Maximize our missions Mui tsai, missionaries and material representation

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“MAXIMIZE OUR MISSIONS!” MUI TSAl, MISSIONARIES
AND MATERIAL REPRESENTATION

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts Degree in History
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Entitled

"Maximize Our Missions!" Mui Tsai, Missionaries, and Material Representation

is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

Examination Committee Chair

Dean of the Graduate College

Examination Committee Member

Examination Committee Member

Graduate College Faculty Representative
ABSTRACT

“Maximize Our Missions!” Mui Tsai, Missionaries
and Material Representation
by
Michelle A. Lettieri

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This study sheds light on the contributions of American Protestant missionaries in parlaying their experiences gleaned from overseas Chinese assignments in establishing domestic mission programs in America aimed at “saving” Chinese girls. In doing so, female missionaries built institutions and launched social programs that used the mui tsai (Chinese domestic servants), their experiences, and their transformation from “heathen to Christian” as a material representation of the success and necessity of domestic and overseas Chinese missionary ventures. In doing so, missionary women constructed national and transnational networks armed with the goal of maximizing their missions and Christianizing China. Although this study primarily analyzes Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian female-operated organizations, in the city of San Francisco—there is no question that many Protestant denominations followed the same pattern in countless American cities from 1870 to 1920.
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This project is the culmination of several years of research that took me from one end of the country to the other. Throughout this time, I have had the honor to work with an outstanding graduate committee that has not only taken an interest in my scholarship but also has enriched my work and pushed me to exceed even my own personal ambitions. Dr. Sue Fawn Chung opened a pathway to China that I never knew existed, while Dr. Michelle Tusun piqued my interest in the British Empire. Dr. Joanne Goodwin provided the foundation in women's and gender history, without which, this thesis would not exist. To Dr. Louisa McDonald, I say thank you for taking the time to serve as my outside graduate representative, even though the road was sometimes rocky.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I am 12 years old; born in Canton; father a laborer; mother a nurse; parents very poor. Mother fell sick, and in her need of money sold me. Took me to Hong Kong and sold me to a woman; saw the money paid, but do not know how much; it looked a great deal. This was three years ago. The woman promised my mother to make me her own daughter, and little did my mother know I was to be a slave, to be beaten and abused by a cruel mistress. My mother cried when she left me; it was very hard to part. My mistress was an opium smoker, and she and her husband had awful quarrels, which made her bad-tempered, and then she would beat me for no reason. I used to get so tired working hard, and then she would beat me. She beat me with thick sticks of fire-wood. She would lay me on the bench, lift my clothes, and beat me on the back. Another day she would beat me thus with fire tongs. One day she took a hot flat-iron, removed my clothes, and held it to my naked back until I howled with pain. The scars on my body are proof of my bad treatment. I thought I better get away before she killed me. I had heard of the mission, and inquired the
way and came to it. A white man brought me here. I am very happy now.

Katherine C. Bushnell and Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, 1907

The above story penned by Katherine C. Bushnell and Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew was just one of many accounts published by female missionary societies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Protestant missionary women capitalizing on the fact that the mui tsai or Chinese domestic servants were often children roused sympathy for those they felt were nothing but “slaves.” In doing so, American female missionaries found that sentimental narratives promoted mission work and encouraged men and women to take part in foreign and domestic programs centering on the Chinese.

Missionaries building on the view that Christianity was a civilizing method as well as the belief that those lacking access to the “good news” were doomed to spend an eternity in hell, garnered enthusiasm for American sponsored missionary projects. However, as with many organizations, the breadth of such work was contingent on adequate financial resources. Churches and religious associations not immune to such issues worked diligently in establishing solid financial networks that would support their Chinese missionary projects. The fact that China boasted a large number of converts made the country highly attractive to American missionaries. Yet proselytizing in China presented both a unique and challenging undertaking. The few scattered missionaries found quite

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1 Dr. Katherine C. Bushnell and Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, *Heathen Slaves and Christian Rulers* (Oakland: Messiah’s Advocate, 1907), Chapter 17.

2 Religious organizations loosely define missionaries as Christian men or women who spread the word of God to other cultures. Missionary work is based on the *New Testament*, which chronicles the journey of Jesus and his disciples as well as the Son of God’s crucifixion. It is with the death of Jesus that Christianity moved from the singular domain of the Jews to one that encompassed gentiles. In doing so, spreading the teachings of Jesus to those throughout the world became paramount for the disciples left behind.
quickly that it would take many years to reach the hearts of the Chinese in their own
country. The answer to this problem, according to Bishop William Taylor, was to turn
the attention of American churches and missionaries to incoming Chinese immigrants:

For God in his providence had forty thousand long-cued fellows in
California, at no expense to anybody, studying the English language,
through which the Gospel message will reach their hearts, and then, they,
by the thousand, it may be, can return on the principle we have illustrated,
and carry the tidings of salvation to the perishing millions of their own
land.³

The influx of male Chinese into California following the discovery of gold in 1848
not only provided domestic missionaries the opportunity to minister to local Chinese, but
also established a concrete way to gain a stronghold in China. For Chinese men who
accepted Christianity, while in America, could then return to their homeland and assist
foreign missionaries in establishing churches and translating biblical literature as well as
serve as a living example of God’s work.

The arrival of Chinese men also brought an unforeseen ministering opportunity.
Since the majority of Chinese women did not accompany their husbands to America,
there was a large discrepancy in the gender ratio. Chinese men searching for
companionship and constrained by miscegenation laws, stimulated a need for the
importation of Chinese women. The trafficking of women not only met this growing

³ Bishop William Taylor, *Seven Years’ Street Preaching in San Francisco, California* (New York:
Published for the author by Carlton Porter, 1856), 313, microfilm. Bishop William Taylor was an
American Methodist Episcopal missionary who organized the first Methodist church in San Francisco. See
also *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 December 1870, p. 3.
demand, established a lucrative trading business, but also provided a small number of merchant families with domestic workers.

As Chinese girls arrived on the Gold Mountain, they coincided with shifting demographics within the city of San Francisco. Incoming white women found a cosmopolitan locale lacking in “Christian morals” that beckoned them to use their skills in benevolent work as well as provided them with a new energized purpose in saving and rescuing those that they felt were nothing but slaves. Aiding this new purpose was returning Christian women who spent time in China as missionary helpmates. These women armed with a basic knowledge of Chinese women’s status and in some cases, fluency in the language began looking at the Chinese woman as a new enterprise. As female missionaries and Chinese women collided in a shifting public space, Protestant churchwomen initiated specific social programs that they felt would assist the Chinese woman in escaping a life of immorality (prostitution) or servitude (mui tsai).^4

With this crucial encounter in mind, this study argues that female Protestant missionaries used the mui tsai, their experiences, and their transformation from “heathen to Christian” to encourage Americans to join or financially support the missionary cause. In doing so, the rescued mui tsai served as a material representation of the success and necessity of domestic and overseas Chinese missionary ventures between the years of 1870 and 1920. Although, this study primarily analyzes Presbyterian and Methodist

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^4 Protestant women often viewed white prostitutes as females who had turned their back on God’s teachings. Chapter seven in the Book of Proverbs, issued a stern warning against the adulteress, (prostitute) while Proverbs 31: 10-31 discussed the ‘wife of noble character.’ In terms of viewing other races engaging in the same occupation, Protestant women viewed them as chattel, slaves, or women unable to make their own decisions. More importantly, since many-lacked exposure to Christianity there was no way that they could understand the importance of living a virtuous life. For this reason, Protestant women proclaimed that they needed to liberate their sisters from a life of shame while instilling the importance of living a Christian life. See Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860,” American Quarterly 18 (summer 1966), 151-174.
Episcopal organizations in the city of San Francisco—there is no question that many other Protestant denominations followed the same pattern in countless cities throughout America.

The *Mui Tsai* System

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Chinese girls entered the United States as domestic servants otherwise known as *mui tsai*. The term according to Hong Kong colonial records is a Cantonese expression that generally translates into “little younger sister.” While this is the most common title and the one used throughout this work, many other regions of China designated the practice under different words. The Hokkiens in the Fukien Province used the term *cha boh kan*, in Tiuchiu it was *chau kwei*, people speaking the Foochow or Hok Chin dialect used *a tow*, while the Chinese written language and people speaking Mandarin used *pei nui*. Nevertheless even with these regional variations, the groups shared similarity in terms of definition. Generally, the system transferred a young girl “from her own family either directly or through a third party, to another family with the intention that she would be used as a domestic servant,

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5 Although historians have compared the *mui tsai* system to that of American colonial indentured servitude, it is quite different. The *mui tsai* were generally small children required to remain the owner’s home until the age of eighteen. Secondly, the owner of a *mui tsai* was required to find them a husband. Third, the *mui tsai* did not negotiate a contract on her behalf and lastly, the owner of a *mui tsai* did not teach a skill that would have provided her with financial or individual freedom. Eighteenth-century indentured servants, on the other hand, worked for three to seven years in exchange for food, clothing, shelter, and a chance to learn a skill. Those traveling to the Americas promised four or more years of work to offset the cost of their transatlantic voyage. In return, indentured servants hoped to purchase land and gain some degree of independence in the new world. See Sharon V. Salinger, “Indentured Servants—Voyage, Sale, Service,” in *The Social Fabric: American Life From 1607 to 1877*, edited by John H. Cary et al. (New York: Longman, 1999), 83-98.


7 Ibid., 21.
not in receipt of regular wages and not at liberty to leave her employer’s family of her
own free will or at the will of her parent.”

The reasons for transference of a daughter are numerous. First, Confucianism, the
backbone of Chinese society, placed lower social status on women especially since they
did not carry on the family name. Secondly, daughters who married were absorbed into
the husband’s household, which meant that natal families did not reap the economic
benefits of the daughters’ labor. Third, the large size of Chinese peasant families coupled
with their lack of knowledge regarding birth control often left them on the verge of
starvation. Complicating these issues were natural calamities such as famine, floods,
and drought, as well as bouts of war and banditry. The combination of these social and

---

8 Margaret Topley, “Immigrant Chinese Female Servants, and their Hostels in Singapore,” *Man* 59, no. 332-333, (December 1959): 213-215 and Nicole Constable, “Jealousy, Chastity, and Abuse: Chinese Maids and Foreign Helpers in Hong Kong,” *Modern China* 22, no. 4 (October 1996): 452. There is a distinction between *mui tsai* and amahs—amahs received wages for their work within the family while the *mui tsai* did not. Amahs often specialized in various household duties such as a *jyufaahn* (cook amah), a *chaujai* (baby amah), a *saitong* (wash amah), and a *daqap* (a cleanup amah). However, in middle-class households it was more likely that the amah would be a *yat geuk tek*, or a general amah that performed cooking, cleaning, washing, childcare and other work related functions. Additionally, *pipa tsai*, or girls sold for entertainment often followed a similar systematic pattern as the *mui tsai*. Poor or starving parents sold their daughters that played the *pipa*, a traditional Chinese musical instrument. Many *pipa tsai* also worked as prostitutes and were owned by women who hoped that their “adopted daughter” would care for their tablets after they passed away. See Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, “Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System: Submission, Servitude, Escape, and Collusion,” in *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*, edited by Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 12.


10 From 1600 to 1911, China witnessed an explosion in population. The increase of people translated into the scarcity of land, inciting many Chinese living in overpopulated areas to resort to banditry. Other Chinese families suffered through the 1876-1879 great famine, which cost millions of lives. Additionally, domestic rebellions such as the The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) and the Boxer Rebellion (1898-1901) contributed to the social and economic upheaval of families. The Opium War (1839-1842) complicated matters through Qing concessions that not only gave Great Britain Hong Kong but also opened foreign treaty ports. See John King Fairbanks and Merle Goldman eds., *China A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Jonathan D. Spence, *God’s Chinese Son* (New York: W.W. Norton and
environmental factors contributed to China's dreary economic situation during the early
to mid-nineteenth century, which forced many peasant families to either sell their
daughters or dispose of them at birth. Although, many families did practice female
infanticide the mui tsai system provided an alternate avenue. The hope of the natal
family was that their daughter would have a better life in a home that could financially
afford to take care of her. In turn, the natal family gained monetary stability that would
at least provide enough to eat for several months, a year, or even several years.

