealthier families received schooling through private tutoring in their homes. Yet in most cases, these girls were only allowed to read and write if accompanied by a brother to lessons. This dependence “nurtured the concept of

³⁰ Marilyn Carpenter and Jane Liu, “Trends and Issues of Women’s Education in China,” *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 78, no. 6 (2005) 277.

becoming a faithful wife and virtuous mother...the more education a female received, the more likely she would be subject to a man's control."³¹ This structure of women's education remained in place until the nineteenth century. The emergence of formal women's education occurred primarily as a result of missionary efforts. As the "feminist spirit" increased in the West, the stark contrast between educational opportunities for women in China and that of Westerners became more apparent. This added a new dimension to missionary efforts, enhanced by missionaries' new desire to provide social services.

For instance, a school for girls was established as early as 1844 in Ningbo. The missionaries realized that in order to counteract a system which had previously discouraged the education of women, they had to provide significant benefits. Benefits such as free tuition, board, and lodging made the school more enticing. They included courses in religion, math, and a limited amount of science. This school set the standard for other missionary schools throughout the country. By 1872, over one hundred similar schools for young girls existed throughout China.³² The attitude of these missionaries began to permeate the atmosphere of Chinese society as increasingly more women grew interested in obtaining even a basic education.

These feminist movements combined with the ever present and increasing Western influenced led to limited amounts of government involvement in women's education. In 1898, the government established the first school for women at Jingzheng,

³¹ Ibid., 278.

³² Ibid., 278.

and by 1904 the government issued its first official document on women's education. Outspoken Chinese women's advocates, combined with the pressure from the success of foreign missionary schools, pressured the government into this document which formalized schooling for girls in a very limited manner, allowing young girls to attend elementary schools. Though limited, this document revolutionized the schooling system, allowing some young girls the opportunity to learn to read and write. In 1915, the government established the National Education Order and made allowances for coeducational schooling.³³ These developments, though seemingly small, represented radical steps toward the provision of equality in education for women. It is important to note at this point that it would be foolish to attribute all of the developments in women's rights during this time period to missionary efforts. The rapidly changing structure of Chinese society during this time period led to the creation of secular women's movements as well. Many of these movements were supported by revolutionary writings in newspapers and journals and influence from women outside of the religious sphere, often Chinese women.³⁴ The influence of both groups must be considered when considering the development of feminism in China.

Despite the fact that Chinese educational system had progressed from having virtually no opportunity for the education of women to the provision of a system allowing women to learn to read and write, it generally lagged behind Western schools in quality

³³ Ibid., 278.

³⁴ Kowk Pui-Lan, "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel B. Bays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 206.

of education. During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, Protestant schools generally offered higher quality education than government and private schools in China.³⁵

Protestant missionaries found that they had unique opportunities to influence huge masses of the population.³⁶ Provision of education allowed missionaries to reach out to populations who were previously hostile to missionaries. Though many cited frustration at the number of Chinese who came to the schools simply to receive a quality education with no interest in the religious aspect of the school, the general attitude was that the schools allowed missionaries to reach a greater number of Chinese. They also felt that by educating a large number of Chinese, they were essentially creating a group who could go out and continue the missionaries' efforts at evangelism.

Sunday schools represented the first forms of Protestant missionary educational efforts. Missionary wives who had passed their language exams typically taught at these schools, ensuring their ability to communicate well with the children in the class. Though primarily aimed at religious instruction, these classes often ventured into other areas as well because the women found that many of the children, especially those from poor families, were not able to read well enough to take part in the lessons. As these were not formal methods of schooling, there was no systemized coordination of curriculum. The classes were disorderly and many missionaries, especially women, began to write to the mission boards asking for permission and funds to establish schools to better meet the needs of the children they were ministering to.

³⁵ Latourette, 622.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 638.

In the early years of these missionary schools, before a reputation for quality education had been established, the majority of the school's students came from impoverished families. The missionaries often provided the students with room, board, clothing, and a small amount of spending money.³⁷ Protestants offered social services only as an extension of their evangelistic mission. They hoped that educating these young Chinese would in turn lead them to conversion. More often than not, the missionaries were disappointed.³⁸ Yet this is not to say the schools were completely unsuccessful. A large number of Chinese did convert and then often continued to serve as teachers for mission stations.

These schools were not without criticism. Many critics cited a lack of organization in curriculum, insufficient training for teachers, and a lack of resources for schools as problems with these schools. Others criticized the fact that churches rarely made an attempt to keep in touch with students once they graduated from a Christian school. By and large the largest criticism rested in the models Protestant schools employed.³⁹ Primarily based upon European standards, the schools did not even attempt to include Chinese culture in the planning of curriculum. Often, this resulted in well educated students who nonetheless found themselves alienated from their own culture.⁴⁰

³⁷ Tiedemann, 432.

³⁸ Ibid., 433.

³⁹ Latourette, 622.

⁴⁰ Tiedemann, 432.

It became difficult to send Chinese students out to establish a Chinese Church when their schooling had been primarily Western.

The curriculum of these schools brought a great deal of Western ideas and knowledge into Chinese society. Often, many parents of students insisted that the schools offer courses in English so that their children might have better opportunities upon graduation.⁴¹ As has been evidenced throughout this chapter, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were periods of rapid social changes in China. These missionary schools brought “into China new subjects of study and new methods and ideals,” serving as “forerunners of a revolution in education [in China].”⁴²

The rapidly changing atmosphere in China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries produced an ideal atmosphere for cultural imperialism. This aided Protestant mission work during this time period. Specifically, the way in which several unequal treaties opened China to foreign influence allowed Protestant missionaries to affect a great amount of change upon society. As mission stations developed throughout the nation, missionaries’ efforts expanded beyond simple evangelization. The newfound “feminist spirit” in Western nations encouraged women missionaries to provide social services in hopes of helping to emancipate Chinese women. This was primarily accomplished through the establishment of schools for young girls.

It was into this shifting and dynamic environment that Annie Jenkins Sallee, a young Southern Baptist missionary, entered. Though she married another missionary soon after arriving in China, she travelled there initially because she too cared for the

⁴¹ Ibid., 432.

⁴² Latourette, 444.

plight of young Chinese women. She felt called to provide a service to these women, not only bringing news of the Gospel to them, but also providing education and empowerment in facing a society which devalued them.

The coming chapters of this paper will examine her life prior to leaving America and her subsequent work in Zhengzhou and Kaifeng. Specifically it will consider the impact of her work upon women's education in these cities, and its lasting effects.

CHAPTER TWO

Developing a Historical Perspective

This chapter considers the development of Annie's character through three primary influences: her family, her faith, and her education. Examining these three areas of influence illuminates Sallee's decision to become a missionary and provides insight into her decision to branch out from evangelist activities for the provision of education to women in China. These areas also provide an explanation for Annie's perceived superiority above the Chinese.

2.1 The Influence of Family

Annie's family set a precedent for her through their service to the community and commitment to the importance of education. She grew up in a prominent Baptist family known for their civic leadership and service in Waco. Her maternal grandfather, Joseph Warren Speight, served as a colonel in the American Civil War and was well known for his contributions to Waco's rich history. He served as one of the six private businessmen in the mid-nineteenth century that formed a charter for the establishment of a bridge crossing the Brazos River.⁴³ This suspension bridge provided an enormous amount of economic revenue for Waco and marked the transition of the city from a small rural community to a thriving urban center. Speight was also highly influential in the development of several academic institutions in Waco through his work convincing Rufus C. Burleson to move from Independence to Waco and establish Waco University.

⁴³ Roger N. Conger, "The Waco Suspension Bridge," *Texana* 1 (1963) 186-192.

This university contributed to the wealth of education available in Waco which earned the city the name the “Athens of Texas.” He served on the board of trustees for Waco University until it was consolidated with Baylor University in 1886.⁴⁴

Annie’s paternal grandfather was lauded among the Baptist community for his dedication to the development of evangelism in McLennan County. After his conversion in 1867, James R. Jenkins served as a pious member of the Baptist community lauded for his moral character. For instance, he once settled a controversy within the church concerning private offenses which affect only personal character and public offenses, which are crimes against the church itself.⁴⁵ He and several other Baptist missionaries also were credited with establishing the first Baptist missionary church near the Brazos River and bringing the first Baptist home missionaries to Texas circa 1837.⁴⁶ Through the lens of the work of both of her grandfathers, it is clear to see the commitment of Annie's family to education and ministry work in the city of Waco. At the time that American Protestant foreign missions were beginning to develop James R. Jenkins' service as a home missionary near the Brazos River greatly influenced the rest of his family.

⁴⁴ Roger N. Conger. “Joseph Warren Speight.” *Handbook of Texas* (Texas State Historical Association, 1996).

⁴⁵ Frank E. Burkhalter, *A World Visioned Church: Story of the First Baptist Church, Waco, Texas* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1946) 34-35.

⁴⁶ James Lafayette Walker and C. P. Lumpkin, *History of the Waco Baptist Association of Texas* (Waco: Byrne-Hill Printing House, 1897) 326-327.

Annie's father, Warwick H. Jenkins, also played an important role in Annie's development. Jenkins grew up in Waco "under the rude conditions of pioneer life."⁴⁷ He attended rural schools throughout his childhood, and ultimately enrolled at Waco University. After studying law at home, he passed the Bar examination and became a lawyer. Despite his humble beginnings, Jenkins established a highly influential career in the Waco community. He became the judge of McLennan County, serving for approximately eight years. He also sat on the board of trustees at Baylor University for thirty-five years. W. H. Jenkins' job and position within the community assured the family's excellent economic status.⁴⁸ This in turn assured that Annie was able to attend an excellent school following high school, eventually earning a bachelor and master's degree from Baylor University.

In addition to his influence in the academic community, Judge Jenkins greatly impacted the religious community of Waco. The Jenkins family had been faithful members of Waco's Baptist community since its early missionary beginnings with James R. Jenkins and W. H. Jenkins was no exception. He was highly involved in day to day matters of the church, and also worked as a clerk and deacon of the church for over thirty years.⁴⁹ The Jenkins family's involvement at First Baptist Church was a highly influential factor in the shaping of Annie's decision to become a missionary. Yet in order to examine

⁴⁷ Ellis A. Davis and Edwin H. Grobe, "Judge W. H. Jenkins," *The Encyclopedia of Texas* (Dallas: Texas Development Bureau, 1921) 527.

⁴⁸ Annie Jenkins Sallee, Biographical Questionnaire for the Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board, 1962. Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, The Texas Collection at Baylor University.

⁴⁹ Annie Jenkins Sallee, *A Friend of God: Highlights in the Life of W. H. Jenkins, Outstanding Christian Layman of Texas* (Gainesville: Naylor, 1952).

why the church had such a profound impact upon her life, one must first turn to her relationship with her family. Understanding the interactions in the Jenkins family explains why her parents and grandparents involvement at First Baptist and in the greater Waco community influenced her career.

On February 28, 1877, Annie Jenkins Sallee was born to parents Jessie Speight Jenkins and W. H. Jenkins. The third of nine children, Annie grew up in a tight-knit family. She was close to her five sisters and three brothers, and rarely left home until she began teaching in another city. Even while in college, she lived at home with her family. She took a trip with the school to Austin and Belton in 1897, leaving her mother for only the third time in her life.⁵⁰ She felt most at peace when she was with her family.⁵¹ These close relationships proved to be one of the largest challenges Annie faced in her later decision to become a missionary.