According to historian Sue Gronewold, the family often netted anywhere between $15
and $225 for selling their daughter into servitude.

Clearly, Chinese families faced with desperate times used the mui tsai system as a
way to lessen their burden. Yet why would a family purchase a young girl? Was it
simply a heathenistic practice as many Westerners claimed during the nineteenth and
twentieth centuries or was it in fact a benevolent Chinese tradition? Many purchasing
families believed they were engaging in a charitable act. On the other hand, it was also a
way for the family to maintain a high degree of control that one could not have with wage
earning domestic workers. Families made sure to purchase girls between the ages of ten
and fourteen or ones that were old enough to perform housework and look after children

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11 Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions, Part II: The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845-1939* (New York: Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957), 445. Wade Crawford Barclay estimated that the proportion of girls sacrificed in Chinese provinces varied from one in ten to one in twenty.

but young enough to adjust to their new surroundings and family. For this reason, many young girls blended seamlessly into their new surroundings.

Paula Korus noted that many wealthy Chinese families purchased *mui tsai* to take care of the women of the family, especially on the onset of footbinding. The hope was that the young girl would somehow compensate for the pain and inconvenience of losing their mobility. "A slave girl was at the beck and call of her mistress, filling her water pipe, fanning the mistress when she felt hot, pouring tea, and being with her when her feet were painful." When not aiding her mistress, the *mui tsai* performed light household duties and in some cases had hours of free time.

Although the *mui tsai* did not receive monetary compensation, she did receive board, lodging, clothing, and medical attention when necessary. Additionally, the owner was responsible for finding a suitable husband when she reached approximately eighteen years of age, even though most Chinese girls married by the age of fourteen or fifteen. In other instances, the *mui tsai* became the concubine or second wife of one of the male family members. In either case on her marriage, the new husband became part of her natal family rather than her employers. Two further benefits of the system included the visitation of natal family members if they lived nearby as well as their legal right to

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15 Rubie S. Watson, "Wives, Concubines, and Maids," in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, edited by Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 235. According to Watson, the responsibility of finding a husband was a legal one enforced by Qing law. Failure to fulfill this part of the system could carry a punishment of eighty blows or a hefty fine.
purchase her back if they found themselves financially able. In worse case scenarios, the purchasing family could resell the *mui tsai* to brothels in Hong Kong or to sojourners leaving for America.\(^{16}\)

*Mui tsai* purchased by middle to lower class families did not garner the same treatment as those sold into elite homes. Lack of familial funds required the servant to perform various duties such as watching children to completing the majority of the housework. Depending on the family’s financial situation, the *mui tsai* could enjoy some leisure time or extremely harsh treatment. This economic class often used the system as an inexpensive way of attaining household help as well as an eventual asset if necessary. Surprisingly, even the poor class dabbled in the purchasing of *mui tsai* especially if they could not afford to purchase a son, which in 1885 cost nearly $100. Owners hoped the girl would marry a husband that would be willing to take care of them in their later years.\(^{17}\)

Many families choosing to sell their daughters went through third parties or go-betweens that “generally came from the class of peddlers, midwives, amahs, fortune-tellers, and restaurant and teahouse staff.”\(^{18}\) More often than not, successful go-betweens were women who relied on their social knowledge and networks in order to find

\(^{16}\) Although many *mui tsai* did not suffer sexual exploitation there are undoubtedly, some that did. In one case, Mary Marks, a Chinese girl purchased in China as a *mui tsai* by a German Jew, was pregnant when she arrived at the Presbyterian Chinese Mission home in 1877. The eighteen-year old gave birth in July of the same year and allowed a local Chinese family to adopt her son who they named George. Mary later married Looie Fook, a Chinese Christian man, in July 1878. See “Records of Inmates,” 1877, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.

\(^{17}\) Willard Farrell, *The Chinese at Home and Abroad, Together with the Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco on the Condition of the Chinese Quarter in that City*, (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1885), 21. The owner of a male slave was required to find him a wife by the age of thirty rather than eighteen as the custom was for the female *mui tsai*.

attractive young girls. Although, female go-betweens wielded a great amount of power and had to some degree independence, they were considered the “antithesis of respectable Chinese womanhood,” for reputable and respectable Chinese women were retiring, silent, subservient, and restrained—traits glaringly absent from the go-betweens’ behavior.¹⁹ Later, as the need for women increased in America, female go-betweens operating as commissioned employees of American Chinatown tongs or as independent dealers began frequent travel between the two countries.²⁰ In one instance, a Chinese woman posing as a respectable hairdresser supplemented her income by importing domestic servants. The woman smuggled Chai Yong, Chuey Hay, and Mae Kum, three young Chinese girls into the United States. Eight-year-old Mae Kum sold two years later for nearly $750.²¹

After a family chose their “adoptive daughter,” they made sure that the sale was legally binding by outlining the specific details of transfer in a document known as the “sung tip.” Usually printed on white paper, the record denoted the use of a go-between and designated the sale of common goods and services. Contracts issued on red paper usually represented adoption documents or the sale of land. Although, red “sung tips” carried more legal weight, the cost was extremely high to be used in the sale of children.²² However, in 1897, the San Francisco Call published a facsimile of a red


²⁰ George Anthony Peffer, If They Don’t Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 71.


“sung tip.” The document was nearly eleven years old and one of four found on Tsau Fa. Interestingly, all four “sung tips” claimed that the person selling the young girl was her natal mother (figure 1.) Sealing the transaction was the girl's pressed inked finger, sometimes in blood, to the contract acknowledging her sale. After completing this final step, the go-between or adoptive parents took the girl into custody.

Fac-Simile of Bill of Sale of Tsau Fa by her Mother, Wang Shi, to Wong Shi, the Consideration Being $88 Cash.

Translation:
I write clearly to you that I give this girl to you because I am very poor. This girl I have borne myself. She is my own child. Her name is Tsau Fa. She is 7 years old this year. She was born at 1 or 2 o'clock on the 4th day of July. I myself asked my relatives but none were willing to care for her. Afterward one go-between named Chung Shi took me to a woman named Wong Shi. Wong Shi saw my girl and promised to give me $88. Wong Shi gave the $88 to Chung Shi, and Chung Shi took it away. Wong Shi took her to her house to use. We three people talked, the matter over very clearly, not because I owed her any money, nor did she steal the girl. The go-between did not compel me to do it; but I was willing. If there is any trouble afterward it is clearly understood by the go-between and the woman this girl must follow this woman who has bought her, and she is to take care of her until she is larger. The mother cannot ask any questions about her and the woman is not answerable to the mother for what may be done to the child or what happens to her, whether she lives or dies or where she puts her. This paper is gotten up by the mother herself.

Quong Sui, twelfth year Wang Shi

Figure 1: Mui Tsai Contract—Tsau Fa. Source: San Francisco Call, 11 August 1897, p. 5.

The benevolent underpinning of the system did not insulate the natal family and the newly acquired mui tsai from suffering social ramifications. The financial gain from selling a child caused parents to not only lose “face” in their community but also endure


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open hostility and gossip from their neighbors. Similarly, the *mui tsai* “suffered an indelible social stigma because their families had made money out of them, and this was worse than if they had been abandoned. They were left with no kin and hence no ‘face’ in a society where only family ascribes identity.” Fortunately, *mui tsai* status was not hereditary so the stigma associated with the sale dissolved on their death.

The *mui tsai* system, not surprisingly, blurred when American culture and western Christianity mapped itself upon a thousand year old Chinese tradition. Unlike the western belief that Chinese parents sold their daughters into a life of immorality, the majority of families engaging in the system truly believed that it benefited all parties involved. Few parents, according to Benson Tong, “openly consented to an outright sale of their daughters into prostitution. Most believed that they had sold their children as mooi-tsai [*mui tsai*] (indentured domestic servants) or as young brides for Chinese male sojourners in America.” Westerners viewing the system had a difficult time escaping the connotation of slavery and the exploitation of the female sex. As more and more Chinese children and women entered the United States under the assumption of immorality returning missionary helpmates from China fervently latched on to the new domestic challenge of “saving” Chinese females.

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Methodology

Durba Ghosh states that historians face difficulties in rendering subaltern groups visible due to the lack of traditional source material.25 This is the case for the *mui tsai*. The few written documents penned by former domestic servants exist only in correspondence between mission homes and former inmates.26 The result is that the majority of *mui tsai* experiences are only visible in Protestant missionary records. For this reason, this study looks at the *mui tsai* through the lens of Protestant missionary women by relying on English language sources such as missionary letters, journals, books, home records, board reports, census data, and newspapers.27

The reliance on these records often reflects the worse case scenarios of the *mui tsai* system, which stems from female missionaries highlighting the horrors of the practice in order to promote their cause to the American public. However, the use of these records also exposes facets of the mission system previously hidden underneath the veneer of Christianity and moral reform. For instance, mission workers although recruiting outside aid from the secular field and taking great pains in rescuing Chinese girls often asked them to leave mission homes when they did not meet missionary expectations. This begs the question of whether rescuing girls from slavery and immorality ranked lower than molding them into perfect representations of Christian mission work that would further

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26 The term inmate is frequently used throughout missionary literature and home reports. The nineteenth century definition of inmate referred to a person who lodges or dwells in the same house with another, occupying different rooms, but using a common door to pass in and out of the dwelling. Noah Webster, *First Edition of an American Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield: G.C. Merriam Co, 1828), INL to INN.

27 This study does not make use of Chinese language records, since it centers on the promotional use of *mui tsai* living in China and the United States by female Protestant missionaries.
their cause. Similarly, many *mui tsai* did not use the mission home as a facility for gaining insight and instruction in the principles of Christianity. Instead, some used the facility as leverage in garnering better treatment from their owners while others found it an excellent place to find a husband.

In searching for the *mui tsai* in America, it is necessary to establish a framework that considers a wide variety of factors. By comparing the characteristics of the Chinese *mui tsai* with data gleaned from the United States census records it is possible to set parameters that shed light on potential domestic servants. Information such as the girls' age, her and her owners' occupation, as well as family makeup can then be cross-listed with Presbyterian or Methodist mission records, Protestant literature, and national newspapers. In relying on these records, a margin of error is inevitable. The unreliability of census records, the fact that girls adopted aliases, that Protestant missionaries renamed the girls once they arrived in the home, and that newspapers, mission home records, and Protestant literature frequently misspelled their names all add to the difficulty in properly identifying *mui tsai*.28

Compounding the above difficulties is the question of how many *mui tsai* resided in America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The answer has been open to historical debate. Since many girls traveled to the United States on ships hailing from Hong Kong it is important to note that the *Hong Kong Census Report of 1921* recognized a total of 8,653 *mui tsai* of which 5,949 were under the age of fourteen and 2,532 were fourteen and over.29 By 1937, even with the enforcement of *mui tsai* law in parts of

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28 Additional names have been provided in the body of the text or in footnotes when known.

29 Although Great Britain emancipated all slaves on August 1, 1834 there was no ordinance affecting the *mui tsai* passed in Hong Kong until 1844. Unfortunately, British Parliament felt that the new law was
China, Shanghai reported 20,000 domestic servants of which only 2,000 were registered with the state. The numbers of mui tsai living in the United States were significantly less. John W. Stephens in his study of the 1870 and 1880 manuscript census notes that 2% of Chinese women were listed as young servants. However, in his estimation their role and presence was much more significant than census materials actually reveal. The discrepancy exists because census records did not take into account that many of the young girls born out of prostitute liaisons were first used as domestic servants before entering brothel work. Additionally, as the missionary crusade against the use of children as mui tsai increased, Chinese families may have listed their domestic servants as children living in the home rather than as mui tsai, skewing the percentage further.

Redundant and repealed it almost immediately after its enactment. In 1878, the Po Leung Kuk, a public institution, founded by Chinese merchants interested in protecting kidnapped women and children forced into brothels began providing short-term care. The women stayed in the facility until they returned to their families or made alternative arrangements. In 1918, British officials reported that almost all prosperous households in Hong Kong contained mui tsai or domestic slaves. It would not be until 1923, that Winston Churchill would take action to protect the young servants in the British colony of Hong Kong. The popularity of the mui tsai system stemmed from the fact that the girls performed a cheap form of domestic labor. See F. H. Loseby, Mui Tsai in Hong Kong (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1937); Hugh Lyttleton Haslewood, Child Slavery in Hong Kong: The Mui Tsai System (London: Sheldon Press, 1930); and Wilfrid Wentworth Woods, Mui Tsai in Hong Kong and Malaya (London: H.M. Stationery Press, 1937).

“Chinese Child Slavery is Attacked,” New York Times, 18 July 1937, p. E4. Article 296 of the Chinese Criminal Code provided, that any person “who causes another to become a slave, or to live under conditions similar to slavery” shall be punished by the imprisonment of one to seven years. Yet even with this law, the Chinese government took few steps in ensuring that the mui tsai garnered decent treatment and were registered with the government.


See appendix: tables 8-11.
Scholarly Contexts

"Maximize Our Missions" draws and builds upon historical scholarship in an attempt to add the *mui tsaï* to the discourse on female missionaries and Chinese women. In doing so, this study relies on theoretical underpinnings from Edward Said's representation of the "other," Michel Foucault's theory of power, Joan Scott's work legitimizing gender as a useful category of analysis, sociologists' theory of transnationalism, and Protestant theology. 33

The use of religious studies is a complex proposition in historical analysis. It is difficult for a historian to examine religious efforts because the power and purpose of missionaries is not something that is measurable or verifiable yet it is something that motivates people to dedicate their entire lives to its principles. The goal of American missionaries was that they would Christianize the locals and establish churches that would not only be self-supporting but would continue to add numbers to the flock.

The continual cyclical flow of Chinese men and women into America provided both foreign and domestic missionaries with an unbelievable opportunity in Christianizing millions of people in China. This influx also provided a unique opportunity for Protestant missionaries. Whereas Peggy Pascoe has argued that foreign missionaries focused on a specific country and domestic missionaries focused on a specific group, it is not quite true when we look at the Chinese evangelistic project. Foreign missionaries serving in China worked very closely with domestic missionaries working with Chinese

immigrants. The two groups not only relied on each other financially but also sent “reformed” girls back and forth between the two countries in order to expand mission programs.

Historians investigating religious efforts amongst the Chinese have approached the subject from two directions—China-centered and America-centered. John K. Fairbank’s edited work *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* and his *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* analyze how American missionaries and their writings shaped the Chinese view of the west by taking a China focused approach. Other historians use the lens of American markets and business practices to investigate religious endeavors. R. Laurence Moore’s *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* and Rolf Lunden’s *Business and Religion in the American 1920s* paint a broad picture of how American religious organizations used market culture to their financial benefit. Taking a gendered approach to the subject is Patricia Hill’s *The World Their Household: The American Woman’s Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920*, which analyzes the individual female role in the overseas enterprise and their arguments for using a business model in their endeavors. Susan Yohn’s article “The Business of Protestant Women’s Organizations explores the role of female ran missionary associations in America’s economic history while Jane Hunter’s *Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century*

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China "explores the life patterns of female volunteers from initial commitment to veteran service on the China field."^{36}

Chinese-American historians examining immigration history have focused on assimilation, acculturation, laws, and Chinese contributions to American society. Diverging away from studies that highlight the "Chinaman's Chance" historians have provided richer accounts of Chinese immigrants and their experiences in America. Iris Chang, Sucheng Chan, and Ronald Takaki shed light on the overarching themes of Chinese immigration as well as other Asian groups in their attempt to carve out lives in a xenophobic country. Other scholars such as Madeline Hsu in *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home* and Sucheng Chan's edited work *Chinese American Transnationalism* argue that immigrant Chinese maintained networks with China that encouraged migrant circuits and multiple relationships.

Historians working in the Chinese-American field have also taken a gendered approach to immigration that for years focused heavily on Chinese prostitution. Lucie Hirata's "Free, Indentured, and Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America" centers on the social history of Chinese prostitution and its economic role in America.^{37} Benson Tong builds on Hirata's work in *Unsubmitte Women*, which works to recreate the experiences of nineteenth-century Chinese prostitutes in order to show that

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they were not always victims. *Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial History, Unbound Feet,* and *Unbound Voices* by Judy Yung diverges from the prostitute discourse to richer investigations of Chinese women experiences during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Huping Ling continues Yung’s work in *Surviving on the Gold Mountain* by adding understudied Chinese women living in rural American environments and comparing Chinese women’s experiences with other immigrant women.

Other historians look through the lens of Protestant missionaries in analyzing the female Chinese immigrant experience. Carol Wilson Green’s 1931 *Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of the Donaldina Cameron House* provides an entertaining narrative regarding Donaldina Cameron and the San Francisco Presbyterian Chinese Mission in San Francisco. Peggy Pasco returned to the subject of prostitution with *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939,* which analyzes the relationships forged between Chinese women and Presbyterian missionaries.

Taking a thread from Pascoe and Green’s work is Sarah Refo Mason and Paula Korus who offer the only scholarship on the *mui tsai* in America. Mason in “Liang May Seen and the Early Chinese Community in Minneapolis,” highlights the assimilation and acculturation of a former *mui tsai* and the importance of maintaining networks with the

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39 Carol Green Wilson, *Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of Donaldina Cameron House* (San Francisco: California Historical Society with Donaldina Cameron House, 1931), 6, 189.

40 Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). In this work, Peggy Pascoe does not explain why missionary women built homes for Chinese girls and how they underwrote the work. Additionally, there is little focus on theology or establishing a distinction between the *mui tsai* and other girls residing in the home.
home after the girls married. Korus while focusing her study on the *mui tsai* living in Spokane, Washington paints a broader picture by comparing the system to that existing in Hong Kong and Malaysia. Following this theme is *Women and Chinese Patriarchy* edited by Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, which provides an excellent foundation on the various forms of bondage among Chinese women as practiced in Hong Kong, Singapore, and California.

The lack of substantial historical scholarship tying the experiences of rescued *mui tsai* with Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal female missionaries makes this study valuable in terms of how Chinese domestic servants served as material representation of missionary work. Cutting across national borders, a transnational dimension bound domestic and foreign missionaries and mission projects together in the quest to Christianize China. In doing so, missionary women capitalized on the *mui tsai* and their stories in constructing networks and obtaining popular support that would encourage other American men and women to join their worthy cause.

**Organization**

Chapters 2 and 3 serve as an introduction into the importance of foreign missionaries in China and their pivotal role in returning to America. The two chapters also serve as a brief organizational history that synthesizes the efforts and work of Methodist Episcopalian and Presbyterian women in establishing mission organizations and rescue facilities.

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Chapter 2 explores the contributions of early American female helpmates and single missionaries in promoting their cause, encouraging women to join the movement, and garnering monetary donations in order to continue their work in China. It was while overseas, that missionary women encountered the *mui tsai* system, which they recounted in numerous letters sent to their home church. The correspondence not only highlighted the stark differences between Chinese parents and those living in America but also served as an introduction to China’s culture.

Chapter 3 returns to America. This section begins with an analysis of the *mui tsai* entering the United States and the growing importation business between China and America. These two substantial changes provided foreign missionary couples returning from China at their missions’ conclusion the chance to establish domestic evangelistic programs. The skills acquired in China, such as a basic cultural understanding regarding the social status of Chinese women and fluency in language paved the way for the organization of female mission boards and rescue homes for Chinese girls. The chapter concludes with a discussion of mission networking outside the religious sphere and California’s borders. The cultivation of these relationships provided Methodist Episcopalian and Presbyterian missionaries with *mui tsai* that would not have entered the home as well as ensured that those rescued, remained in missionary care.

Chapter 4 builds upon the previous chapter by underscoring how mission home workers used the *mui tsai* and their accounts as a means of visually representing mission work. Young Chinese girls entering rescue homes took part in mission fundraisers, exhibitions, and lectures. Later, as American interest in the San Francisco rescue homes grew, the facility became a tourist destination that used the *mui tsai* as the main
attraction. Older mission home girls found that they also served as a visual representation of missionary work. Whether marrying Christian men, joining the domestic mission system, or returning to China to work amongst their “sisters” rescued mui tsai served as a public testament to the success of missionary women of transforming Chinese girls from “heathen to Christian.” The combination of these methods helped financially support girls in the home, provided nation-wide publicity for the domestic mission project, encouraged Americans to join the cause, and helped expand the overseas Chinese mission system.

Chapter 5 explores how the mui tsai’s experiences and stories published in religious and secular literature worked as an additional promotional method. The early reliance on correspondence and missionary “mamas” to sustain mission work shifted to publishing pamphlets, leaflets, books, journals, and even board reports. Additionally, local and national newspapers carried stories regarding the escapades of mission workers in their attempt to rescue the mui tsai as well as how highbinders or go-betweens tried to thwart their activities. The various types of printed literature reinforced the importance of female missionary work amongst the Chinese, which in turn encouraged Americans to join the cause and open their pocket books.

The final chapter ends with the collapsing of women’s boards into parent organizations in the 1920s. Although historians have put forth different views regarding this change, the result was the same; the discontinuation of using the mui tsai as a promotional method for the expansion of both domestic and overseas mission projects. In doing so, San Francisco Chinese mission homes altered their focus to community
outreach leaving missionaries to find their representations of “heathen to Christian” in foreign lands.
CHAPTER 2

MISSIONARIES TO CHINA, 1835-1920

Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved. How then, can they call on the one they have not believed in? And how can they believe in the one of whom they have not heard? And how can they hear without someone preaching to them? And how can they preach unless they are sent? As it is written, “How Beautiful are the feet of those who bring the good news!”

Romans 10:13-15

It is often found that woman’s work is directly work for men as well as women, and all true Christians must exert some influence for good upon those with who they are associated whether men or women.

Harriet Newell Noyes, 1919

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42 Romans 10:13-15. See also Matthew 24:14, Mark 13:10 and 16:15, 1 Timothy 4:13-14 and 2 Timothy 4:2 on taking God’s teachings to the gentiles or those who are not of Jewish ancestry.


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Before Chinese men and women entered the United States in the 1850s, foreign missionary couples introduced Americans to China by sending letters back to their home church explaining their new surroundings and difficulties laboring amongst “heathens.” Early missionaries such as Karl Gutzlaff made the China mission popular in the early 1830s. Gutzlaff believed that the intercourse between America and China would not only economically benefit both parties but would also introduce the populous country to Christianity. Furthermore, the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, which ended the Opium Wars between Great Britain and China, opened five treaty ports smoothing the way for the entrance of western missionaries. Nevertheless, even with this breakthrough, religious workers found that they had little effect on the elite Chinese males they desperately wanted to convert.\(^4\) Part of the difficulty stemmed from the parallels existing between Confucianism and Christianity as well as the confusion surrounding denominational separatism. The Chinese could not understand why American missionaries did not pool their resources in propagating the gospel and why they did not view Confucian philosophy as morally upright as western Christianity. This dilemma translated into low conversion numbers for those attempting to Christianize China. By 1847, Methodist Episcopal missionaries only boasted forty converts, which had only increased to 5,000 by 1869.\(^5\)


\(^5\) J.F. Willing, “China,” *Heathen Woman’s Friend* (September 1869): 29-30. The increase was due to the opening of thirteen more ports, which according to J.F. Willing always included a Protestant mission.
Missionary Helpmates in the 1830s

The fact that Protestant missionaries were converting less than nineteen Chinese men a month in a land of millions spurred foreign ministers to utilize their wives as an integral part of the evangelistic mission. American church laymen encouraged women to marry and accompany their new husbands overseas as missionary helpmates. Although American boards believed that missionary wives would nourish their husband's souls by establishing Christian homes, they also simultaneously played a key role in publicizing the need for female involvement in foreign missions. Their piety and hard work in the mission field earned them admiration and respect among women at home. Not surprisingly, many women answered the call of female foreign missionaries asking for monetary donations in furthering their overseas endeavors among "heathen" women.