2.2 The Influence of the Church

Annie's church also played a formative role in her development as a Baptist missionary. The First Baptist Church of Waco formed in 1851 after four charter members invited Noah T. Byers to become their pastor. The church originated in humble beginnings. Early services consisted of approximately fifteen members initially gathering in a Methodist meeting house. The first structure to house only First Baptist Church was a simple brick building. But after a fire destroyed this church in 1877, the congregation

⁵⁰ Annie Jenkins Sallee Diary, 13 February 1887, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University. All subsequent diary entries and letters are from the aforementioned collection unless otherwise indicated.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5 September 1901.

undertook a massive construction project to build a new home for the parish. It is after this time that the church became known as one of the most impressive churches in Texas. As early as 1854, First Baptist of Waco was considered the “best evangelical church auditorium in Texas.”⁵² The church soon became known for more than just an impressive structure, being considered one of the most influential churches in the state. Its massive fundraising abilities helped to save both the Baptist State Mission Board and Baylor University from financial ruin.⁵³

The wealth of the community in which Annie grew up played a role in the way Annie carried out her mission work. First Baptist Church’s prominence in the community is visible in the dignitaries who attended the church over the years. For instance, Rufus C. Burleson, who served two terms as president of Baylor University, also served as one of the earliest pastors of the church. Notable figures such as former governor Pat Neff and confederate generals James E. Harrison and Allison Nelson also attended First Baptist Waco.⁵⁴ The affluence of the parishioners was reflected in the church’s large budget.⁵⁵ After the original church caught fire, the parish established plans to erect a \$40,000 (approximately \$890,750 in 2015) building without incurring any debt. Their own records indicate that they accomplished this, while also increasing the pastor’s salary,

⁵² “A World Visioned Church Celebrates Ninety-Five Years of Service, 1851-1946”, Program from First Baptist Waco, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University.

⁵³ “Four Members Charter First Baptist of Waco in 1851; 3,500 Members Today,” *Waco Tribune-Herald*, 16 July 1967, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

⁵⁴ W. H. Jenkins, “Sketches of First Baptist Church,” 1910, *First Baptist Church Collection*, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

⁵⁵ Alan J. Lefever, “First Baptist Church, Waco,” *The Handbook of Texas* (Texas State Historical Association, 1996).

doubling contributions to home and foreign missions, and continuing to give to the poor and contributing to the building of other churches in Waco.⁵⁶

It is important to note that not only was Annie's family wealthy, but the surrounding community held a similar economic status. She only encountered those less fortunate than herself through Sunday school teaching and community service in other neighborhoods. This atmosphere of wealth influenced the way in which Annie viewed the world, and later created a barrier between her and those she wished to evangelize.

Tensions created by racial issues also affected Annie's perspective. The culture in which Annie grew up in the mid-nineteenth century south was permeated by racist attitudes and social structures. The conclusion of the American Civil War brought a great deal of resentment among Protestant communities who felt that their religious authority had been undermined.⁵⁷ These tensions were manifest in racial developments in First Baptist Church in Waco at that time. Prior to 1866, a limited amount of worship services and activities were offered for African American parishioners. Around 1854, separate services were held for slaves. Their membership was recorded by the church clerk, though counted separately from white membership. In 1854, there were sixty-three African American members of First Baptist Church.⁵⁸ In order to obtain admittance to the church, slaves were required first to provide a letter of approval from their master. Following the end of the Civil War, African Americans were permitted to worship from the balcony of the church.

⁵⁶ W. H. Jenkins, "Sketches of First Baptist Church."

⁵⁷ Li, 42.

⁵⁸ Burkhalter, 60.

The emancipation of slaves at the close of the Civil War bolstered African American Wacoans, encouraging them to seek better opportunities in their churches. Many were frustrated at being denied the right to determine how and where they could worship. The white community also expressed concerns during this time about African American members. Many found the demands for African American services, preachers, and deacons to be a constant problem and distraction. They often paired this concern by citing frequent issues of disciplinary issues found within the African American community pertaining to adultery.⁵⁹ In response to these frustrations, eighteen African Americans requested letters of dismissal from First Baptist Church in 1866. Pastor Rufus C. Burleson granted the dismissal letters, and even financially helped to establish New Hope Baptist Church.⁶⁰ The first structure New Hope worshipped in was a dilapidated, abandoned foundry building on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Sixth Street. Despite the building's obvious signs of use and ill repair, the new church members found it "more inviting than cushioned pews and frescoed walls" because it came with "unfettered liberty."⁶¹ Today this church is known as one of the oldest and most prestigious African American churches in Waco.

This example of racial tension at First Baptist Church in Waco conveys the complexity of the situation. The church did not completely deny slaves the opportunity to worship nor did it prevent African Americans from attending church following the Civil

⁵⁹ Ibid, 60-62.

⁶⁰ Irene E. Cobb, *History of New Hope Baptist Church, 1866-1976*, (Waco: New Hope Baptist Bicentennial Committee, 1976).

⁶¹ Ibid, 3.

War. In fact, it provided financial assistance for the founding of New Hope Baptist Church. Yet their actions cannot be seen as completely benevolent. The racist culture of the South during that time period influences the way in which mission work was carried out.

This air of superiority combined with benevolent acts permeates Annie's missionary attitude. It is visible in her writings and in her interactions with the Chinese after she begins her mission work in the twentieth century. This attitude was obviously a product of the culture of the time period in which she grew up. Yet it must be taken into consideration when evaluating the impact of her work upon the Chinese.

The policies of the pastor who directed First Baptist Church during the majority of Annie's youth played a significant role in the development of Annie's desire to become a missionary. Though her desire was not realized until much later, this period during her youth under Pastor B. H. Carroll sowed the seeds for her later work. A great pastor and a preeminent teacher, Carroll served at First Baptist Church for twenty years after being called as pastor in 1871. He made the church known as the "first among equals" and emphasized the importance of education in evangelism.⁶² He is known as one of the most influential pastors in the history of the church for his liberalizing reforms. For instance, he permitted the use of instrumental accompaniment during worship services, and greatly expanded the role of women in the Baptist church. It was at that time that the first women were allowed to serve as deacons at First Baptist Church.⁶³ This

⁶² Jenkins, "Sketches of First Baptist Church."

⁶³ Ibid.

development of the role of women in church and society connects to the emergence of a feminist spirit following the conclusion of the American Civil War.

It is also during the time when Carroll served as pastor that the First Baptist Church of Waco became known for its missionary work. Baptists had long served a missionary role in the community of Waco, tracing evangelistic work back to roots such as the home missionary efforts of James R. Jenkins. Yet under Carroll, these efforts expanded considerably, and missionary work became emphasized as one of the primary efforts of the church.⁶⁴ The First Baptist Church of Waco under Pastor B. H. Carroll sent forth more preachers and missionaries than any other church in the South at this time.⁶⁵ Mission work, both in the Waco community and abroad, grew rapidly.

The changing role of women and growing prevalence of mission work influenced Annie's educational and career choices. These changes provide insight concerning her decision to not only attend college, but pursue a master's degree at Baylor University. They also shed light on her interest in taking up mission work following her teaching career at Decatur Baptist College. Examining these overarching movements in the history of First Baptist Church during the time of Annie's youth explains some of the factors influencing the development of her career. However, in order to most clearly show the church's impact, the degree to which the church might have influenced Annie must be evaluated.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Annie Jenkins Sallee, *W. Eugene Sallee, Christ's Ambassador*, unpublished manuscript, the Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

The degree of Annie's family's involvement in the church provides reason to conclude that the church significantly impacted Annie while she was growing up. The tight-knit atmosphere of the family combined with her father's dedication to the church and to the community ensured that Annie shared these same values. She looked up to her father, often turning to him for spiritual advice.⁶⁶ Just like her father, Annie became highly involved at First Baptist. The majority of her youth centered on activities at the church.

Annie's own involvement in the church also provides insight into its influence upon her decisions. She participated in a wide variety of activities. For instance, she played the organ for worship services and participated in Bible studies. Yet she seemed to derive the most pleasure from activities centered upon evangelization. Her sister Hallie described her as a devout and pious young woman during her youth who understood the Bible very literally.⁶⁷ She interpreted the command of Acts 1:8 as a command for the way in which she out to live out her life.⁶⁸ This drove her to spend the majority of her youth "visiting the unsaved, the ill, the lonely and ministering to the needy."⁶⁹

One of the primary manifestations of this attitude was her involvement in teaching Sunday school for boys at the Edgefield Baptist Church. First Baptist established the

⁶⁶ Sallee Diary, 5 September 1901.

⁶⁷ Hallie Jenkins Singleton, *A Glimpse into the Christ Filled Life of Annie Jenkins Sallee, Missionary 1905-1945*, 1968.

⁶⁸ Acts 1:8 says, "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth."

⁶⁹ Singleton, *A Glimpse into the Christ Filled Life*.

Edgefield Church in 1890 as a mission for workers in a cotton mill in that area.⁷⁰ It was a very poor community in need of a great deal of help. Her father frequently visited this community, and Annie tagged along during her childhood.⁷¹ Annie began to teach here in 1895 after she felt that God was calling her out in to the community. Her work at this mission church also provides an early example of the way in which she combined her passion for spreading the Gospel with teaching. It is through this connection that she established a missionary career later in her life, and moved to improve evangelistic efforts in China through the establishment of education.

As Annie grew older, she also began to participate in the convention of the Baptist Young People's Union. Founded in the late nineteenth century, this organization sought to foster faith and Christian growth.⁷² By 1899, Annie was involved in planning and expansion of the annual convention.⁷³ This organization played one of the most significant roles in Annie's decision to become a missionary to China. It was at one such convention that she heard the call to give her life completely to God and go to China after listening to a sermon by her brother-in-law, Dr. George W. Truett. She also met her future husband, W. Eugene Sallee, at a convention. After their meeting, Sallee and Annie

⁷⁰ "Edgefield Baptist Church," Institute for Oral History, Baylor University.

⁷¹ Hallie Jenkins Singleton, "Oral Memoirs of Hallie Jenkins Singleton," interviewed by Tommy Lou Whittenburg, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, 1976.

⁷² Dorothy A. Davis, "Inventory to the Baptist Young People's Union of America," Finding Aid. July 2008, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives.

⁷³ Sallee Diary, 14 April 1899.

remained in contact for several years. When Sallee left for China in 1904, the couple's relationship was put on hold.

It is clear that the church affected more than the temporal aspects of Annie's perspective. It also greatly influenced her morals as well as the way in which she interacted with society. She wrote in her diary of an overnight school trip on a bus when she deplored the actions of the other girls because they were willing to fall asleep in front of men. She preferred instead to stay up for an entire night on the bus for the sake of propriety and her spiritual health.⁷⁴ Her scorn and disdain for the other girls reveals her sense of spiritual elitism. She seems to have considered herself of a different moral class from other people.

Her elitism in turn affected her charitable work. Hallie Jenkins described her as a woman who possessed a "compulsive desire to tell others about Jesus from [the day of her conversion when she was eleven years old] until she drew her last breath."⁷⁵ Her pious attitude was beneficial because it encouraged her to reach out to serve the less fortunate. Yet her elitism permeated all of her actions. She believed that people "could not be happy or live fulfilled lives unless they were close to God."⁷⁶ As a result, Annie felt that she had an obligation to serve the multitude of sinners who did not know God.

This sense of obligation to serve developed into a missionary career for Annie. The following chapters will consider the way that this attitude permeated Annie's interactions with the Chinese, and thus, her mission work. The belief that fulfillment

⁷⁴ Sallee Diary, 23 February 1887.

⁷⁵ Singleton, *A Glimpse into the Christ Filled Life*.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

comes only with knowledge of God meant a total rejection of “backwards” Chinese culture. In the case of Annie Jenkins Sallee, it means a lack of openness to Chinese culture. It is clear even in her earliest writings that she had a very low view of Chinese society, and believed that it is her duty not only to bring the Chinese knowledge of God, but to westernize them.

2.3 The Influence of Education

The prominence of Annie’s family and church in her youth developed her deep sense of morality and desire to evangelize the “multitude of sinners.” Her experiences in higher education proved to be equally formative, shaping this desire further. Despite her own inhibitions, Annie felt God calling her to leave her peaceful home and family in order to serve abroad. Her experiences in college and her first years teaching build upon the missionary attitude instilled by her parents during her youth, ultimately leading to her decision to sail to China in 1905.