According to Lisa Joy Pruitt, American females working abroad as helpmates "as early as 1815, began using images of 'Oriental' women to elicit sympathy for the women and financial support for the missions."

Mary Newell (Mrs. Karl Gutzlaff) was no different. In an 1839 letter published in *Mother's Magazine*, Mary begged readers to send her money so that she could continue to educate young girls in China. More importantly, she noted that small blind girls are "bought slaves" and that she hoped to purchase more girls from their parents so that they could be redeemed and educated.

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Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, the first American female missionary to China, married her husband ten days before they left for their foreign mission. Extremely pious, Henrietta believed that she took "on the responsible name of a missionary," a title that she felt was too honorable for her to bear. Although financially supported by the Baptist ministry, she was one of the first women to have encountered the mui tsai system though she did not identify it as such. Her personal letter dated May 7, 1837 revealed her amazement at the treatment of young children by Chinese parents:

I have recently met with a poor little Chinese girl, about six years old, whom we have adopted as our own child. Her case is peculiarly interesting. Her mother, imitating the example of other heathen mothers, sold her to a Chinaman who kept her only a few months, and sold her again to another Chinaman and his wife, whose hearts, if they were in possession of such a thing, would not allow them to bestow on her a single act of kindness. They used her cruelly, and made her perform such labor as could be expected only from older and stronger persons. And it seems that these cruel people not satisfied with this, even denied her necessary food. By chance, an American, on the eve of leaving this place for his native land, saw her, and feeling anxious to rescue the dear child from death, for she was indeed on the shore of another world, offered to buy

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Mrs. Shuck went on to mention that after the American rescuer brought the young girl to her home she named her Jane Maria after her dear friends in America. Several days later, another Chinese family called upon her in hopes that she would purchase their blind six-year old daughter for the sum of $10. Although Mrs. Shuck refused, she reflected on the "vast and deeply affecting contrast between the children of Chinese parents, and those whose privilege it is to dwell in the lands where Christianity triumphs."50

As Henrietta continued to gather children interested in gaining an education, she called upon American benefactors to sponsor female students and to help finance the building of a school. Jane Maria, her adopted daughter received $10 annually from Mrs. Keeling and Mrs. Sinton, which she lamented, was not nearly enough for her upkeep.51 Another youth, thought to be extremely bright, was sent to America in hopes that "he made wise unto salvation, would return to preach the gospel of Christ to his deluded fellow man."52 Brother Hume of Portsmouth, Virginia supported the ten-year old boy's education until he was twenty-one, while Mrs. Devon of New York sent $90 to fund female students in Mrs. Shuck's school. Nevertheless, Henrietta disliked having to write

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49 Jeremiah Bell Jeter, *A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, the First American Female Missionary to China*, (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1846), 107, microform.

50 Ibid., 112.

51 Ibid., 130.

52 Ibid., 129
home and beg for money "fearing that some may think we do not appropriate it to a good cause. But let me here remark, that without money we can do nothing for the heathen."53

This simple comment highlighted the importance of maintaining a financial network, which relied on the transmittal of letters and stories regarding the differences between American and Chinese families. The continual stream of correspondence to both benefactors and the home church provided reassurance that the mission system in China was an important step in Christianizing the populous country but more importantly, that the appropriation of monetary contributions were used in good faith. Additional assurance came in the form of Henrietta’s biography published in 1846 almost two years after her death at the age of twenty-seven. The book not only provided readers with a glimpse of missionary life in China but also required half the proceeds to go to the Foreign Mission Board for further religious ventures.

Impressed with Henrietta’s work in China, Reverend Gillespie, a clergyman from the London Missionary Society, addressed female missionaries during her funeral:

To the sisters, especially the young, I trust her sacrifices, and generous labors, and consistent piety, will afford a valuable lesson. You may never be called to be missionaries: but living in a world filled with sin and smitten with wo, you are solemnly called to employ your powers in doing good. Let the world be better and happier for your example, your labors, and your prayers.54

53 Jeremiah Bell Jeter, A Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, the First American Female Missionary to China, (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1846), 139, microform.

54 Ibid., 24. Gillespie’s words were so compelling that a Richmond, Virginia pastor repeated them during a Sunday sermon.
As pastors and churches encouraged female participation in religious activities, even if not on their individual merit, more and more women married and followed their husbands to China as missionary helpmates. Elizabeth Susan Ball Happer worked alongside her husband in Canton during the 1840s while Mrs. Loomis served in Ningpo, China from 1844 to 1850. Cornelia Breokenridge Speer, Dr. Wiliam Speer’s wife served in Canton from 1846 to 1850. Abbey L. Kingsley Kerr and her husband replaced the Speers in the 1850s.

The excitement and mystery of China attracted men and women to the cause, especially after the Taiping Rebellion in 1851, which led missionaries to believe that the country was on the verge of accepting Christianity. The Taiping Rebellion led by Hong Xiuquan, preached an altered view of Christianity that mixed western and eastern philosophies and religions into a militant religious sect. By 1850, the leader mobilized over 20,000 believers who shunned gambling, opium, tobacco, idolatry, adultery, prostitution, and the practice of footbinding. The Taipings also provided Chinese women with positions in the army and allowed them to serve in the palace, a traditional position held by eunuchs. Although the movement resulted in social upheaval and the loss of many Chinese lives, American churches were energized by the belief that China was discarding their superstitious and paganistic ways, which convinced them to establish additional mission programs.

55 Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 264-266.

56 Ibid.

57 For further information, see Jonathan D. Spence, God’s Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996).
This shift arrived at no better time, for the religious census of 1851 demonstrated how churches had lost touch with the working class. The low rate of membership and attendance gave them “a diminishing pool of human resources to support their religious, political, and social aims.” The overseas project underpinned by the early principles of the Second Great Awakening and the Social Gospel Movement provided an optimistic theology of Christianity that churches hoped would combat the negative repercussions of industrialization. Its aim was to reawaken the churches responsibility in the social order by creating programs and outreach that would entice members back into the flock. The overseas crusade rejuvenated stagnant churches and sustained the revivalist sentiment.

Churches acknowledging, “that they benefited from the promotion of foreign missions” began to incorporate mission Sundays and China appeals into their weekly curriculum. Fundraisers, offerings, and collections stimulated projects both at home and overseas. Missionaries returning to America joined lecture circuits and circulated published memoirs regarding their work abroad in an attempt to ignite the missionary fervor. By 1865, Protestant churches viewed China as the ultimate location of “heathens” ready for the “good news.” Furthermore, women mobilized by their roles as helpmates and their benevolent efforts before, during, and after the Civil War applied their fundraising skills in attempts to sponsor their own missionaries and evangelistic projects.


59 Ibid. The Second Great Awakening which spanned from 1790 to 1840 liberalized Protestantism and embraced the outward display of professing ones faith in a public forum. The Social Gospel Movement began roughly in 1868 and lasted until 1890.

The domestic drive reached a crescendo in 1870 with the Foreign Missionary Board allowing single women to travel abroad as foreign missionaries in their own right. In doing so, returning missionary couples as well as single female missionaries parlayed the experiences gleaned from their Chinese post to construct social programs, associations, and institutions in San Francisco that would work in tandem with those built in China.

**Single Women in the Foreign Mission Field, 1871-1920**

Thank God the women of America have heard the call; acknowledging their responsibility and in a spirit of consecration, they have addressed themselves to the glorious duty of sending the good news of the redeemer to their perishing sisters of God’s great family.

The Ladies’ Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1873

During the last four decades of the nineteenth century, there was an explosion of female missionary activity. American women relying on their abilities to raise substantial funds for general foreign missionary societies were unhappy with token representation. The lack of input on how boards spent and distributed monetary donations as well as who was sent on overseas assignments were key concerns for women. With those issues in mind, Protestant women organized boards and associations that provided them the power to send and fund single female missionaries abroad.

In doing so, Protestant female missionaries left America and built orphanages, schools, hospitals, and clinics that focused on children and women of foreign lands.

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Women applied for mission work in order to expand the realm of opportunities, make something out of their lives, and in some instances discover themselves. Dagny Olsen Carter, a Norwegian immigrant, who served in the China field for nearly twelve years, justified her commitment to the cause for these very reasons. However, Dagny’s motivation for joining the mission movement reflected just one of the myriad of reasons why single women joined the foreign missionary movement. Although each woman touted individual justifications for entering the field, one of the most prevalent was that by engaging in missionary work, women gained a sense of upward professional mobility denied to them outside the religious sphere. Frederick J. Heuser identified additional motives such as entering the mission field after the death of a family member—specifically a parent, avoiding marriage, demonstrating independence by traveling abroad, faith, and continuing family traditions.

The continuation of family tradition was a prevalent theme in applying for foreign mission work. Over 40% of prospective female missionaries were raised in staunchly religious households by parents involved in some type of church work. The spiritual


63 Ibid., 24. Heuser notes that the death of an aging parent often freed them to apply for mission work. It also offered a solution to the loneliness, isolation, and financial insecurity that often accompanied the death of a family member. By joining the missionary cause, women not only gained a sense of family and community but more importantly a modest income.

64 Valentin Rabe, The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880-1920, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 83. The author notes that in 1880 the American Board investigated the family background of 140 of their active missionaries and found that 122 of them came from staunchly religious households. Frederick J. Heuser, in examining fifty-one missionary candidate files, found that many missionary women hailed from humble backgrounds, but rarely were from working class origins. Many women boasted fathers who owned small businesses or worked as self-employed tradesmen. In this respect, prospective missionaries differed from settlement workers, since most of them came from the upper-middle class and rarely worked to help support their families. Frederick J. Heuser, “Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870-1923,” Journal of Presbyterian History 73, no. 1 (spring 1995): 25.
background coupled with the barrage of missionary journals and magazines directed at children, captivated their imaginations, spurring many of them to make the decision to join the foreign mission program before the age of eighteen. Miss Du Bose the daughter of Reverend Dr. Du Bose a long time missionary at Soo Chow [Suzhou] hoped to continue her father's work by returning to the country as a missionary. Miss Campbell, the granddaughter of Reverend Dr. Butler, the noted Methodist Church historian felt a calling to impart the "good news" to those in China as well. Fannie Wright, the daughter of China missionaries "claimed that from childhood she never had any other expectation than that she would return to China" for she felt that China was her true home. Other women, such as Harriet Worthington, made the decision to join the foreign mission program because her friends were already in China.

Those who worked as domestic missionaries often built on their experiences by applying for overseas work. Miss L. Durham, after working with the San Francisco Chinese volunteered to travel with Dr. Niles to China to help in her school for blind girls while Dr. Effie Worley, a supporter of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home, traveled to China to work as a medical missionary. Yet whatever their individual motivation was in devoting their life to the missionary cause, they all shared one striking similarity—female missionaries equated themselves and their work with great women gleaned from biblical stories and parables such as Miriam, Ruth, Deborah, Hannah, Esther, Mary,

66 Los Angeles Times, 14 March 1887, p. 4.
Martha, Lydia, Dorcas, and Phoebe.\(^69\) Whether this reflected their individual beliefs or not, there is no question that by comparing themselves to biblical characters, it helped legitimize their work as “daughters of the King.” This tactic was so successful that by 1890, women made up nearly 60% of the mission force.\(^70\)

However, gaining an overseas appointment was not easy. In 1883, qualifications for foreign missionary service included having a robust health, common sense, piety or a Christian attitude, exemplarily references, and lastly education, preferably from a normal school.\(^71\) Boards favored applicants who demonstrated a broad knowledge of music, good singing voices, and the ability to play the organ.\(^72\) Interestingly, the requirements did not change radically through the years.\(^73\) Women applying for foreign work in 1913


\(^71\) “List of Teachers and Schools,” 1885, 1912, box 3, folder 3, Woman’s Board of Home Missions Papers, 1866-1958, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In 1883, the average salary for an overseas missionary teacher was $450 per year, which included a one month paid vacation. Depending on the length of service, many missionary women made much more than the minimum. *The Heathen Woman’s Friend* (July 1872): 305-306.


\(^73\) The *New Testament* emphasized the importance of elders or overseers exemplifying specific Christian characteristics when working with the public. 1 Timothy and Titus are both prime examples of biblical works outlining traits for prospective ministers. For instance self-control, monogamy, sincerity, a disciplined nature, being above reproach, being upright and holy, having a hospitable nature, teaching abilities, and being a long-term Christian were all qualities woven into the fabric of nineteenth and
needed sound physical condition, high moral and ethical standards, courage, common sense, good nature, good judgment, poise, the ability to work with others, and above all grounding in the fundamental theological keystones of the Christian faith.⁷⁴

Women holding the required qualifications and assigned to a post in China encountered a completely different culture. Since the Foreign Board did not require language skills missionaries either learned to speak Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) through hands on experience or employed interpreters through the entire duration of their assignment. More importantly, as women continued to labor in China, they considered themselves Chinese “experts.” Yet this distinction only applied to Chinese women of low and middle-class status for elite Chinese women living in scholar or official households had little interest in the missionaries or their teachings.⁷⁵ This lack of interaction, according to the 1920 Board of Missions Report from the Shanghai Conference, was due to the missionary’s educational deficiency and perceived low social position. To combat the problem on the American side, female board members searched for creative ways of encouraging and presenting religious work to elite American women. The belief was that if this socio-economic class joined the network, Christianity would indeed reach all Chinese women.⁷⁶

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⁷⁴ Maud Wotring Raymond, The King’s Business, A Study of Increased Efficiency for Women’s Missionary Societies (West Medford: The Central Committee on the United States of Foreign Missions, 1913), 81. The pay did not increase either. By 1921, most female missionaries working as teachers overseas and in the United States did not enjoy substantial increases in their salaries.


⁷⁶ Federation of Woman’s Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, Report of Deputation [to China and Japan] ...and of the Conference held at Shanghai, China, January, 28, 1920, (West Medford:
The lack of interaction also translated into problems overseas in securing native Chinese female workers. Since many Chinese Native Bible women came from humble backgrounds, they not only lacked the prerequisite level of education for entering the local seminary but also were not welcomed into the homes of scholars or officials. Compounding these issues were the low wages that missionary women paid native workers. Chinese Native Bible women only received $120 to $150 per year, nearly four to five times less than Protestant missionaries even though they juggled their domestic duties along with mission work. The substantial differences in salaries made it difficult for foreign missionaries to secure the "right kind of worker."

Trying to combat the economic and social problems faced in China, American female mission boards called for a new generation of foreign missionaries that not only met standard qualifications but also displayed honed public speaking skills and solid business sense. Proiciency in these areas served as the backbone for missionary women intent on establishing schools and seminaries in China for Chinese girls. The difficult undertaking required the power of persuasion, perseverance, and dedication in convincing Chinese parents that "daughters" would benefit from an education. The skills were also useful in convincing Americans living across the sea to contribute financially to their cause.

1920), 12-13, microform. See also “Bible Women in Foochow,” The Heathen Woman’s Friend (November 1872): 359-360

Building Mission Schools in China

As single missionary women established schools and seminaries throughout China, they encountered the *mui tsai* system. Capturing their experiences in letters and journal articles, Americans gained insight into what was happening overseas. *The Farmer's Cabinet* in 1860 relayed the story of missionaries working in a Shanghai girl's school. Although the facility had several students such as Pure Pearl, Snow White, Little Phoenix, and Red Agate, it was the story of Morning Glory that caught reader’s imagination. Morning Glory’s mother paid the missionaries a visit asking them to purchase her daughter for $20 in order to keep her husband out of prison. The missionary refused to purchase the girl but did provide the mother with money to help pay the debt. Morning Glory’s mother placed her and her sister in the corner of the school and told them that if she did not return it was a sign that they were still free. After waiting nearly three weeks in dreaded anticipation, the girl’s mother returned and requested that the missionaries keep her daughters permanently, which they did. The circulated story once again underscored the stark difference between Chinese families and those living in America as well as the importance of foreign missionary work.78

Two of the earliest single women sent to China were Beulah and Sarah Woolston. The sisters financed by the Ladies China Missionary Society left the United States in 1859. The duo quickly established a Methodist school for young girls, which taught the fundamentals of writing, history, arithmetic, astronomy, ornamental needlework, western domestics, prayer, and theology.79 According to Dana L. Robert, the Chinese girls that

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attended the school were from the lower class or ones that had been abandoned. The goal of the school, according to the sisters, was to turn out graduates who would work as missionary helpmates, take positions as educators at day schools, or establish Christian homes. In each scenario, the "reformed" Chinese girls served as material representation of female missionary work, which they believed would encourage other Chinese women to take part in educating and Christianizing their "sisters."

The Presbyterian board followed suit in 1872 by sending Hannah Shaw (Mrs. Happer) and Lillie B. Happer to Canton, China with the intention of founding a seminary. The women drawing on their skills in public relations traveled to villages, talked to parents, and explained why their daughters would benefit from attending their school. After convincing several families to enroll their daughters, Hannah, Lillie, and Harriet Newell Noyes held the True Light Seminary's first class on June 16, 1872. By mixing traditional educational courses with Protestant theology, the women met substantial success in Christianizing their charges. In fact, the True Light Seminary boasted conversion rates of 25% from 1872 to 1917. Nearly 915 students out of the 3,724 that attended the school joined the church. Nevertheless, even with this achievement,

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83 Harriet Newell Noyes served as the principal of the True Light Seminary while her sister Miss Mattie Noyes married Dr. J.G. Kerr who founded the Refuge for the Insane. Their brother Dr. Henry V. Noyes worked as a missionary in Canton beginning in 1866. See "From San Francisco," *Woman's Work for Woman* 26, no. 1 (January 1911), 23.
missionary workers searched for additional strategies that would provide the means to expand their efforts and add more sheep to the flock.

The new approach included the use of Chinese Bible women as material representation of missionary work with the shrewd promotion of Chinese girls as *mui tsai*, which spurred American benefactors to send donations across the sea. These monetary contributions helped expand the school’s efforts in Canton. Mrs. Dodd bequeathed the True Light Seminary $1,750, which supplemented the donation furnished by the Philadelphia Board of Foreign Missions in 1880. The funds provided space for nearly eighty students. The year also marked the first decade of the Woman’s Board encouraging many of its members to give a thank-offering of $100 that specifically went to fund missionary ventures. Furthermore, Harriett Newell Noyes one of the founders of the True Light Seminary published its organizational history in *A Light in the Land of Sinim*. With its cloth cover and drawings, the book was a bargain at the cost of $1.50 in 1898. Noyes hoped that the book, which discussed the *mui tsai* and the differences between American and Chinese parents, would not only circulate widely throughout America, generate interest in the China project, but would also add a substantial amount of money to the mission coffers.

Harriet’s book along with the stream of letters from foreign missionaries stationed overseas stirred interest in women’s work for women. By establishing schools and seminaries in China, foreign missionary helpmates and single missionary women constructed a pathway that moved ideas, knowledge, money, and people between America and China. In turn, Americans reading about the stark differences existing

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between Chinese and American parents spurred interested persons into action. Some women answered the call for overseas monetary donations while others applied for a foreign post. In any case, American missionaries perpetuated the belief that women could make the singular difference in the life of a "heathen."

The next chapter continues to explore the significance of foreign missionaries in returning to America at the end of their mission assignment. Missionary couples arriving in San Francisco during the 1850s encountered an influx of Chinese immigrants that they hoped would help counteract the isolation and lack of infrastructure that served as the primary obstacle in Christianizing China. Handed a new means of reaching Chinese hearts, missionary husbands built churches while missionary wives organized female associations and institutions that worked in tandem with those already functioning in China. The strengthened connections between the two countries in “saving” and transforming Chinese girls from “heathen to Christian” spawned new relationships and networks that cut across state boundaries and the religious sphere in an attempt to rescue the *mui tsai*. 

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May its power accomplish the Divine purpose for the salvation of our Chinese women, and children gathered within the Mission Home—of the ‘Little China’ planted here on our western shores; and reaching yet farther to embrace the whole of that Greater Empire beyond the sea.

Donaldina Cameron, 1908-1909

The work on behalf of the Chinese in California has consequences far beyond the limits of our state and nation. Particularly does the coast of China feel the result. Many Chinese make a periodical visit to their kinfolk in China and be it said to their credit, they always take their religion with them.

Edward Arthur Wicher, 1927

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There are two leading modes of spreading the tidings of salvation to perishing sinners in distant lands” according to Bishop William Taylor.⁸⁷ First, missionaries could travel to the heathens and establish evangelistic programs or they could bring them the gospel once they reached Christian shores. Foreign missionaries in his estimation faced many overseas barriers, such as the pride and prejudice of the Chinese national culture, their strength in numbers, and the inability to show practical effects of religion in the business and social realm. The increasing numbers of Chinese entering San Francisco led him to conclude that, “California is to-day...the most important missionary field under the sun.”⁸⁸ Dr. Augustus Loomis argued that Americans could no longer be idle for God was “sending to this country many thousands of representatives from the largest empire in the world that they may be Christianized and educated so as themselves be missionaries among their own people when they return.”⁸⁹

Addressing these concerns were missionary couples returning to America at the end of their overseas mission assignment. While missionary husbands’ established churches that propagated the gospel to the Chinese in San Francisco, their wives built on the knowledge of Chinese girls and women by establishing rescue homes and associations. Legitimizing their position, Protestant women proclaimed that the Chinese woman was indeed the “minister of man.” Chinese women needed Christianity to rear children who

⁸⁷ Bishop William Taylor, Seven Years’ Street Preaching in San Francisco, California, (New York: Published for the author by Carlton Porter, 1856), 304, microform.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 332.

⁸⁹ Augustus Ward Loomis, Correspondence and Reports, 1863-1873, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, MFPOS.812; Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (New York: Arno Press), 446; and Reverend Joseph D. Carey, By the Golden Gate: Or, San Francisco, the Queen City of the Pacific Coast, with Scenes and Incidents Characteristic of its Life, (Albany: Albany Diocesan Press, 1902), 165. American missionaries also suffered poor conversion rates, which led them to conclude that the best way to convert the Chinese is to provide access to the scriptures and English lessons that “should be liberally supported with offerings from Americans...”
would reflect noble motherhood—for "great men have had great mothers." Basing the root of their argument on Confucian ideology, missionaries argued that Chinese women were the reason why Chinese men were rooted in the past. Therefore, Chinese women needed Christianity to uplift Chinese men, which could only happen through the work of Protestant women.

This chapter highlights Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian women in their pursuit of extending foreign mission work to those Chinese girls and women arriving in America. In doing so, returning missionary helpmates established domestic networks that transcended religious affiliations and state borders. The result was threefold. First, it provided an enlarged pool of Chinese girls that entered mission homes. Secondly, it ensured that those "rescued" stayed in the mission home, and lastly it opened domestic mission work to women reluctant to leave "friends, and schools, and Christian influences" and "all the nameless ties that bind one to his native land." 

Mui Tsai Entering America

The discovery of gold in California not only encouraged Americans to try their luck in mining but also prompted men and women living in foreign lands to immigrate. As the news of America's riches filtered into China, thousands of Chinese men left their wives and families to cross the Pacific Ocean in the attempt to reach the Gold Mountain.