Annie enrolled at Baylor University for her undergraduate degree in 1893. In 1897 she graduated top of her class with a bachelor’s degree. Following her graduation, she decided to continue her studies, and in 1899 became the first woman to receive a Master’s Degree from Baylor University.

Annie’s writings in her diary show her awareness of missionaries in foreign lands during her collegiate experience. Yet they do not indicate response to personal involvement in these efforts; she did not yet recognize a call from God to serve in foreign countries. Her writing seems to indicate that she viewed the expansion of mission work to foreign lands as an important aspect of fulfilling God’s kingdom, but did not see her part

in this plan. She planned on becoming a teacher following her graduation. Despite her lack interest in personally travelling abroad during this time, she clearly honored and respected the efforts of missionaries a great deal. In the fall of 1898, she donated a portion of her personal money in order to support the efforts of evangelizers abroad.⁷⁷ This respect likely stemmed from the influence of her family's mission work and her own local work during her youth.

Annie felt her first call to serve God in some capacity other than as a local teacher after listening to a sermon given by Dr. R. N. Barrett at Baylor University.⁷⁸ Annie held Dr. Barrett in high esteem because of his status among the Bible faculty. Barrett lectured on the importance of Ann Hasseltine Judson, one of the first female American foreign missionaries.⁷⁹ This sermon served as the impetus for Annie's life altering decision to change her career. Yet it did not happen instantaneously. Annie did not act upon this new plan for some time, until after several more interactions with others seemed to confirm this calling.

A Chinese missionary came to speak to students in University Chapel at Baylor while Annie was still completing her graduate coursework. Annie was moved by the speaker's cause but did not feel compelled to serve as a missionary herself. She found the missionary's presentation so compelling that she met with the missionary following the presentation in order to speak with her. The young woman encouraged Annie to consider

⁷⁷ Sallee Diary, 1898.

⁷⁸ Sallee, Biographical Questionnaire, 1962.

⁷⁹ "Lectures." In the *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, and Students of Baylor University*, (Independence: Baylor University, 1898) 59.

life as a missionary, seeing Annie as a highly qualified candidate. Annie's strong constitution ensured that she was capable of enduring physical hardship, her faith and service to the community provided the desire to reach out to others who do not yet know God, and her strong education from Baylor University was also considered an asset.⁸⁰

Many missionary societies were looking to send more educated, single women abroad. It was absolutely crucial to have women missionaries in order to evangelize to women in cultures such as China where strict societal rules separated men and women. Especially during the beginning of Protestant missions, the majority of women missionaries consisted of missionary wives rather than single women trained or educated for the purpose of catechizing new Christians. Education aided missionaries in learning a new language and communicating clearly with those they wished to convert.

Annie walked away from this meeting uncertain of the path she was called to. Though the missionary's enthusiasm and persuasiveness convinced her to make tentative plans to attend a missionary training school in Chicago, she remained undecided as to which career path to follow. She spent the next several years attempting to discover God's will as she completed her degrees. She possessed a strong desire to discover her purpose, whether it be to serve as a pastor's wife, a teacher, or even as a foreign missionary.

Following the completion of her Master's degree, Annie decided not to follow through on the plans she made with the missionary speaker in University Chapel. She did not completely abandon the possibility of becoming a missionary, but postponed her

⁸⁰ Sallee Diary, undated.

tentative plans to attend a training school until she was better able to discern where God was calling her.

In 1899, Annie accepted a teaching job in Moody, Texas. After one year of teaching in Moody, Annie moved to Decatur Baptist College, where she taught from 1900 to 1901.⁸¹ The experience Annie gained from teaching shaped the way she would later carry out her mission work.

Despite the rewarding experiences she derived from her teaching jobs, she steadily received the growing impression that she was called to something more than her current position. She found herself becoming more and more dissatisfied with her teaching position. She resigned her position after the conclusion of the 1901 school year with the intention of following through on her plans to attend a missionary training school. The South did not have any sort of school for preparing Baptist missionaries for foreign service at that time, leading Annie to enroll at the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago in 1902.

Enrolling in this specialized school did not guarantee a change of careers for Annie. She entered the school still uncertain of what she would do upon her graduation. Though they served as a significant influence in her eventual decision to become a mission, Annie's family ultimately proved to be one of the greatest challenges she faced in becoming a missionary.⁸² Annie felt a great reluctance to leave her family in order to

⁸¹ Sallee Diary, September 1901.

⁸² Sallee, Biographical Questionnaire, 1967.

become a missionary.⁸³ She rarely left home during her youth, and likely found the thought of moving across the globe from the support system she had in her parents and siblings daunting. Additionally, her parents resisted the idea of her becoming a missionary. They opposed her enrollment in the missionary school, and later tried to persuade her not to travel to China. They had no desire to see their child become separated from the family, even if only by physical distance. Annie desired to please her parents and this opposition posed a serious challenge for her.⁸⁴ Yet she was faced by a steadily growing impression that the Lord was calling her to foreign lands.⁸⁵

In 1902, the Executive Committee of the Baptist Women's State Convention of Texas requested that Annie prepare a paper on the importance of developing a women's training school in the South similar to the Chicago training school she attended.⁸⁶ Though initially reluctant, Annie eventually acquiesced. The article provided insight into the training Annie received in Chicago and in turn, sheds light on her later impulse to found schools in Zhengzhou and Kaifeng.

The article described the classroom coursework, which was taught by professors from the University of Chicago and other renowned universities, and divided into three parts: work in the classroom, fieldwork, and house-to-house visiting (which included studying the making of the home). These three broad areas are meant to educate the

⁸³ Singleton, "Oral Memoirs."

⁸⁴ Sallee Diary, 30 July 1902.

⁸⁵ Singleton, "Oral Memoirs."

⁸⁶ Sallee Diary, 25 September 1902.

young women not only in theological and Biblical matters, but also in medicine, hygiene, nursing, physical culture, vocal music, and many other disciplines.⁸⁷ The interdisciplinary approach to instruction was absolutely necessary because the “missionary is expected to know how to do everything from making a speech in the meeting to prescribing medicine for the baby after the meeting.”⁸⁸ Annie and the other trainees gained experience in the field through their work in industrial schools, evangelizing young children. She found the experience particularly rewarding when several of her students experience conversion moments from her lessons on the “Plan of Salvation.” The “Plan of Salvation” was one of the many set lesson plans concerning the basic fundamentals of Christian doctrine which the students at the school employed. Annie also found the spiritual environment of the mission school highly supportive.

In 1903, Annie still remained unsure of whether she was called to serve as a missionary in China. The final interaction which convinced her of the need for her to leave her comfortable and peaceful home for a distant land occurred in a familiar place. She attended the annual meeting of the Baptist Young People’s Union, which she had previously been involved in planning efforts. Two significant events occurred at this meeting in 1903. The first occurred upon hearing the sermon of her brother-in-law, Dr. George W. Truett. Dr. Truett called the attendees to surrender their lives to God, asking, “Who then is willing this day, to consecrate, his service to the Lord?”⁸⁹ These words

⁸⁷ Annie Jenkins, “The Chicago School: I Would Plead with the Baptists of the South,” *Baptist Argus*, 5 May 1904, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection at Baylor University.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Sallee Diary, 1903.

finalized the decision that Annie gradually had been forming concerning her work. She received an impression to completely surrender all of herself to the Lord.⁹⁰ Total surrender meant leaving her family in order to fulfill God's will.

The second significant event occurred in her meeting of William Eugene Sallee. After meeting at the convention during the summer, Annie and Sallee kept in regular contact and courted for a brief period of time. However, the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board appointed Sallee to missionary work in China soon after they met. Sallee left for China in the fall of 1903.

Annie and Sallee established an indefinite relationship, though Sallee spoke with Annie's family unbeknownst to her before leaving, indicating his intentions to marry her as soon as possible.⁹¹ Following Sallee to China proved to be a bit of an issue for Annie. He clearly wanted her join him as quickly as possible so that they might be married. Yet Annie keenly felt the feminist spirit which swept Protestant missionary work following the conclusion of the American Civil War, and expressed worry that a marriage might interfere with her work. She wanted to be able to commit herself fully to her work, without the concerns of caring for a household on the side.⁹² In the end, Sallee convinced her otherwise, and the two were married in 1906 shortly after Annie arrived in China.

Annie graduated from the Baptist Missionary Training School in 1904 with highest honors. Upon her graduation, she applied to the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Hallie Jenkins Singleton, "Oral Memoirs."

⁹² Ibid.

Board to serve as a missionary to China. While she waited to hear about her appointment, Annie worked with the Texas State Women's Convention. Her work with this organization set the tone for her work in China. The work of groups such as this centered largely upon the motto "women's work for women." In other words, these groups sought to support Baptist women and potential converts throughout the world. Annie relied upon groups such as this one to fund the schools she established in China.

Despite her assurance of God's call, Annie was still reluctant to travel to China. After submitting her application to the Foreign Mission Board, Annie could not help but find herself hoping that something would prevent her from leaving America. She prayed that God might stop her if she had misinterpreted his will for her, saying, "May the Lord lead me and help me, if it is not right oh! God, don't let me go. If it is not thy will just keep by way of means from going."⁹³ Her parents were no more reconciled to the idea of her leaving the country than before, but they would not absolutely forbid her from going.⁹⁴ This added pressure only fed her doubts and uncertainty.

In 1905, Annie travelled to Richmond, Virginia in order to meet with the Foreign Mission Board and receive the news concerning her application. She hoped that she might fall ill, or some accident might occur so that the board would find her incapable of travelling to China.⁹⁵ However, she was accepted on August 6, 1905.⁹⁶ Dr. Willingham

⁹³ Sallee Diary, 19 May 1905.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2 July 1905.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 12 August 1905.

and the Foreign Mission Board appointed Annie to the Baptist Interior Mission in order to assist with evangelistic work.⁹⁷ The board encouraged her to pack her bags so that she might set sail with Mamie Sallee, the sister of W. Eugene Sallee, on September 20, 1905. Yet Dr. Willingham wrote Annie a letter soon before she was to leave stating that there had been a mistake with her ticket. Mamie Sallee set sail from San Francisco on September 20, but Annie remained in Waco. Just one month later, Annie said goodbye to her family on October 4, 1905 and boarded a train to San Francisco.⁹⁸ From there, she set sail to Shanghai in order to join Mamie Sallee and the other missionaries of the Interior China Mission. Sallee met her in Shanghai, and she travelled by train to the Zhengzhou mission station.

Annie's family, church, and education in her years played crucial roles in the development of the missionary Annie Jenkins Sallee. Annie's interactions with her family and the culture of the American South during her youth affected the way in which she viewed people of other races, religions, and cultures. Despite her advanced education and training in a missionary school, these influences affected her mindset before she ever set foot on Chinese soil. The following chapters will look at Annie's work in China, considering the way these influences played out in her interactions with the Chinese and affected her educational efforts.

⁹⁷ Sallee, Biographical Questionnaire.

⁹⁸ Sallee Diary, 4 October 1905.

CHAPTER THREE

Early Work 1905 – 1910

Annie's early work in China proved to be telling of her educational strategy for her overall work among women and girls in China. During her first five years overseas, she established two schools exclusively for young Chinese girls, while also providing educational classes to women in their homes. The classes at the day school she established in Zhengzhou and her later work at the Kaifeng Boarding School in the capital of Henan reveal her educational strategies and indicative of the impact of her work among women and girls. Homesickness and a difficulty relating with the Chinese characterized her first years in China. As she overcame these obstacles, she achieved greater success in reaching larger numbers of students. However, this success was tempered by the observation that the education she provided these children with was primarily Western.

3.1 The Zhengzhou Mission

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board had not yet established a mission in interior China. At that time, the Southern Baptists had only North, South, and Central mission stations. Though the Mission Board did not feel that these stations were fully manned at this point, they recognized the need to create yet another station in interior China in order to reach a

larger portion of the population.⁹⁹ That these other stations existed and an interior mission did not is a reflection of the treaty port system which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century.

W. Eugene Sallee traveled to China at the behest of the Foreign Mission Board in 1903 to join Dr. Wesley W. Lawton in order to establish the Southern Baptist Interior China Mission. Sallee and Lawton traveled throughout the interior of China, exploring provinces such as Henan, Guangdong, and Hubei. They traveled hundreds of miles on foot in order to determine the best location for the Interior China Mission. At some points during their excursion, Chinese soldiers escorted them as it was not considered safe for foreigners to travel alone through certain parts of interior China.¹⁰⁰

Ultimately, Sallee and Lawton settled upon the city of Zhengzhou in the Henan province. Multiple reasons influenced this decision. Zhengzhou served as an ideal location for a mission station due to its strategic location just outside of Henan's capital, Kaifeng. The north-south railway running from Beijing to Hankou (in the Hubei province) passed through the city, making it a hub of commercial activity. Additionally, plans existed for a future east-west railroad which would also pass through the city. These railways ensured that the once small city of Zhengzhou would grow significantly and become an influential center in interior China.

Locating the mission station outside of the capital possessed the added benefit of blocking other denominations from establishing mission stations in the same area. Early

⁹⁹ T. B. Ray, *Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention Sunday School Board, 1910) 115-116.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

agreements between Protestant missions in China allowed multiple denominations to work in provincial capitals. However, once a denomination sets up a station in any city other than a capital, other denominations could no longer evangelize in that city.¹⁰¹ Establishing the Southern Baptist Interior China Mission in a rapidly growing city ensured the Baptists' influence among a great number of Chinese.

Lawton and Sallee established a mission station in Zhengzhou in September of 1904. The early missionaries in Zhengzhou described the city as two distinct and separate sections: the old and the new. A brick and mud wall with four gates surrounded the nearly three thousand year-old "old city". The "new city" grew up around the railway station in a Western, rather than Chinese style. Lawton's family joined him at the mission station just a few months after it was established. Lawton and Sallee soon recognized the need to expand the scope of the mission, and sent a request to the Foreign Mission Board for more missionaries. In November of 1905, Mamie Salle (Eugene's sister), Dr. A. D. Louthan, and Annie Jenkins joined their staff.

3.2 Obstacles to Education Work

One of the first obstacles Annie faced to completing her mission work had little to do with the Chinese. Shortly after Annie arrived in China, Eugene Sallee proposed to her. Sallee had informed Annie's before he left for China, of his intentions to marry her.¹⁰² Now that both were in China, Sallee expected that Annie would readily agree to his

¹⁰¹ Maudie Ethel Fielder, *Life History: Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder and John Wilson Fielder*, undated manuscript, Maudie Ethel Albritton Fielder Papers, The Texas Collection at Baylor University.

¹⁰² Singleton, "Oral Memoirs."

proposal and they could continue their work at Zhengzhou as a married, missionary couple.

Yet Annie remained uncertain. Though she said she loved Sallee a great deal, she also viewed marriage as a personal defeat. And despite this love, she remained uncertain about fulfilling the station of wife

I never did feel called upon to keep the house of a man. I want to be in the mission work myself. As yet I have not been able to feel the great importance and 'privilege' as some term it of being a 'wife.'¹⁰³

She had high ambitions for herself that she wanted to fulfill before beginning a marriage, the least of which were completing her language study and establishing her educational work in China.¹⁰⁴ Marriage represented a giving up of the "feminist spirit" which she had so eagerly taken upon herself when she received her master's degree, traveled to Chicago to be trained as a missionary, and set sail to China.

Fate would have otherwise. Sallee fell ill with dysentery in 1906, and his doctors ordered him to take a leave in Japan in order to recuperate. Annie did not want to leave Sallee on his own in Japan, nor did she wish to be left at the Zhengzhou mission without him. In order to make the trip with Sallee and to care for him during his recovery, Annie agreed to get married in Shanghai. Their three month trip to Japan following their wedding served as both a time for Sallee to recuperate and a honeymoon for the new

¹⁰³ Ibid., 27 December 1905.

¹⁰⁴ Sallee Diary, 6 January 1906.

couple. Though she wrote she was immensely happy and in love, Annie still viewed this marriage as a “wound to [her] pride.”¹⁰⁵

Annie also encountered obstacles to the formation of her school through the Chinese. Annie’s early days in China were characterized by a great deal of homesickness. Before accepting the call to serve as a missionary overseas, Annie had only been away from her family for short periods of time. Annie was overwhelmed, working on the other side of the world from those she loved, surrounded by a culture she could not understand and a language she could not speak. Such a reaction is certainly to be expected of a person traveling out of the country for the first time. This homesickness also prompted Annie to question her vocation.¹⁰⁶ She felt a lingering doubt that God had called her to work amongst the Chinese. She chose to throw herself into her work in order to best discern where God was calling her.

Her eagerness to work among the Chinese could not overcome the fact that she remained a foreigner in China. This status, especially in the beginning while she was still learning to speak Chinese, isolated her from the women she desired to work with. The Chinese did not warm to foreign presence in Zhengzhou quickly. It is important to note that it had only been approximately forty years at this point since foreigners had been allowed to expand beyond the treaty port cities. The Chinese were still adjusting to foreign presence. The citizens of Zhengzhou viewed Annie as a “foreign devil.”¹⁰⁷ This stigma kept the very women whom Annie wished to educate and evangelize from

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 22 September 1906.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., November 1905.

¹⁰⁷ Sallee, Letter to Mrs. Fitch, 19 August 1908, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

interacting with her in any way. It took her several years to overcome this image in Zhengzhou.

However, her isolation was not entirely due to her nationality and foreign status in China. Annie's own actions separated her from the Chinese. She did this, though perhaps unintentionally, through several different means. The first was through her home in Zhengzhou. Rather than adapt to the culture in which they were living, the Baptists chose to live a completely Western and American life in China. Annie and the other missionaries lived in a compound in the new portion of the city, which was modeled after Western architecture. In a letter to a friend, Annie described her way of life, saying that she and the other missionaries attempted to live "as nearly as they [could] to American life."¹⁰⁸ The missionaries' unwillingness to adapt a Chinese lifestyle contributed to the Chinese's wariness of foreigners and created a physical barrier separating the two groups.¹⁰⁹ This barrier, though not an unusual dynamic between Protestant missionaries and native Chinese, contributed to Annie's isolation.¹¹⁰

Annie's interactions with the Chinese were also hindered by her own view of their culture and customs. This view was largely shaped by the training she received in missionary school, as well as by her own background in a white, upper-class family from

¹⁰⁸Annie Jenkins Sallee, "Mrs. Sallee's Work in China," Paper read by Lizzie Speight before the Waco Association, 12 April 1907, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

¹⁰⁹ For more information, read Ida Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1945).

¹¹⁰ Although Catholic missionaries tended to differ on this point, it was not uncommon for Protestant missionaries to maintain a Western lifestyle even though they resided in China. Ning Lao Tai-Tai told of many of the tensions arising from this dynamic in Ida Pruitt, "With the Missionaries," In *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1945) 145-152.

the American South. Annie's enthusiasm to work with the Chinese stemmed from her desire to convert them to Christianity and to improve the situation of girls in China. She held little regard for Chinese culture, religion, or philosophy.

The Foreign Mission Board asked missionaries to write a short essay upon their arrival in China concerning the city in which a missionary would be working. These essays were primarily for the use of the mission board, but some were distributed amongst the home churches in America for the purpose of raising funds to support mission stations in China.¹¹¹ Shortly after her arrival in Zhengzhou, Annie was called upon to write such an essay. After receiving Annie's article, the mission board asked her permission to distribute it amongst the home churches because they found her writing particularly moving.

In her essay, Annie detailed Zhengzhou from the perspective of an American who has lived in the city just long enough to get a sense of everyday life. She described the city as "an abundance of poor brown sand, brown mud houses, with brown thatched roofs, and still browner inhabitants." She described the pastimes of the people as "very simple" and lamented that the girls did not have dolls to play with and "[knew] nothing of the pleasure of playing lady which all Western girls enjoy."¹¹² She was incapable of separating her interpretation and presentation of Chinese society from the American, Western society in which she grew up in. Her views in this article revealed her Western

¹¹¹ Annie Jenkins Sallee, "Zhengzhou," undated essay, Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University.

¹¹² Ibid.

bias, which affected her ability to educate Chinese children. Her inability to recognize value in Chinese culture led her to westernize her students when she opened her schools.

Unsurprisingly, this attitude carried into her disdain for East Asian religions. She found the displays in the Confucian and Buddhist temples “horrid” and “dirty.”¹¹³ She seemed to have expected something more from the temples

The religious condition of the people is, I suppose, as bad as it can be. They have some temples here, but they are not as fine as I expected them to be; they are indeed very ordinary.¹¹⁴

She made the assumption that because the temples were not ornate, but humble in appearance, the people existed in a state of religious depravity.

One of Annie’s most fundamental misunderstandings of Chinese culture, and one that was central to her work in education, was her view of the status of women in Chinese society. She recognized the way in which Chinese women were often devalued in society through practices such as foot binding, or the way in which women would only count their sons when asked how many children they had.¹¹⁵ Yet she took this to the extreme, claiming that girls were undesirable, unloved, and unwanted in China

These [Chinese] girls are not loved and cared for, for we read that only last year 200,000 girl babies were killed in various ways, besides numbers were sold or married to some trifling man.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ “Extracts from Letters,” undated newspaper clipping, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

¹¹⁵ Sallee, “Zhengzhou.”

This is an attitude often promulgated by foreign missionaries in China. The French Holy Childhood Association made similar claims in its articles about girls in China. Mission societies often made use of such shocking statistics to imply that Chinese parents did not love their daughters.¹¹⁶ Yet in reality, most parents loved their daughters dearly. The issue of infanticide was more complicated than the way in which such emotional appeals attempted to render it. Infanticide was not merely a “Chinese” morality issue, and Christian missionaries were not the only people who attempted to eradicate the practice. The Chinese government, Buddhist monks, and other figures in society had long attempted to combat this issue.¹¹⁷ Though Annie was not entirely out of line in recognizing the aspects of Chinese society which hindered women, her exaggeration of parents’ love for Chinese girls shows her inability to fairly evaluate Chinese culture.

3.3 Education for Girls

Despite the many obstacles she faced, Annie established a small day school for girls in Zhengzhou within months of her arrival. The Foreign Mission Board required all Southern Baptist missionaries to study the language of the country they served in for at least two years. At the conclusion of those two years, the missionaries took a final exam which qualified them for active service.¹¹⁸ After arriving in Zhengzhou, Annie began her coursework in the Chinese language. Although Annie’s records do not make any mention

¹¹⁶ Weijing Lu, “A Pearl in the Palm: A Forgotten Symbol of the Father-Daughter Bond,” *Late Imperial China* 31, no. 1 (2010) 62-97.

¹¹⁷ Michelle Tien King, *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Late Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014) 46-77.

¹¹⁸ Tiedemann, 165-167.

of when her active service began, it seems that the Zhengzhou mission operated on a slightly different model from what the board prescribed. Annie began service amongst the Chinese almost immediately after arriving, and began her work among girls just a few months after this. Perhaps this difference occurred because of how new and shorthanded the Zhengzhou Mission was. It is also possible that the work Annie completed while she was also studying was not officially considered “active service.”