90 Reverend Joseph D. Carey, By the Golden Gate: Or, San Francisco, the Queen City of the Pacific Coast, with Scenes and Incidents Characteristic of its Life, (Albany: Albany Diocesan Press, 1902), 146. This is similar to the rhetoric of Republican Motherhood.

91 Isabel Hart, Introduction to Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies in America and England, by L.H. Daggett, (Boston: Daggett, 1879), 112. Mrs. I.M. Condit's stories about her work with the Chinese were highly revered throughout the Presbyterian Church. See also Los Angeles Times, 18 May 1903 p. 10.
By leaving their women behind, very few Chinese women lived in California. The skewed gender ratio paved the way for the development of a lucrative importation business that boasted Chinese and American collaborators. The result was a trade in girls and women that would last over eighty years.

The *mui tsai* who entered the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came by various means. Some domestic servants accompanied merchants who needed someone to carry heavy loads of products while others followed merchant wives who were unable to perform household duties due to their bound feet. Some came as status symbols such as Ah Kum who accompanied Chinese-American historian Judy Yung’s great-grandmother Leong Shee to San Francisco. Other *mui tsai* arrived by way of highbinders or go-betweens that lured young girls from their homes or villages with promises of marriage or views of vessels moored in the harbor. For example, Ah Kim’s mother sold her to a man claiming to be a merchant bound for America. The mother assuming that her daughter would have a comfortable life as his wife did not think twice about the transaction. Ah Kim’s fiancé took her to Hong Kong and then transported her to San Francisco where after passing the immigration interrogation, she found out that she was not to be married but to serve a woman who paid $1,530 for her.

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Unfortunately, her new owner was not a kind soul for Ah Kim suffered several beatings and was severely malnourished by the time she reached the Protestant mission home.  

As the importation of Chinese girls became increasingly lucrative and progressively more difficult, highbinders and go-betweens issued first and second-class tickets to the incoming girls and women. Women with third-class tickets or those arriving in steerage faced stricter inspections by immigration officials, which the importers hoped to avoid. According to Lucia Hirata, the Hip Yee Tong known as the “Company of Unity and Righteousness” was the primary importer of women during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Between 1852 and 1873, nearly 6,000 women or 87% of the total women entering San Francisco came by way of the Hip Yee Tong, which translated into a net profit of nearly $200,000 for the organization. The low cost of purchasing a girl in China coupled with quick profits made the importation business extremely attractive to other groups such as the On Leong Society and the Kwong Dak, Suey Sing, Hop Sing, Suey Doon, and On Yick Tongs. In 1871,

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94 “Chinese Slave Women” New York Times, 23 September 1900, p. 26. According to the article, Ah Kim was not her real name.

95 A highbinder according to the 1957 Webster’s New Dictionary of the American Language was a ruffian, gangster, or any gang of criminals from the Chinese section of a city who were believed to hire themselves out as assassins. Webster’s New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition (World Publishing Company, 1957), 685.


97 San Francisco Chronicle, 13 August 1873, p. 3 col. 2 and Otis Gibson, The Chinese in America (New York: Arno Press, 1877), 144. Gibson notes that the Hip Yee Tong began the trafficking of women as early as 1852 and that Choy Poy’s restaurant located on Jackson Street between Dupont and Stockton served as a way station for incoming Chinese women


Colonial Albert S. Evans argued that girls costing approximately $40 in Canton were worth ten times that amount in America. The 1877 *United States Senate Report on Chinese Immigration* noted that a small child sold in San Francisco brought in as much as $1000. By 1891, the Occidental Board reported that girls sold for anywhere between $2,000 and $3,000, which skyrocketed to nearly $5,000 by 1920.

Just as tongs and societies viewed the importation business as a lucrative undertaking, individual Chinese men and women also saw the opportunity to line their pockets with additional incomes. Fung Suey Wan, a notorious female slave dealer made a yearly trip to China in order to smuggle girls back in the country. *The Dallas Morning News* stated that Fung brought hundreds of Chinese girls into America during her career. Leung Kai Ming, reported as the head of San Francisco highbinder society returned from Hong Kong with a girl named Ah Ying who he sold in 1915 for $3,400.

Huff, an official Chinese interpreter at the Chinese Bureau Custom House reported that highbinders worked as hired braves for protection, revenge, assassination, intimidation, blackmail, and stealing Chinese women. The translation of the On Leong Society was the “Chamber of Tranquil Conscientiousness” while the Kwong Dak Tong meant the “Chamber of Far-Reaching Virtue.” The use of these terms made the associations seem benevolent rather than ones engaging in illegal activities. See Thomas W. Chinn, H. Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), 68.

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100 Col. Albert S. Evans, *A la California Sketch of Life in the Golden State* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, 1873), 2. Evans mentions that girls as young as ten worked in brothels however he does not differentiate between them working as prostitutes or as *mui tsai*.


102 “The Need of a New Home and Missionary Headquarters,” *The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Occidental Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the Pacific Coast* (Oakland: Enquirer Printing House, 1891), 32; Lucie Cheng Hirata, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 5, no. 1 (1979): 12; and “Slave Dealers Sell Children,” *San Francisco Call*, 10 November 1902, p. 5. col. 4. According to the article, British officials in Hong Kong stated that there was a revival in the slave trade specifically from the Hoi How Island of Hanian.


Other Chinese highbinders included Charlie Hung who belonged to the Hip Yeng, Chew Lun, and Ping Kuen Tongs where he worked as an interpreter. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association or Big Six referred to him as "kwei chan or one who undertakes to manage dirty work." Similarly, Kwan Ah Him (Charley Ah Him) also worked as a Chinese court interpreter in Los Angeles and had a knack for evading the law in terms of importing women.

The connection with the American judicial system provided Chinese importers an advantage in understanding how to manipulate American laws. The ability to translate testimony in the court system was beneficial for importers in controlling the details of ownership. Kwan Ah Him and Charley Chung could have altered the testimony of the girls in order to ensure their landing as well as to make certain that owners maintained control of their property. Often, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian women lost guardianship cases due to inconsistent testimony. Kum Yung, a mui tsai that worked for a Chinese doctor, broke down under the intense interrogation of the courts while Mae Tao and Low Ah Fah returned to their masters after mission workers failed to secure their freedom in a court of law.

Reports, (1915-1916), 60, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Other Chinese men engaging in the importation business included Wong Fook Sai, Be Chu, Au Geo, and Wong Woon, who were all wealthy gambling house owners.

"Los Angeles Bribes," San Francisco Call, 9 July 1895, p. 4 col. 5. Charlie Hung’s alias was Tom Hung who reportedly lived at 807 1/2 Clay Street. However, Charlie supposedly lived with Dah Pa Tsin, the owner of the Church Alley Den for nearly fifteen years as well. It is possible that Dah Pa Tsin or “Big Auntie” was the same woman who brought May Seen over from China in the coalbunker of the Pacific Steamer.

"Fight for a Slave Girl," San Francisco Call, 9 July 1895, p. 4, col. 5.

Mae Tao owned by Louie Ying, a wealthy man living on Commercial Street, won his case against mission workers. Low Ah Fah, the mui tsai of Tong Duck, a Chinese doctor planned to sell her to brothel on Kum Cook Alley for $2,300. See Donaldina Cameron, “Report of the Rescue Work,” Occidental Board

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Importers also established organizations such as the Chinese Hoodlum Society, which collected a $5 fee from each of its 500 members in order to offset the cost of legal council. The English Procurers Protective Association also raised money to elude or pay off customs officers and to offset the expenses of court costs.\textsuperscript{108} The \textit{San Francisco Post} reported in 1873 that Chinese importers offered a $10 to $20 bribe to white officials and police officers in order to ensure that they would look the other way.\textsuperscript{109} Twenty-five years later, the \textit{San Francisco Call} stated that Chinese importers were willing to pay $800 per girl they landed. Since the average daily salary of a custom inspector was only $4 there was a corruption fund of $16,000 per month or $192,000 dollars per year for those interested in aiding importers. The monetary incentive associated with the importation business encouraged many white officials and police officers to take part in facilitating the trade. Not surprisingly, as the importation of young Chinese girls became increasingly difficult and expensive their selling prices continually increased. This meant that go-betweens, highbinders, and importers no longer simply relied on poor Chinese peasant families to sell their daughters but now resorted to any method available in securing girls who would meet the growing back in San Francisco.


\textsuperscript{108} The president of the Chinese Hoodlum Society was Ah Tuck; acting vice-president was Ah Chung, and Ah Suey held the position of treasurer. See H.J. West, \textit{The Chinese Invasion Book} (San Francisco: Excelsior Office, 1873), 71; and Ira M. Condit, \textit{The Chinaman As We See Him} (1900. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 144.

\textsuperscript{109} "Conduct of the Police," \textit{San Francisco Post}, 12 May 1873. The article stated that the Chinese slave trade was aided by Captain Douglass and a squad of policemen who escorted the girls to Dupont Street off of Jackson. According to another article, Chinese importers were willing to pay Custom Collector Jackson who worked for the Chinese Bureau and managed Ben E. Meredith, $800 per girl that they landed. In fact, the previous inspector Dick Williams under the administration of Mr. Wise was reported to have profited between $50,000 and $60,000 in the traffic of Chinese women. "Increase in the Number of Coolies Landed," \textit{San Francisco Call}, 25 December 1898, p. 10, col. 5;
The girls unfortunate enough to find themselves on a steamer heading for the Gold Mountain were not only ripped away from their homes, loved ones, and country but also found themselves utterly isolated with no one to look after their interests. Compounding the emotional and psychological upheaval was the difficult journey from China to America. After suffering a lengthy voyage in small cabins, highbinders transferred the mui tsai to temporary quarters known as “barracoons.” From there, groups such as the On Leong Tong took the girls to the “Queens Room” on Dupont Street where they dealt with the bargaining and haggling of prices.110

Possible buyers scrutinized recently coiffed girls as potential wives, secondary wives, concubines, entertainers, servants, or prostitutes.111 Highbinders or brothel owners choosing girls divided them into several different groups based on beauty and abilities.112 The girls purchased by brothel owners brought in extensive profits from both their numerous sexual liaisons and resulting pregnancies. As prostitutes gave birth to female offspring, their daughters worked in the brothel as a mui tsai or went to the “Queens Room” on Dupont Street, as sellable or rentable servants. Many girls used in this way


112 Gail Hershatter, Dangerous Pleasure: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 41-50. Hershatter classifies Chinese prostitutes in a highly stratified fashion. Chansan were at the top of prostitution hierarchy. These women performed classical songs and scenes from the opera and specialized in hosting banquets and parties for high-ranking men. Next came ersan and yao er. The yao er did not have as melodic singing voices as the chanson and did not charge as much for sexual services. “Trysting” houses catered to wealthy merchants and clandestine sexual relationships. “Salt Pork” shops were devoted to satisfying male desires rather than socializing. These women often received their callers in “pigeon sheds” or small dwellings only large enough for a bed. The “Pheasant” class similar to streetwalkers spent the majority of their time standing on the edge of streets looking for men. At the bottom of the hierarchy were “flophouses” where men could visit prostitutes and smoke opium at the same time. This type of Chinese brothel was closest to those found in California during the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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brought owners $200 to $500 in profit and in one case, a girl bought by one person was rented to another for $2,970. Not surprisingly, reproduction played a pivotal role in maintaining a replenishing supply of *mui tsai* and future brothel workers. Judy Wu also noted that “brothel owners often purchased young girls from China with the intention of using them first as domestic servants and then as prostitutes when they became older, thus maximizing their investment.”