It is apparent that it was necessary for Annie to begin working right away, even while she carried out her Chinese study. She, Mamie Sallee, and one other woman were the only single women missionaries in Zhengzhou. Thus, married women such as Mrs. Lawton were the only missionaries able to interact with Chinese women on a one-to-one basis. Yet Mrs. Lawton had a household with six children of her own to care for, leaving little time to devote to mission work.¹¹⁹

Annie considered the language study one of the most “intensely interesting” and difficult subjects she had ever studied.¹²⁰ Her first work among the Chinese girls was born of her frustrations from her studies. In April of 1906, she opened a small day school for young girls as a “recreation” in order to take her mind off of the difficulty of her Chinese studies. She intended for the day school to serve as a model for the future, larger work she had planned for the girls of Zhengzhou. She hoped that the school would enable her to better understand Chinese children and thus discover a means of establishing effective education for young girls.

¹¹⁹ Ray, 121.

¹²⁰ Annie Jenkins Sallee, “Our First Work Among the Chinese,” undated newspaper article, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

Thus, this first school was quite small. Only four girls attended the first day of classes, but Sallee found them eager and ready to learn. In an article written and distributed among the home churches in America, Sallee described how her pupils begged to stay for an entire day of classes, rather than just the two in the afternoon which the missionaries set aside from their own studies. She said that each student “put forth every effort to please their teachers,” and a few even returned on Saturdays for class, though the missionaries had set classes only for weekdays.¹²¹ It is possibly Annie exaggerated these tales in writing this article for the mission board. Even at this early stage in her mission work, Annie recognized the importance of interesting the home churches in her work. She relied upon support from the women who read articles such as this for monetary and spiritual support. Yet it is unlikely that she completely fabricated her students’ excitement for her classes. In all other aspects of her writing concerning the Chinese, she described them in negative ways. For instance, she described the city as a poor brown place filled with brown inhabitants, and found their temples to be far too ordinary for the people to have true religious devotion.¹²² Additionally, excitement from her pupils makes sense considering such educational opportunities had not existed before this time.

The coursework at the day school was quite basic. The missionaries taught courses in both English and Chinese, focusing primarily upon language study for the young girls. They also taught classes in Bible verses, which were learned and memorized

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Annie Jenkins Sallee to Mrs. Fisk, 1908.

in Chinese, and music. The young girls studied songs in Chinese, such as “Jesus Loves Me.”¹²³ They also learned a few hymns in English, such as “Come to Jesus Now.” The emphasis in the classes was clearly placed upon English, though it is possible to attribute this to Annie and the other women’s limited language ability. Annie admitted in her article to the mission board that her mastery of the Chinese language limited her ability to work with the young girls. At the time she opened this school, she found even the recitation of memorized passages, such as the Lord’s Prayer, to be a struggle. This inability influenced her decision to focus the classes heavily upon English.

Annie found the results of working among the young Chinese girls gratifying, and was amazed by how quickly she saw results from her school

Children who did not know one character four months ago today can read a number of songs and parts of the New Testament with some help for [sic] the characters.¹²⁴

This must be counted as a huge success for the school. Though Annie created it only for the purpose of furthering her own studies and building a model for future, more permanent schools, the day school produced tangible results beyond even Annie’s expectations.

Though the growing literacy of the girls was certainly a monumental achievement for women, these results must be considered within their religious context. Annie clearly saw the school in Zhengzhou as a necessary step to evangelizing the whole community. The girls provided a means of overcoming what she saw as centuries of sinfulness

¹²³ Sallee, “Our First Work.”

¹²⁴ Sallee Diary, undated.

It is a great thing to discover anything, but when it comes to discovering a real woman down underneath the centuries of sin which have stamped themselves upon her, ah!...I have already discovered from our day-school some girls with material for making fine women if God's spirit comes into their hearts to live and with His quickening power purifies them.¹²⁵

Annie believed that schools for girls provided the key to converting the whole of China most rapidly. This raises a question: what sort of students did this school aim to produce? Many critics of early Protestant mission work argued that those who converted to Christianity under the influence of these missionaries lost their Chinese identity. They instead became westernized, Christian students who could no longer identify with other Chinese.¹²⁶ Annie's emphasis upon Western standards of education and English based courses indicates that this was the case in her schools as well.

After several years of successful operation and expansion, the Zhengzhou day school closed on January 8, 1908 for the Chinese New Year with no plans to reopen. The Sallees had received authorization from the Foreign Mission Board in order to move to Kaifeng, the capital of Henan. Mamie Sallee left Zhengzhou the previous year in order to teach in a school in Shanghai. Not enough single women missionaries remained to continue the operation of the day school.

The Sallees believed this move to be vital to their mission work, as Kaifeng served as the educational center of the Henan province. Though other Christian

¹²⁵ Sallee Diary, undated.

¹²⁶ A common Chinese aphorism concerning missionary work reads "one more Christian, one less Chinese."

missionary groups resided within the city, none had established an “educational plant.”¹²⁷ The capital possessed a strong anti-foreign sentiment which had heretofore discouraged Christian missionaries from setting up schools in the city. Thus, Eugene acquired funding from the mission board in America to set up a boarding school for young boys to be educated in a Christian school in Kaifeng. The couple moved to the capital in September of 1908.

Annie hoped this move would allow her to establish a branch for girls at her husband’s boarding school as her early work among women and girls in Zhengzhou proved to her the necessity of educating Chinese girls. Annie saw the “home [as] the index to the nation.”¹²⁸ Yet she saw the women creating the atmosphere in these homes as cowed and ignorant, and therefore mistrustful of the foreign presence in the city. Annie’s evangelical philosophy rested on the belief that the conversion of China could only occur through the influence these women held in the Chinese home.

She faced a serious obstacle in the anti-foreign sentiment that permeated the city. The women did not trust Annie and had no desire to experience conversion. Thus, Annie turned her attention to young Chinese girls. By providing education to girls, Annie could influence the mothers, and through them, the entire Chinese home. This could not be accomplished through the temporary efforts of a day school, for after the girls left the school, they returned to their homes of “degradation and filth.”¹²⁹ Rather, Annie’s

¹²⁷ Annie Jenkins Sallee, “Girl’s School in the Interior: Baptist China Mission,” undated newspaper, Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

¹²⁸ Sallee, “The Annie Jenkins School for Girls.”

¹²⁹ Ibid.

educational strategy rested upon taking the girls out of the “hard, pitiless environment into which the centuries of idolatry and debauchery [had] submerged them,” and teaching them proper, Christian civilization.¹³⁰

In order to achieve this goal, the missionaries had to be in constant contact with the girls, living out their faith and providing an example for the young girls to follow. Annie desired for the girls to see and feel the beauty of the Christ-life in the missionaries so that they might desire such a life for themselves. She saw the role of the missionaries in teaching the girls, praying with them, helping them, mothering them, and giving all of themselves, “thus preparing [the girls] to fulfill the place which...God meant women to fill in the world.”¹³¹ Essentially, Annie sought to replace the influence of the girls’ Chinese mothers with that of her missionary women. This is a crucial point. Annie’s racism was evident in her comparison of the Chinese to the brown dirt roads, in her naming of Chinese homes as places of “degradation and filth.” Providing the girls with surrogate missionary mothers reinforced the cultural imperialism present in her mission work.

Still more obstacles arose in opposition of the opening of Annie’s boarding school in Kaifeng. Upon the Sallees’ arrival in the city, rumors rapidly began to spread about the cruel intentions of foreigners. Annie lamented in her diary about her difficulty associating with Chinese women in Kaifeng, and described a rumor about herself which said that

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Sallee, “Girl’s School in the Interior.”

foreigners ate the flesh of children.¹³² Such a rumor was not a new occurrence in relationships between missionaries and the Chinese.¹³³ However, it presented a large stumbling block to the work Annie hoped to conduct. Now that she had lived in China for several years, and gained sufficient mastery of Chinese, she felt less like a foreigner and had hoped to circumvent this same obstacle which she had once encountered in the rumors in Zhengzhou. Yet in Kaifeng she found them even more difficult to surmount. Annie laid the blame for this mistrustful attitude on her view of the Chinese as an unprogressive people.¹³⁴ Annie believed her work was slow because the Chinese had “been satisfied for centuries to live in walled cities, behind locked gates, with no communication with the outside world.”¹³⁵ These statements showed that Annie was clearly uneducated about China’s vast history. There were missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who were well educated concerning China’s history and culture.¹³⁶ These missionaries, as compared to Annie, tended to have greater respect for Chinese culture.

¹³² Sallee Diary, 12 February 1908.

¹³³ In 1900, a secret organization called the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists led a series of uprisings that became known as the Boxer Rebellion. This anti-Western led to the spread of many rumors such as this. For more information about the role Christian missions played in the Boxer Rebellion and its results, see R. G. Tiedemann, “Baptism of Fire: China’s Christians and the Boxer Uprising of 1900,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24, (2000).

¹³⁴ Sallee Diary, 12 February 1908.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Western works such as Samuel Wells Williams *The Middle Kingdom* gave a much more favorable picture of Chinese culture during this time. They show that there was no evidence of a decline of Chinese culture, and the majority of people who held such negative opinions concerning China tended to lack education in the nation’s history. For more information see Samuel Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913).

While elements of truth exist in her assessment of the Chinese's lack of communication with the outside world for many years, Annie failed to consider the ways in which her own preconceptions and prejudices affected her status in China. Though she mastered the language, she clearly espoused a view that Chinese culture was backwards and stunted by years of subscribing to pagan beliefs. This attitude was common amongst missionaries at the time Annie served in China.¹³⁷ It is likely a product of Annie's Western sentiments, the influence of the racist South in which she grew up, and the preconceptions she inherited while in missionary training school. This attitude, combined with her failure to adopt a Chinese lifestyle, isolated her from the Chinese she hoped to reach out to. Thus, the women of Kaifeng remained mistrustful and skeptical of the classes she offered. Though Annie received the funding to establish the girl's school in conjunction with her husband's boarding school, few female students expressed interest in attending.

Eugene and Annie traveled to Shanghai in early 1909 in order to attend an education conference for Protestant missionaries. This conference provided Annie with the perfect opportunity for overcoming her Kaifeng obstacles in the form of a Chinese Bible Woman. Bible Women were Chinese Christian women who were considered of exemplary moral character and ability. They accompanied Western missionaries in their work, often serving as translators and intermediaries for the missionaries. The Bible

¹³⁷ Notto R. Thelle, "Changed by the East: Notes on Missionary Communication and Transformation," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 1, 2006) 116.

Women were more able to empathize with the plight of Chinese women and used their own sincerity and love for Christ in order to convert their fellow Chinese.¹³⁸

At the education conference, Annie met an older Chinese Bible Woman whom she refers to as Mrs. Chen. Upon hearing Mrs. Chen's life story, Annie was moved to recruit her to assist in her work in Kaifeng.¹³⁹ Mrs. Chen understood the trials of growing up as a female in a patrilineal society. She was born to the third wife of her father, but she described her childhood as vastly different from that of most Chinese girls. She was welcomed and loved "as if she were a boy" because several other children had passed away before her birth. Her parents bound her feet at a young age so that she might be married to a suitable man.¹⁴⁰ Her parents later found her a husband, whom she had eleven children by before she was widowed. After her husband's death, Mrs. Chen attended a Christian church at the invitation of a missionary. She came to realize that her gods were only wood and stone, and saw a new doctrine in a Savior who loved her and forgave her sins and served as a friend in her troubles.¹⁴¹ She unbound her feet so that she might serve as a walking testimony to Christ through her suffering in walking on unbound feet. She viewed her suffering as a testimony for her Lord.

¹³⁸ Mary Ken Mun Cheng, *Chinese Women in Christian Ministry* (New York: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, May 12, 2012) 117-118.

¹³⁹ Annie Jenkins Sallee, "Mrs. Chen, Our Bible Woman," *The Baptist Standard*, May 18, 1911, *Annie Jenkins Sallee Papers*, the Texas Collection, Baylor University.

¹⁴⁰ Chinese parents bound the feet of young girls to stunt growth, hoping to form "lotus feet," or three-inch-long feet. This practice primarily served as a sign of wealth and status, as women with bound feet could not go out into the fields and work. It eventually became common for parents of all classes to bind the feet of their daughters in hopes of finding a good husband for them. The practice began to die out in the twentieth century.

¹⁴¹ Sallee, "Mrs. Chen."

Though Mrs. Chen had worked for thirteen years in a missionary hospital, she responded readily to Annie's sermon at the conference preaching the need for a Bible Woman in Henan. Annie again is amazed by the tenacity of the older Chinese woman, recognizing that it was "harder for a Chinese to go one thousand miles from [their] home than for [the missionaries] to go ten thousand," because so few Chinese left their homes.¹⁴² Regional differences in food and culture between provinces contributed to the difficulty of women such as Mrs. Chen leaving their homes.

Despite the difficulty in leaving her home, Mrs. Chen made a tangible difference in Annie's efforts to reach the women and girls of Kaifeng. She visited Chinese homes and vouched for the character of Annie and the other foreign missionaries in the city. Slowly, the rumors dissipated, and Annie was soon able to solicit women to attend a few afternoon classes. Soon, enough girls attended the boarding school to justify the classes and funding she had requested from the Foreign Mission Board and Baptist women in America. The aid Mrs. Chen provided raises an interesting point with regards to Annie's views on Chinese culture. Annie praised Mrs. Chen for her helpfulness at the mission, and for her strong Christian faith. Yet she never attributed any of Mrs. Chen's positive influence to her native culture. She only noted the ways in which Mrs. Chen stood out from the rest of China.

As Annie spent more time working in her ever-growing school, her time to devote to writing decreased. Thus, there are fewer records of her Kaifeng school than of the Zhengzhou day-school. However, it is clear that she based the boarding school upon the model she developed in Zhengzhou. Since she planned to expand this school far beyond

¹⁴² Ibid.

what she had previously done, Annie requested that two missionary women from a school in Shanghai, similar to the one she attended in Chicago, be sent to aid the school. The school offered classes in arithmetic, geography, Chinese classics, and other subjects similar to those which were once offered at the day-school.

The expanded curriculum at the boarding school attracted more students and provide Annie and the missionaries with more opportunities to form converted, Christian, Chinese girls. Therefore the emphasis of the school was placed upon the Bible classes. The primary goal of the school was not to provide the girls with an education, but to convert as many girls as possible before they entered in to marriage.¹⁴³ Once married, a Chinese girl's duty transferred from her parents to her husband's family. The missionaries recognized that they lost their influence once the girls left the safe atmosphere of the boarding school and were subject to their husbands.

The boarding school continued to grow and expand as Mrs. Chen and Annie worked together to reach out to the women of Zhengzhou. In 1909, the Sallees requested a furlough from their service in America. The Foreign Mission Board denied their request on the basis of funding, asking the Sallees to delay their request and serve as an example to other missionaries in China. Although surprised by this response, Eugene and Annie reopened the boarding school at the beginning of 1910. The Interior China Mission's first baptism occurred at that time.¹⁴⁴ Though many had been converted, this was the first time an official baptism had occurred. Three Chinese women and four Chinese men were received into the church that day.

¹⁴³ Sallee Diary, undated.

¹⁴⁴ Sallee Diary, 23 October 1910.

Shortly after this baptism, the Foreign Mission Board unexpectedly granted the Sallees request for a furlough, providing a single stipulation. The Sallees' furlough was to be used in order to tour the home churches, promote knowledge of the Interior China Mission, and raise funds to support the quickly growing boarding school. Annie and Eugene returned to America in early 1911 in order see their families, rest from their work in China, and to begin their tour of the home churches.

Both the Zhengzhou and the Kaifeng missions presented ideal locations to establish Baptist educational centers for women. Neither had been reached by other mission stations or denominations and offered a great opportunity to establish Christian education for the purposes of furthering evangelization. Annie's work in both cities was hindered by anti-foreign sentiment, which was furthered by her own isolation and ignorance of Chinese culture. Her view of the Chinese and adherence to American and Western ways of life separated her from the women she wished to teach even after she mastered the Chinese language and had lived in the country for several years.

Annie's educational work became more effective when she employed the help of a Chinese woman who helped her to overcome this sense of isolation and create connections within the community. Through these connections, Annie established two schools which offered education which had previously been unavailable for girls and women. The literacy of the girls who attended her school increased rather quickly. Yet this success must be tempered with the schools' emphasis on Western and Christian coursework, which aimed to pull the girls out of the "sinfulness" of Chinese culture.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Golden Age

Although Annie continued to work among women in China until the 1940s, the period from 1912 to 1925 represents the peak of Baptist missionary work in Kaifeng and during that time period Annie reached the largest number of young women, and provided the largest range of educational and vocational opportunities for the Chinese. Afterward, she stepped back from leadership in the mission schools, choosing to allow younger missionaries to take charge and remodel her schools.

As nationalism grew in China, resulting in larger amounts of civil unrest, Annie became increasingly frustrated with the Chinese. This chapter examines the way in which Annie continued the work among women which she began with her first day school in Zhengzhou, and the girls' school in Kaifeng, looking specifically at the way in which her growing frustration with Chinese nationalism revealed her aim to promote a largely Western doctrine for Chinese Christians to accept.

4.1 Revolution

With the funds finally appropriated for the Sallees to depart from China on their first furlough, Annie and Eugene set sail for America by way of Europe. After over a decade of service to the Chinese, the Sallees desired a true break from their work. Knowing that as soon as they returned stateside, their mission work would continue in the form of raising funds to support their schools in Kaifeng, the couple took a circuitous route through Europe, stopping in cities such as Naples, Rome, Milan, Paris, and London. After a few weeks of travel, the Sallees returned home. While Annie and Eugene Sallee

traveled through the southern United States, reuniting with friends and family and exhorting the home churches for funding, turmoil erupted in China.

Though there is little mention of it in the Sallees' records, the political climate of China was rapidly destabilizing at the turn of the century. The Qing rule fell into decline during the nineteenth century due to pressure from a number of fronts, including the Opium Wars, the unequal treaties, and the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).¹⁴⁵ At the turn of the century, the imperial court attempted to regain some power through modernizing reforms such as the abolishment of the traditional exam system in 1905 and the attempts to modernize the Chinese military.

Despite these efforts, many Chinese, especially those living abroad, pushed for a move away from an imperial government.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the Qing government was weakened by the fact that a child emperor sat on the throne. The Xuantong Emperor ascended the throne in 1908 at the age of two, following the death of the Guangxu Emperor and the Dowager Empress Cixi. In 1911, the Xinhai Revolution took place, resulting in the emperor's abdication and the end of imperial China.

In reality, the 1911 revolution consisted of many uprisings throughout China spurred by nationalism. An uprising in Wuchang served as the turning point of these revolutions. The Qing government agreed to establish a constitutional monarchy, naming Yuan Shikai premier. Yet the provincial governments threw their support in with the

¹⁴⁵ The first Sino-Japanese War was fought between the Qing government in China and Meiji Japan over control of Korea. The enormous defeat of the Chinese was a large blow to the Qing government, and set events in motion for the Xinhai Revolution in 1911.

¹⁴⁶ Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei were vocal advocates of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy during this time period. Sun Yat-Sen became the face of the Revolutionary Forces, who desired to establish a republic form of government.

Revolutionary Alliance which desired to establish a republican government. These revolutionary forces established a new capital at Nanjing, which had served as the capital during the Ming Dynasty, and elected Sun Yat-Sen as the provincial president of the new republic.¹⁴⁷ The Qing military could not respond to the threat of the revolutionaries. As the new government made provision for the maintenance of the imperial family at the former capital, the Xuantong Emperor surrendered his power to the Revolutionary Alliance and abdicated in 1912, signaling the end of imperial China. Though the Chinese Republic was officially established, it would be years until the disorder settled. For many years following the revolution, regional warlords held the primary power over provinces.

The Xinhai Revolution represented one of the largest changes in Chinese society, and thus affected almost every aspect of life. The contending armies disrupted everyday life and created disorder in society. Often, because of a lack of centralized government, the weak were taken advantage of and robberies were frequent.¹⁴⁸ The civil unrest disrupted Christian mission work. On top of the obvious reasons which made missionary work difficult, such as military action and increased crime, the rise of nationalism also proved to be a hindrance. Chinese nationalists began to fight for “China for the Chinese,” and many Chinese Christians desired to take greater control of their churches.¹⁴⁹ Though this had been the original intention of Protestant missionaries in the early nineteenth century, this goal shifted over the years.

¹⁴⁷ Sun Yat-Sen, originally a medical practitioner, served as one of the instrumental voices in opposition to the Qing Imperial government. He later became the first president of the Republic of China, and is known as the founding father of the Republic.

¹⁴⁸ Latourette, 608.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 607.

It is likely that the Sallees' records contain few mentions of the growing disorder in China because of the decentralization of power during the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Provincial governments held more power during this time period. This means that the Sallees primarily dealt with the Henan government, and heard little of the turmoil outside of their mission work because most of the revolutions remained regional until 1911. Also, the Sallees were abroad during the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, and thus missed the culmination of the revolutionary ideas up until that point.

When they returned to China in 1912, they were shocked to find a completely different atmosphere than when they left in 1911. When they attempted to return to the home they had been renting from a Chinese landlord near their boarding school in Kaifeng, they found all of their possessions missing, and the landlord unwilling to let them into the house. The landlord instructed them that all of their possessions had been placed in the boarding school, and that they were no longer welcome to live in the house.¹⁵⁰ This incident reveals the growing anti-foreign sentiment in the wake of the Xinhai Revolution. The official Republic government was wary of offending foreigners during these early years out of a fear of spurring Western nations to support opposition to the Revolutionary Alliance. Yet some individual Chinese still expressed some resentment for foreigners. The growing force of nationalism proved to be a major stumbling block to mission work in the following years.

¹⁵⁰ Hattox, 64.

4.2 Annie Jenkins Sallee School for Girls

Recognizing the importance of not causing a scene over such a trivial issue, the Sallees searched for a new home. Finding a house in the city proved to be more difficult than they expected. Ultimately, they found a compound to live in which was a great deal further from the boarding schools than they originally intended to be located. They gathered their belongings from storage at the boarding school and moved into a home two miles from their school.

The Sallees' eviction from their previous home was not the only disruption during the missionaries' furlough. Though they left their schools in the hands of several other Kaifeng missionaries during their time away, with specific instructions on how to continue operations during their absence, the Sallees returned to an empty boarding school. During the revolution, all of their pupils returned to their families.¹⁵¹ It is logical to conclude that students would return to be with their families during such a time of turmoil. Without the strong leadership of the Sallees at the head of the school, the term was disrupted and both the boys' and the girls' boarding school closed to await the return of the Sallees.

It took the Sallees several months to repair some of the damage done to the school's reputation and to bring students back to the boarding school. On their return from the States, the couple brought two additional single women missionaries to work in Annie's school. Though little else had been accomplished during their absence, a new building had been completed to house the Annie Jenkins Sallee School for Girls (the girls

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 95.

branch of the boarding school). Annie acquired funding for this building before her departure on their furlough by writing essays to be read before women's groups in Texas entreating Southern Baptist women to take pity upon the poor Chinese girls, and the Texas women responded generously.¹⁵² Annie found the first official building for the girls' school completed when she returned to China in 1913.

The Annie Jenkins School for Girls officially reopened on February 13, 1913. Though construction had been completed on the new building, the spring term was held at the old location at the boys' school while the new classrooms were prepared. And despite the rocky start upon return from their furlough, the Sallees soon found the Chinese students eager to learn once again. Before the closure of the boarding schools, eighteen Chinese girls studied with Annie. After the reopening of the school, Annie and one of the new missionary teachers, Loy Savage, taught twenty-eight students. Loy Savage had been in China for several years by 1913, but had only just completed her Chinese language exams.¹⁵³ Her ability to work among the young girls made the operation of the girls school possible, because she could live in the boarding school with the young women after Annie and Eugene were forced to move two miles from the school.