The money made from selling, renting, or using young girls as *mui tsai* within the brothel system during their tender years not only made financial sense but also provided brothel owners with a steady new supply of prostitutes. Not surprisingly, the missionary crusade after the 1875 Page Law and 1882 Exclusion Act caused higher agitation for those engaging in the importation and brothel business. The Page Law although written in general terms, primarily targeted the Chinese living in America. The basic tenants of the law required that the female in question would need to prove her moral character in front of a panel before gaining entrance into the United States. The modesty of Chinese women coupled with the intense interrogation techniques convinced many legitimate potential Chinese wives to remain in China. Interestingly, this process more often than not granted those of “immoral” character entrance into the country due to superior

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114 Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair Headed Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 12. Possible examples of this system include Mook Line owned by Hung Far. Mr. Hunter brought the thirteen-year old girl to the Chinese Mission home from a brothel on Bartlett Alley in 1880. Twelve-year old Ah Ho was also rescued from a brothel in Bartlett Alley while Ah Yane was brought to the home from a brothel in Kum Cook Alley. See “Register of Inmates,” 1880, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut.
coaching materials and that the importer often claimed the girl as his or her own daughter.

Foreign Missionaries Returning to America

As missionary couples returned to America on sabbaticals or at their missions’ conclusion, they observed thousands of Chinese immigrants or thousands of souls ripe for cultivation. Reverend Brown and his wife returning to America in the 1850s settled in California where they developed a Chinese mission program. Similarly, Reverend Shuck, Henrietta’s husband returned to California with the intention of establishing a Baptist ministry in the port city of San Francisco. However, he disbanded the work in favor of moving to Sacramento City, where he built a chapel and ministered to the Chinese in their own language.

By 1852, the Presbytery of California recognizing the possibilities of Chinese work sent a message to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York requesting funds to build a Chinese mission on the west coast.\(^{115}\) The board awarded Reverend William Speer and his wife Elizabeth, returning Presbyterian missionaries from Canton, a $5,000 loan to help build a Chinese church in San Francisco that could house a small number of Chinese men interested in learning about Christianity.\(^{116}\) Speer raised $8,000 from both Chinese and American donors and an additional $12,000 from other sources to


supplement the board’s loan. His hard work paid off when he held the first service in February of 1853.\(^{117}\)

Returning from China in 1865 was Reverend Ira Condit and his first wife, Laura Carpenter Condit. The couple immediately started a ministry program in the heart of San Francisco’s Chinatown, until Laura’s death a year later. Although Dr. Condit returned to San Francisco to continue ministering to the Chinese, he did not remarry until 1872.

Samantha Davis Knox, Dr. Condit’s second wife, branched out from her new husband by targeting Chinese women whom she felt needed to learn about sanitary improvements as well as westernized domestics.\(^{118}\) Mansie’s (Samantha) hope was to reach “Chinese merchant wives who lived in seclusion,” for she believed that these isolated and helpless women—desperately needed guidance from the enlightened white woman.\(^{119}\) Emma Cable, Condit’s co-worker, also believed that missionaries could affect, reform, and eventually convert Chinese society through their women.\(^{120}\) Mrs. Ngo Wing, one of the first girls to enter the Presbyterian Mission Home worked from that philosophy by

\(^{117}\) Bishop William Taylor, *Seven Years’ Street Preaching in San Francisco, California* (New York: Published for the author by Carlton Porter, 1856), 314, microform. See also Ira M. Condit, *The Chinaman As We See Him*, (1900. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 93. Dr. Speer created a newspaper with Mr. Lee Kan called *The Oriental*, which was paid almost entirely by advertisements. Succeeding Dr. Speer in 1859 was Reverend Augustus Ward Loomis and his wife Mary Ann, former missionaries to Ningpo, who worked amongst the San Francisco Chinese for nearly thirty-two years.


\(^{120}\) Emma Cable later became a teacher in the Presbyterian Chinese Home for Women. See appendix: photo 1.
inviting her Chinese “sisters” into her westernized home as a way to introduce Christianity in a neutral environment.\textsuperscript{121}

The success of reaching women convinced Mrs. Condit who “felt the burden of the Chinese women who were practically slaves of vice,” to create the Pacific Coast Occidental Board on March 25, 1873.\textsuperscript{122} The board commenced with the purpose of giving “aid to the General Society in sending to foreign fields and sustaining female missionaries, Bible readers and teachers, who shall labor among heathen women and children.”\textsuperscript{123} However, the women soon redefined their mission statement to reflect the specific duty of caring for Chinese women and children in California. In doing so, they scrapped their plans to build an orphanage in Shanghai for the building of a home for Chinese women and girls in San Francisco.\textsuperscript{124} Mr. John Arundel of London provided the Occidental Board with their first monetary contribution of $25 towards the Home for Chinese Girls. Building on the small pocket of local interest, the women enlisted 100 members and established six auxiliary societies by the end of their first year in


\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 289.

\textsuperscript{124} Mrs. John Gulick, a returning missionary from China proposed the need for an orphanage in Shanghai and even lectured to a small group of San Francisco women in 1873. Although eight women formed the California Branch of the Philadelphia Women’s Foreign Missionary Society with the intention of sending money to Shanghai, they changed the focus of the organization to the Chinese living in their state of California. See also Lorna E. Logan, \textit{Ventures in Mission: The Cameron House Story}, (Wilson Creek: Crawford Hobby Print Shop, 1976) and Wesley Stephen Woo, “Protestant Work Among the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1920,” (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 1984).
Taking the $516.14, donated by concerned residents, the women searched for a suitable location to establish the mission home. In July 1874, the founders rented 8 ½ Prospect Place for $43. The board installed Miss Sarah M. Cummings as matron instead of sending her as a missionary to China as originally planned. The board also asked Mrs. Tam Ching, who was raised in Dr. Andrew Mapper’s household in China, to work as Cumming’s native helper. Two years later, on October 31, 1876, the board purchased a larger building located at 933 Sacramento Street for $10,000. The facility

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128 Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, (Philadelphia: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 261; Carol Green Wilson, Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of the Donaldina Cameron House, (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1931); and “Register of Inmates,” 1877, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

129 Reverend A. W. Loomis included a blueprint of a Chinese Mission Home in his correspondence and reports, which based on the timeframe and the small size of the facility, may refer to 933 Sacramento Street. The following measurements describe the cramped living conditions—the third floor contained a dining room, a 16 x 15 parlor, a kitchen, pantry, closet, and two sleeping chambers that measured 15 x 12 and 12 x 15. The second floor, presumably the ground level, included a 20 x 7-study room and chapel. In the basement, there was a schoolroom and a 27.6 x 9 library, a 25.6 x 22.6 storeroom, and a Chinese assistant sleeping room. See A.W. Loomis, Correspondence and Reports, 1863-1873 [microform], Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
was replaced with financial help from the Woman’s Board, with a larger building located at 920 Sacramento Street (figure 2).\textsuperscript{130}

![Figure 2. The Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home located at 920 Sacramento Street. Source: The Wave 16, no. 46 (January-December 1897), 9. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [xfIF580.W186 v.16: no. 46: 09]).](image)

The Methodist Episcopal Church joined the domestic mission frenzy in 1868, when Dr. Otis Gibson arrived in San Francisco and began a ministry program targeting Chinese sojourners.\textsuperscript{131} On August 20, 1870, Dr. Gibson and his wife Eliza, met with eleven other women and organized the Women’s Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast. The object of the association was “to elevate and save heathen women, especially those on these


\textsuperscript{131} Ira M. Condit, \textit{The Chinaman As We See Him} (1900. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 101. Reverend F.J. Masters took the superintendent position after the death of Dr. Gibson. Masters brought a through knowledge of China as well as superb language and speaking skills.
shores, and to raise funds for this work." That same year, Gibson helped the female board members secure a lot at 916 Washington Street and hired Fong Suiy as the native assistant for the new mission home. It was not long before the home welcomed Jin Ho, a mui tsai who came to America in 1860. The girl escaped a brothel on Jackson Street in 1871 and entered the Methodist Chinese Mission. She remained under the care of mission workers until she married Mr. Jee Foke a member of the Congregational Church in 1872. Jin Ho was the first Chinese woman to seek refuge in the Methodist Mission as well as the first Chinese woman on the west coast to join a mission church.

According to Wade Crawford Barclay, "this was the only place of refuge of its kind in San Francisco for Chinese women and girls until September 1874, when the Occidental Board of the Presbyterian Church opened a similar home." Interestingly, the Methodist Episcopal home charged a $1 per month tuition fee, unlike the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home, which did not charge tuition. This may be the reason why the number of inmates in the Methodist Episcopal home averaged only twenty-five per month, while the Presbyterian home averaged over thirty.

In 1900, the Women’s Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast secured a new facility at 912 Washington Street that housed the Oriental Board and other various departments.

132 Wesley Stephen Woo, “Protestant Work Among the Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1920” (Ph.D., diss., University of California-Berkeley, 1984), 156. The establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Mission home originated from Reverend Otis Gibson’s concerns in 1868 regarding a refuge for Chinese slaves. The Woman’s Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast, serving as an auxiliary society to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, furnished the third floor of the mission house as a dormitory and rescue home.


134 See Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of the Methodist Missions Part II: The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845-1939* (New York: Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1957), 289.
The building destroyed in San Francisco’s 1906 earthquake required the women to move their offices to rented quarters in Berkeley, California until they could rebuild the mission home. It took the women’s board until 1911 to raise enough revenue to reconstruct the mission home located on the edge of San Francisco’s Chinatown and next to the Methodist Church (figure 3).

![Figure 3. Chinese M.E. [Methodist Episcopal] Buildings. San Francisco, Girls Home and Church, 1906. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [Banc Pic. 1993.033—ALB:40])](image)

Other denominations such as the Congregationalists and Baptists chose to divert their funds into other projects. Reverend Pond of the Congregational Church noted that since Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalians constructed mission homes for rescued Chinese slaves that they would not use their money “for the purpose of competition with

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other denominations" but would instead establish educational missions. The Baptists followed suit in 1880 with J.B. Hartwell opening a mission school located at 740 Washington Street with the intention of teaching English and Christianity to the local Chinese.

The scale of these projects could not have existed without the religious crusade of the 1870s and 1880s, which demanded that one must give himself or herself to God for the salvation of the world. In other words, every person had the right to hear the "good news" while every Americans' duty was to engage in some type of religious instruction. The religious mood of America was captured by Charles G. Finney's revivalist techniques, which built and sustained spiritual intensity by inserting scientific planning techniques in revival meetings. According to George M. Marsden, Finney was one of the "progenitors of modern advertising techniques." Rather than concentrating solely on relaying God's message, Finney analyzed his audience and the "conditions under which people were likely to respond." Dwight L. Moody's revivals in the 1890s reiterated this obligation by encouraging Americans to support the crusade to Christianize the world in any way they could. Moody provided audiences with moving sentimental stories that

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fit with Protestant moralistic visions in taking the message of salvation to non-western civilizations.\textsuperscript{139}

Therefore, the extensive missionary movement became contingent on large-scale financial support, which from 1890 to the late 1920s, was not difficult to obtain. Humanitarianism, nationalism, and imperialism coupled with the national credo of converting the “heathen” as the American way, played a crucial role in sustaining interest and financial support for the mui tsai arriving in the port city of San Francisco.\textsuperscript{140} The Presbyterian Occidental Board that started out with only $500 in 1874 boasted receipts of $24,289.85 in 1883 and $66,501.79 ten years later. By the twenty-fifth anniversary, the board claimed 10,000 members, 378 auxiliary societies, and $159,799.37 in revenue. The yearly addition of 400 women and fifteen new auxiliary societies provided the board the means to send and support thirty-six overseas Presbyterian women from 1883 and 1920.\textsuperscript{141}

Building a Network

The yearly increase in Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian membership, auxiliary societies, and revenue meant female missionary work amongst Chinese girls and women in America was important, interesting, and showing tangible results. However, the large numbers of mui tsai rescues over the years could not have reached the levels of fruition on the efforts of just the San Francisco rescue homes or female mission workers.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 116-117. Social Darwinism also played a large role in mission revivals in terms of perpetuating the belief that the salvation of the world rested in the western sphere.