The first official semester in the new building was held in the fall of 1913. The curriculum remained largely the same, emphasizing English and Bible courses above Chinese classwork. Annie expressed her delight with her new students, declaring them to

¹⁵² Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1914) 226.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

be “easily led to do the right thing,” and eager to learn and reform their lives.¹⁵⁴ As more students join her school, and Annie began to see the results of her work. She was affirmed by students’ ready acceptance of the Christian ideals which she placed before them. She was quick to admonish students who did not wish to reform their hearts, but praised those who were “easily led.” This was especially dangerous combined with the West-centered coursework which she immersed the young Chinese girls in, because Annie saw an embracing of Christianity as a rejection of Chinese culture.

Though Annie’s desire to increase attendance at the girls’ school can be seen in her clear desire to help Chinese girls through her mission work, there was also a more practical reason involved. She hoped to make the girls’ boarding school completely self-sustaining within a few years of the opening of the new, official building. She did this through means such as charging tuition fees and requiring students to pay for their own food while residing at the boarding school.¹⁵⁵ Though Annie’s records do not make any mention of the impact this change in policy made upon students, it is likely that charging tuition would exclude many young girls, especially from rural families from attending the school. Only well-off families would have the money to send a girl to school.

Annie’s earlier diary entries expressed her desire to rescue these young girls from a culture which devalued them. Her references to infanticide and women’s illiteracy show that she was aware of the way in which poverty affected Chinese women. Perhaps this was less of a concern because the boarding school was situated in an urban center which

¹⁵⁴ Sallee Diary, undated.

¹⁵⁵ Hattox, 64.

also served as an educational center for the Henan province. More families in this area had the funds to send their daughters to a boarding school.

4.3 Branching Out: Cao Gate and the Industrial School

Soon after her return to China and the reopening of the Annie Jenkins Sallee School for Girls, Annie began to withdraw from her work at the boarding school. This was in large part due to the fact that she her new home sat two miles away from the school and Loy Savage conducted much of the work which she had previously executed. Additionally, more single missionary women arrived from the United States in order to work at the school. A large number of these women came from Texas, inspired by the essays Annie sent before her first furlough, requesting prayers and support for her mission work. The increasing number of single women working in the Kaifeng mission allowed for more of a system to be established, and for Annie to withdraw and begin other work.

In the fall of 1913, Annie established a small day school in the compound where she and Eugene lived.¹⁵⁶ Similar schools, based upon the pattern Annie established in Zhengzhou, opened under the direction of other missionaries throughout Kaifeng. Annie's school became known as the Cao (grass) Gate School, named for the eastern gate near the Sallee home. Annie and her "sewing woman" taught all but a few of the courses for the day school. A few of the missionaries who were still completing their language coursework helped them on occasion, and Annie employed an elderly Chinese scholar to supplement her English Bible courses with Chinese studies. The elderly man served as

¹⁵⁶ "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" (1914) 267.

the personal tutor to Wilson Fielder, and agreed to work for the day school without any additional compensation.¹⁵⁷ Thus, Annie's resourcefulness allowed her to run this small school independent of the Foreign Mission Board's funding.¹⁵⁸ She knew that the only way to open more schools was to make them self-sufficient as the mission board did not have the funds to open new schools. Additionally, financial independence gave Annie more freedom in the way in which she ran her schools. The mission board had less say in the structure of schools which they did not provide the funds for.

These day schools served as preparatory centers intended to feed into the boarding schools. Yet even the missionaries who ran the schools admitted that the small day schools were rarely successful at providing education.¹⁵⁹ Several factors contributed to their ineffectiveness. Perhaps the largest factor was the irregular attendance of students. Since students were not residing within the actual school, and Kaifeng was a much larger city than Zhengzhou, many did not attend classes every day. Secondly, the teachers were often poorly trained. They usually were not trained to serve in education work, or did not have sufficient mastery of the Chinese language.

The final factor contributing to the ineffectiveness of the schools lay in the mission of the schools themselves. Annie herself admitted that the goal of the Cao Gate School was to interest the young children in Christianity, not necessarily to provide them

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 226.

¹⁵⁸ Southern Baptist Convention, *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Company, 1919) 267.

¹⁵⁹ Southern Baptist Convention, "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Company, 1916) 198.

with an education.¹⁶⁰ Even more so than her previous schools, these preparatory day schools focused primarily upon Bible classes. Thus, many young Chinese girls attended the school in hopes of receiving an education, only to find a lack of teachers and resources.

For the first decade during which Annie served in China, her work focused almost entirely upon education for young girls. This emphasis on the younger generation of Chinese stemmed from the belief that these young girls served as the key to Chinese homes. By converting young girls before they entered into marriage, missionaries could more easily influence entire households. Older women were less likely to convert to Christianity due to pressure from their husbands and families. Yet the young girls, especially when placed in a boarding school where Western missionaries served as surrogate mothers, were more likely to convert.

Thus, Annie's early missionary work in China was largely occupied by reaching out to this younger generation. However, Annie desired to reach out to the older demographic as well. She felt that her call to serve the Chinese extended beyond just the young girls. The longer she remained in China, the more she felt that her "greatest concern seem[ed] to be to help the poor women to make a good living for themselves and to encounter the gospel daily."¹⁶¹ By taking a step back from her work at the boarding school and allowing other missionaries to take over much of her work among the young Chinese, Annie freed up much of her time in order to increase her work among Chinese women.

¹⁶⁰ Sallee Diary, undated.

¹⁶¹ Sallee Diary, 12 September 1912.

Just as the provision of education proved to be an effective means of proselytizing Chinese children, missionaries found the provision of social services and educational opportunities also increased the number of Chinese adults who were interested in Christianity. Though Annie had previously worked among women through less formal avenues such as bible studies, worship services, and home visits, her increased amount of time provided her with the opportunity to establish a more systemized form of interaction between missionaries and Chinese women.

In the fall of 1914, Annie established an industrial school for women in Kaifeng. Industrial schools, as opposed to universities or liberal arts schools, focused upon providing students with skills in more practical trades and vocations. At the school's opening, the women who attended were paid fixed wages for each day of attendance. They earned twelve cents each day that they completed the work the missionaries laid before them.¹⁶² The missionaries taught the women how to stitch and embroider, and Annie later sold the work produced at the school both in China and in the United States. One hour at the school each day was devoted to bible study.¹⁶³ Most of these women could not read or write, so bible study consisted of missionaries reading select passages and offering sermons. At other times, the Chinese women were asked to commit certain verses to memory.

The industrial school provided these women with a way of making money for their families which had not previously existed in Kaifeng. This in turn gave them a

¹⁶² Southern Baptist Convention, "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1915) 192.

¹⁶³ Hattox, 64.

certain degree of independence, which many women found attractive. It also provided many families from the rural areas surrounding Kaifeng with a means of supplementing their meager income. This was a very attractive concept and the industrial school became quite popular. Despite the missionaries' belief that it was more difficult to convert adult Chinese women to Christianity, attendance rapidly increased at the industrial school. By 1916, forty women attended the school.¹⁶⁴

Annie desired to make the industrial school financially independent from Foreign Mission Board funding. Similar to the case with the Cao Gate School, financial independence provided Annie with a degree of freedom in developing curriculum which she would otherwise not have. Additionally, since Baptist missionary activities had expanded significantly in Kaifeng, funding was more difficult to come by. A larger number of missionaries in the city, a greater number of schools and social services being offered, and a larger number of students attending each of the schools spread out the available resources.

The method of payment for the Chinese women shifted slightly as attendance increased. The work of embroidery and stitching, and the Bible study portion of the day remained constant throughout the industrial school's history. Rather than the flat wages which they had previously received, the women received a commission based upon the amount of their work that was sold.¹⁶⁵ This method of payment allowed the school to

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

achieve a greater degree of financial independence. Both the school and the women earned money based on the amount of work sold.

While there is little primary documentation explaining Annie's motives for establishing an industrial school, the work of another Protestant mission group establishing industrial schools at the same time in the Fujian province (south of Henan) offers some insight. The Christian Herald Industrial Missions in China established industrial schools for the Chinese along "modern Western lines." They argued that their efforts to provide the Chinese with industrial education were born of a desire to equip China to develop and function independently in the modern world.¹⁶⁶ These motives were consistent with Annie's work in China in that both sought to improve Chinese culture through Western culture. Annie's missionary work up until this point centered upon removing Chinese girls from the depravity of society through Western ideals. It seems likely that her industrial school was meant to follow along similar lines.

In fact, just like in the Cao Gate School, Annie and the other missionaries recognized that the primary goal of the school was to bring these women in contact with Christianity.¹⁶⁷ The industrial school provided an ideal atmosphere for evangelization through the way in which it attracted the attention of women who previously were wary of the missionaries' activities. The missionaries saw the work at the industrial school as a

¹⁶⁶ Delven L. Pierson, "A New Industrial Mission," *The Missionary Review of the World* 45 (1922).

¹⁶⁷ Southern Baptist Convention, "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" (Nashville: Marshall & Bruce Company, 1917) 205.

means for “many of these [Chinese] women [to] become useful, happy.”¹⁶⁸ The missionaries hoped some of the women from the industrial school would convert to Christianity and later became Bible Women.¹⁶⁹ By becoming a Bible Woman, and returning the service she had once received back to the community, a Chinese woman became useful in the eyes of the missionaries. This attitude corresponds with Annie’s racism and rejection of Chinese culture. She viewed the women’s usefulness as a product of their participation in Christianity, as something which they did not possess before the intercession of the Baptist missionaries.

The intentions of the missionaries and the goal of the school aside, the women’s industrial school produced more tangible results with regard to women’s education than did the day schools. The Chinese women made a profit off of their work in the school, with which they were then able to fund their families. The required Bible studies did not take up a large portion of their work, and the women who attended the school were not required to attend Sunday services.¹⁷⁰ In this manner the industrial school differed from the schools established in Kaifeng. In some ways, the industrial school provided the least requirements for Chinese women to obtain some form of education.

4.4 Final Obstacles

Though this time period was a part of the “Golden Age” of Protestant mission work in China, Annie began to experience serious obstacles to her educational work in

¹⁶⁸ Singleton, *A Glimpse Into the Christ Filled Life*, 9.

¹⁶⁹ Annie Jenkins Sallee, letter to W. H. Jenkins, 1916.

¹⁷⁰ Hattox, 65.

Kaifeng. The first of the two main obstacles which Annie faced came in the form of missionary politics among the increasing number of Baptist missionaries who joined the Interior China Mission station in Kaifeng. The second obstacle arose from the growing nationalist movement spreading throughout China which grew out of the 1911 Xinhai Revolution.

When Annie and Eugene first began their work in Kaifeng in 1908, they repeatedly petitioned the mission board requesting help. They received various responses over the years, usually stating that the mission board had neither the funds nor the manpower to expand the mission station in Kaifeng. Upon their return from their first furlough, the Sallees brought back two additional single women missionaries, including Loy Savage.¹⁷¹ This was the start of a large number of missionaries arriving in China.

The increasing number of missionaries brought both advantages and disadvantages for Annie's work. More missionaries meant more workers for the boarding school. For instance, when the Sallees lost their home upon their return from their first furlough and were forced to move two miles away, Loy Savage took over much of the operations of the boarding school. This freed up Annie's time to begin work on the Cao Gate School and the women's industrial school. Without the assistance of additional missionaries, it is unlikely that Annie would have been able to expand her work beyond the young girls in Kaifeng in order to reach out to adults as well. But a larger number of missionaries in Kaifeng also resulted in more ideas on the appropriate manner to instruct

¹⁷¹ "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" (1914) 226.

Chinese students, to run both the boarding schools and the day schools, and to provide funding for the schools.

The debates over these issues called into question Annie's authority as the head of the women's programs in Kaifeng. A number of missionaries complained about Annie's attitude, especially when conversing with other missionaries and teachers, finding her to be too intense. One of the largest debates between Annie and the other missionaries occurred over a curriculum issue. Many of the younger missionaries who had arrived in China after 1912 desired to introduce more Chinese-based coursework into the curriculum of the schools. These missionaries thought the emphasis on English classes was unfair to the Chinese students. Yet Annie strongly disagreed with this assessment. She expressed her frustration that other missionaries wanted the students to learn only in "mud-houses" and not speak any English at all.¹⁷² She viewed the success of her work among the young girls as evidence of the appropriateness of the curriculum which she had established.

These debates between missionaries culminated in a fight over the administration of the Cao Gate School. By 1920, the Cao Gate School had become one of the most successful schools in the city with regard to sheer numbers of attendance.¹⁷³ Many students who attended the Cao Gate School later entered in to the Annie Jenkins Sallee Boarding School for Girls. The younger missionaries in Kaifeng thought that the administration of the school should be transferred to someone else at that point, in order

¹⁷² Hattox, 82.

¹⁷³ Annie Jenkins Sallee letter to Josephine Truett, 25 April, 1921.

to best further the success of the school. Annie did not respond well to this idea, arguing that these young missionaries were simply jealous of the success and size of her school and thus wished to take her life's work from her.¹⁷⁴ Annie's unwillingness to allow others a say in her school or to consider curriculum reform stemmed largely from her pride.

Annie faced a second obstacle in the growing nationalist movement in China. This movement was largely spurred by the May Fourth Movement of 1914.¹⁷⁵ The protests of May Fourth centered upon the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which took the province of Shandong from German control and gave it to the Japanese, rather than returning it to China. These protests expanded beyond intellectuals to include merchants, white collar and factory workers. An intense form of nationalism developed from these protests, and was often supported by students at Christian schools throughout China. Some Chinese, especially the non-Christian intellectuals, came to regard Christian missionary movements as "cultural imperialism."¹⁷⁶ Some parts of the May Fourth Movement, such as the New Culture movement, were quite anti-religious.¹⁷⁷ These sentiments made the situation of mission stations such as the Baptist schools in Kaifeng quite vulnerable. Though the growing nationalist movement hindered missionary work in

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ The May Fourth Movement spurred a complex dialogue between China, the West, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The consequences of the movements were vast and long-lasting. For more information, see Chow Tse-Tsung *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960).

¹⁷⁶ Bays, 107-108.

¹⁷⁷ Chinese intellectuals in the New Culture Movement desired to address the failure of imperial China through democratic, Western standards. This included a rejection of much of traditional Chinese culture, including Confucianism. By the 1920s, all religions were regarded as hindrances to the advancement of Chinese society.

many ways, an organized anti-Christian movement did not yet exist. The “Golden Age” of Protestant Missions continued until around 1925. Students continued to enroll at the schools, and newly trained missionaries continued to arrive in China by the year.¹⁷⁸

This developing movement affected the work of the Baptist missionaries in Kaifeng. The number of students attending Baptist schools in Kaifeng continued to increase at that time; in fact, it was noted at the 1922 Southern Baptist Convention that Kaifeng represented the center of educational work for the Interior China Mission. In order to meet the growing needs of the students, almost all of the Kaifeng schools needed to find more space and equipment.¹⁷⁹ Yet Annie expressed her frustration with growing nationalist sentiments among her students. She viewed the acceptance of Chinese nationalism as a rejection of the ideals she provided for her students.¹⁸⁰ In turning to support a movement that often held anti-foreign and anti-religious tones, these students rejected the truth of Christianity.

Annie’s frustration with growing Chinese nationalism revealed her aim to promote a largely Western doctrine for Chinese Christians to accept. The students did not reject the education she provided for them, nor did they believe they were rejecting Christianity by supporting nationalism. The students saw the nationalist movements as support for their culture and heritage within the context of the education that they received from the missionaries. However, Annie desired for the students to completely

¹⁷⁸ Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1922) 246.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 259.

¹⁸⁰ Annie Jenkins Sallee letter to family, 8 April 1924.

reject the “backward” culture in which they had been raised in order to accept the culture she was offering through a Christian education.

A period of great growth in missionary activity in Kaifeng, corresponding with the “Golden Age of Missions” in China, followed the Sallees’s first furlough. In addition to increasing Chinese interest in the education establishments begun in Kaifeng, larger numbers of Southern Baptist missionaries arrived in China. The increased availability of missionaries for teaching and running the boarding school allowed Annie to take a step back from the Annie Jenkins Sallee School for Girls in order to focus on other developments for the education of women.

The Cao Gate School day school allowed Annie and the other missionaries to reach out to younger Chinese and interest them in Christianity. Though it technically served as a preparatory school for the boarding schools, the school proved to be an ineffectual education center due to lack of training for teachers and irregular student attendance. The primary goal of the school was to evangelize young children and increase enrollment at the boarding schools.

Annie also established an industrial school for women during this time period, extending the reach of her work beyond young children. The industrial school provided Chinese women with a way to earn wages for their family while the missionaries fulfilled their goal of evangelizing to the people they saw as the heart of the home. By reaching out to women, the missionaries believed they could convert entire Chinese households.

Though missionaries reached greater numbers of Chinese during this time period, it did not come without its struggles for Annie. The increasing number of missionaries led to an increase in opinions concerning the way the schools should be run. For several

years, Annie debated with other missionaries concerning the leadership of the Cao Gate School, the industrial school, and even the boarding schools. Annie often disagreed with other missionaries concerning the educational material provided in the classes as well. Many missionaries during this time period desired to increase the amount of Chinese coursework offered in the schools, much to Annie's dismay. Additionally, the rising nationalist movement, spurred by the 1919 May Fourth Movement, began to affect Chinese attitudes toward foreigners. Growing nationalist concerns among Annie's students frustrated her a great deal.

In 1925, the Sallees took their second furlough in the United States. Similar to their first furlough in 1911, this second trip consisted of speaking to many home churches and raising funds for mission work in China, specifically, the Sallees's educational establishments in Kaifeng. After their return in 1926, Annie decided to officially step back from the administration of the Kaifeng schools. Following that time period, she worked primarily under the direction of younger missionaries. She spent many of her remaining years in China working and preaching in the rural areas surrounding Kaifeng, rather than in the city.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to explore the missionary life of Annie Jenkins Sallee and the impact of issues of gender, class, and race upon her educational work for women in Henan, China between 1905 and 1925. Through mission work in Zhengzhou and Kaifeng, Annie established several institutions which reached out primarily to girls and women who previously had not had access to education. This paper considered the way in which both the positive and negative results of Annie's efforts became the framework for later mission efforts.

An examination of the historical context of Christian missions in China revealed the development of an ideal atmosphere for Christian missions following the humiliating defeat of the Chinese in the First Opium War. Though ideal for missionaries, the results of the unequal treaties that opened China to foreign presence were less beneficial for the Chinese. The imperialistic atmosphere essentially set the stage for Christian and Western cultural imperialism.

As the first and second chapters revealed, gender played a crucial role in Annie's mission work. While Protestant missions in China expanded, a developing movement in the United States began to change the face of Southern Baptist mission work. The emergence of a "feminist spirit" among Southern Christians following the conclusion of the American Civil War shaped Annie into a missionary called to reach out to the women of China. Additionally, gender played a crucial role in missions during this time period as Protestants saw women as the key to the Chinese home. As a woman, Annie could reach out to the women of Henan in more personal, connected means that previous male

missionaries could not due to propriety. Thus, mission work provided Annie with a means of realizing her own “feminist spirit” and establishing a career, while also fulfilling her vocation in evangelizing Chinese women.

Annie’s schools produced many positive results. The girls who attended her Zhengzhou day school eagerly attended classes and absorbed much of the information presented to them. Even during Annie’s short term of running the school, many of the girls gained some degree of literacy in both Chinese and English. Many could read portions of the New Testament in Chinese within months of the opening of the school. The reputation of the educational value of Annie’s mission in Kaifeng was demonstrated through the increasing popularity of the schools. Growing attendance of the Annie Jenkins Sallee School for Girls between 1910 and 1925 demonstrated the school’s reputation. Another example is seen in the numerous day schools meant to serve as a means to interest children in Christianity. Often, Chinese children attended day schools such as Cao Gate for the educational benefits, but did not attend church services or bible studies. The popularity of these schools, combined with Annie’s glowing reviews of the progress of her students, shows the large number of Chinese girls her work affected.

Annie’s work also helped some Chinese families financially. Many of her students came from poor, rural families around Zhengzhou and Kaifeng. The low cost of the school, which was often accompanied by free room and board, allowed many children to receive an education they otherwise would not have had access to. Through the industrial school, many women gained the ability to earn income for their families. Some of these women even gained a small degree of literacy through the hour of bible study provided at the industrial school.

These positive benefits must be considered in light of the way in which class and race affected Annie's work as well. Just as gender and the growing feminist spirit in America shaped Annie as a missionary, growing up in a wealthy family in the racist atmosphere of southern America affected her work. Following the missionary example set by her family members, Annie believed it was her duty to reach out to those less fortunate than herself and make their lives meaningful and useful through the Gospel. Her disdain for everything Chinese was evident from the moment she set foot in China. She took issue with the brown dirty streets and the brown dirty people, and felt called to rescue the women from the debauchery which centuries of sin – which she equated with Chinese culture – had buried them in. She described Chinese homes as filled with “degradation and filth” and stated that the Chinese were not a progressive people.

Annie's rejection of Chinese culture manifested itself in her emphasis on Western coursework in the schools. Because the primary purpose of the schools was to fulfill the missionaries' evangelistic purposes rather than to educate Chinese girls, English-based coursework took the most important place ahead of Chinese classes. Yet by emphasizing Western studies, Annie contributed to a trend which made Chinese students aliens in their own country. The common Chinese aphorism “one more Christian, one less Chinese” represents the situation well. This calls into mind the sincerity of missionary intentions with regards to establishing a Chinese Church. Rather than creating a Chinese Church, missionaries used their schools to westernize students. This is emphasized by the lack of Chinese leadership in the Zhengzhou and Kaifeng schools. Though some Chinese, such as Mrs. Chen the Bible woman and the elderly Chinese tutor who worked at the Cao Gate School, participated in the educational and evangelization work, Western missionaries

stood at the head of these enterprises. Though it could be argued that Annie intended to establish a framework and train Chinese to take over the church at a later time, Annie's disdain for Chinese culture, as well as her response to other missionaries' suggestions that more Chinese coursework be added to the schools, seems to indicate otherwise.

Both the positive and the negative aspects of Annie's mission work created a framework for the missionaries who took the lead at the Kaifeng mission station after 1925 to both establish a Chinese Church and continue the education of women and girls. The ability of the schools to provide young girls with education and serve as an effective means of evangelization proved the usefulness of the educational institutions. The schools that Annie established in both Zhengzhou and Kaifeng created a foundation for missionaries to continue the education of women and girls until 1951, when the last Southern Baptists left China. The negative aspects of Annie's work contributed to this framework as well. Annie's overemphasis on Western coursework encouraged new missionaries arriving in Kaifeng in the 1920s to make changes. Despite Annie's opposition, the missionaries began to emphasize increasing amounts of Chinese coursework and Chinese involvement in church leadership.

This framework created by Annie's mission work opens doors for future research considering the effectiveness of the changes missionaries enacted following Annie's withdrawal from leadership in the mission station's educational aspects. Further research could consider the way in which later missionaries' introduction of larger amounts of Chinese coursework affected the development of Chinese leadership in a Chinese Church. This also reveals some of the limitations of this paper, primarily a language barrier and lack of access to primary sources which could provide the Chinese

perspective to Annie's mission work. Further research and exploration in this area could prove fruitful in the examination of the development of a Chinese Church in Henan, as well as with regard to evaluating the effectiveness of Annie's educational work for women.

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