\textsuperscript{141} Arthur Judson Brown, One Hundred Years: A History of Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936), 129.
The cultivation of relationships with local police officers, judges, humane society members, and Chinese men all made rescue work easier and fruitful. Without developing a web of sympathetic supporters outside the religious sphere, young mui tsai, who escaped from their owners would never reach Protestant mission home doors. A primary example of what was at stake for female missionaries was the loss of Ah Yin. The teenager escaped from Louie Hoy in Santa Barbara and although disguised in western women's apparel was arrested by a constable on a train at Mojave. The unsympathetic officer immediately returned her to Louie Hoy rather than sending her on to the San Francisco mission home. Incidents such as this made networking imperative in continuing to rescue young girls from domestic servitude. Missionary women thus cultivated networks inside and outside the church that would support their endeavors.

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

One of the most influential local organizations aiding mission women was the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC). Although membership changed frequently, the men and women involved in the program worked diligently in rescuing Chinese girls that included mui tsai. SPCC Secretary McComb and Officer Frank

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142 Los Angeles Times, 24 May 1893, p. 7.

143 Los Angeles Times, 25 December 1896, p. 2. See also The Wave 15, no.29, (Jan-Dec 1896), 9. The Wave noted that many Chinese girls sold into slavery ended up in the hands of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC). In turn, the SPCC transferred the girls to either the Methodist or Presbyterian Chinese mission home.

144 Other examples include the 1899 rescue of Yute Tai the mui tsai of Charlie Ah Him by Donaldina Cameron and Mr. Frank Kane for the SPCC; the rescue of a girl in Isleton by Cameron, Mr. Healy of the Humane Society and Mr Symore, a local lawyer; and the 1902 rescue of Ah Tye Leung by Miss Caruthers of the Occidental School and Mr. Frank Kane. See Donaldina Cameron, “A Little Girl Rescued,” Occidental Board Bulletin, 1, no.1 (1 September 1900): 6; Donaldina Cameron, “Report of Rescue Work” Occidental Board Reports, (1902), 38-48; “Records of Inmates, 1901, box 5, folder 10, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California; and “Records of Inmates,” 1899, box 5, folder 10, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford California.
Holbrook rescued Ah Soo who was sold by her mother at the age of seven to a brothel owner. After finding her tied up in a dark room awaiting the news of her impending sale, Ah Soo was taken to the Methodist Chinese Mission Home. Officer Holbrook along with help from Mr. Reese rescued Yuen Leen, a seven-year old mui tsai from 731 Washington Street who reportedly worked day and night sewing for her owners. In another case, Wan Kim, a sixteen-year old girl fled to the San Francisco police station, where SPCC members escorted her to the Methodist Mission under Mrs. Ida Hull’s care.

Mr. Hunter continued the partnership between the SPCC, mission workers, and the police station, by leading numerous rescues. In 1880, he rescued Men Leen and with the help of the Chinese consul returned her to China on the steamer Ho Chung. In another instance, Hunter with the help of Mr. Banning rescued Kum Choie from her owner Quan Kay on their way to the Chinese Theatre. The humane worker also brought Japanese girls to mission homes. In 1890, Hunter accompanied Mitsu Ono, a fifteen-year old girl to the Presbyterian Chinese mission home. The teenager had accompanied an old Buddhist priest who wished to work in the booming San Francisco restaurant business.

The cooperation existing between the SPCC, the police station, and mission homes provided another avenue in rescuing girls that perhaps would have remained in slavery otherwise. By cultivating comradeship, Protestant missionary women expanded their

145 “Child Sold as A Slave,” San Francisco Call, 5 July 1895, p. 7, col. 4.

146 “Register of Inmates,” 1890, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut. Mr. Hunter rescued Kum Ho from 765 Clay Street.


148 “Register of Inmates,” 1889, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut. Mrs. Smith of Portland, Oregon assumed the seven-year old’s support until she married in 1899.
sphere of supporters that made substantial differences in their rescue programs. Capitalizing on the success of white networks, mission workers turned their attention to recruiting the help of Chinese men living in San Francisco’s Chinatown.

Maximizing Chinese Supporters

The recruitment of Chinese men was an integral part of the mission network. These men with their access to San Francisco’s Chinatown provided missionaries with valuable information regarding the girls’ whereabouts and treatment. Ah Chin for example, provided missionaries with information that led to the rescue of Tong Cook (Chun Fah). Based on his report, Mr. Hunter collaborated with Margaret Culbertson and Lewis Loek, a Chinese interpreter, in order to rescue the mui tsai owned by Lui Tsoie. The team found the six-year old in a fourth floor tenement building located at 728 Jackson Street and quickly deposited her in the Presbyterian mission.\(^{149}\) Although Lee Chuck of the firm Leuong Lin Chun tried to remove her from the home by stating that he was a friend of her father Lee Woy, Mr. Hunter’s contacts stated that she was a slave imported into San Francisco two months earlier.

The help of Chinese men like Lewis Loek was not unusual for Christian Chinese men and organizations often aided Protestant women in their work. This assistance often came at a high price for those working against highbinders, tongs, and interested parties. In 1897, San Francisco highbinders issued death warrants for the members of the Chinese Society for English Education who worked against the importation of mui tsai and

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\(^{149}\) "Register of Inmates," 1878, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
prostitutes. Huey Wing assisted his “sisters” by taking part in a rescue operation. Immediately after the rescue Chinese tong members placed a $1,000 price on Huey Wing’s head that eventually resulted in his murder. The highbinders went further threatening more blood shed if Margaret Culbertson and other Chinese ‘helpers’ did not stop stealing their property. In another case, an unnamed Chinese man wrote a letter and enclosed newspaper clippings regarding an impending banquet. He noted that the Chinese girls attending the celebration as “entertainers” might include some of the girls that the mission staff had lost.

Judges and the Courts

After entering mission facilities, rescued mui tsai appeared in courtrooms in order for missionaries to gain the rights of guardianship. This meant that workers needed the cooperation of local law enforcement agencies in order to continue their work. Judge Coffey, sympathetic to mission work, presented guardianship papers to the Presbyterian mission for both Kum Ying a thirteen-year old domestic servant and Chuey Lin (Ping Leen), a nine-year old mui tsai rescued from a merchant on Commercial Street. Woo

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150 “Dying Day of Six Men Is at Hand,” San Francisco Call, 1 August 1897, p. 1 col. 6. See also “The Highbinders Aroused,” San Francisco Call, 3 August 1897, p. 6 col. 2. The list of threatened Chinese men included Congregationalist Dear Woo, one of Chinatown’s prominent merchants. Dear owned a store at 617 Dupont Street; Catholic Lee Hem an insurance agent who not only represented the firm of Lebing and Davies but also served as an interpreter for several prominent law firms in the city; Ong Ling Foon an interpreter in the law office of M.M. Foote; Chin Fong a Presbyterian and member of the Young Men’s Christian Association who owned a store on Commercial Street; Chin Ming, a teacher in the English Educational Society; and Hoo Yee Hin an interpreter for the See Yup Society.

151 Los Angeles Times, 10 June 1892, p. 4.

152 “Letter to Donaldina Cameron,” Records of Immigration Supplement to Part A, reel 15, no. 927, microfilm. See also “Register of Inmates,” 1889, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.


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Ling Oie; a thirteen-year old domestic slave taken from the household of a gambler suffered a long judicial process before a Los Angeles Juvenile Court Judge declared her a dependent child of the mission home.  

The Portland Chinese Mission Home

As San Francisco judges, court officials, SPCC workers, and Chinese men worked alongside Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian mission women in rescuing mui tsai, mission workers turned their attention outside the city limits in rescuing Chinese girls. Reverend William Sylvester Holt and his wife, Frances Pratt Holt, after returning from their China assignment began a Chinese mission in Washington and Oregon. Taking cues from returning helpmates in San Francisco, Frances hosted a meeting of interested women with the intention of establishing an organization for Chinese girls. The result was the Chinese Women and Girls Home Society, which collected donations from local white and Chinese residents in order to open the Chinese Woman's Home in 1889.

Mrs. Holt worked as the homes matron for one year before resigning and appointing Miss Ford as her replacement. In her monthly report, Ford noted that the girls wanted to earn money but since the board refused to allow them to leave the house without written permission, they took in sewing instead. When the young girls sold their work, whether it was sewing or pictures that they had drawn or painted, they always gave 1/10 or forty cents of the proceeds to the home. The contribution helped offset their living expenses.

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and provided funds for travel and incidentals incurred by mission workers rescuing girls in other cities or out of state.

Although the Portland home never gained the same notoriety as the San Francisco mission homes, it continued to function as a rescue facility until its closure in 1906. Its closure may have stemmed from the women’s board funneling money back into San Francisco after the devastating earthquake or from its relatively low rescue rates. In any case, local residents stood behind the home, which was evident in the remark that “if nothing had been done here, except to save one girl, it is worth all the mission has cost.” These words uttered by a prominent businessman convinced Mrs. Frances Pratt Holt to remain steadfast in aiding Chinese girls by continuing to conduct rescues and sending them to the San Francisco Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home.¹⁵⁷

Capturing the success of mission networks that spanned across land and sea was the leaflet circulated by Lucia C. Bell entitled *Ah Ho’s Gold Chair: The Life Story of the Bible Woman of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in Portland, Oregon.* In the leaflet, Bell highlights the story of Ah Ho. The young girl’s account began in China as one of True Light Seminary’s earliest residents. Ah Ho entered the Canton seminary for an education where she remained until she returned to her natal family’s home for a short visit. While there, bandits kidnapped her during a robbery and tried to auction her off. Fortunately, Miss Shaw (Mrs. Happer) recognized her and brought her back to the seminary where she stayed until she was eight. That same year, a go-between convinced


Ah Ho to leave the school under her care. Not only did the go-between imprison her until she was fourteen but sold her to a highbinder destined for California.

Once in San Francisco, Mrs. Ira M. Condit rescued Ah Ho and placed her in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home. Yet Ah Ho’s story did not end here, for another go-between lured her away from the mission and sold her to highbinder in Portland, Oregon. It was there that Ah Ho escaped for the final time and devoted her life to Mrs. Holt, the matron of the Portland, Oregon Chinese Mission Home.159 While working alongside Mrs. Holt in rescuing other mui tsai, she met a young Christian Chinese man who she married.160 As Mrs. Dong Fai, she continued to involve herself in the Portland mission home by working as a native helper. After the resignation of Mrs. Holt and Miss Ford, the Portland Board offered her the interim matron position until San Franciscan Mrs. Ira Condit’s recommended Mrs. Martin arrived. During her time as interim matron, Mrs. Dong Fai was paid $25 a month although the board offered the permanent replacement $40 per month. Mrs. Martin was provided an additional $10 to pay for a native helper. The board in turn offered Ah Ho $15 dollars per month if she stayed as the permanent native assistant or $10 if she only visited the home twice a month.161 The discrepancy in salaries reveals that although Mrs. Dong Fai, a respected “Auntie” deserved $5 more per month if she remained as the native helper, she did not garner the same respect in terms


161 “Home for Chinese Women in Portland,” 10 July 1891, box 3, folder 6, Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Records 1866-1958, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Dong Fai (Ah Ho) decided to visit the home twice a month since the Hong Company made it difficult for her to travel at night.
of being matron. By offering her $15 dollars less than Mrs. Martin, mission workers demonstrated their ethnocentric views regarding the superiority of white workers over their native “sisters” in running mission operations.

Mrs. Dong Fai’s story illustrates the multi-purpose of circulating mission literature. First, *Ah Ho’s Gold Chair* sold for five cents or $3.50 for 100 copies, which not only helped the missionary cause by raising funds but also served the cause in additional ways. Ah Ho served as material representation regarding the transformation of “heathen to Christian” and secondly the leaflet underscored the value in cultivating a network in China and America that refused to allow any children to fall through the cracks. In doing so, female mission workers encouraged the participation of men and women inside and outside the religious circle, who could facilitate the expansion of their efforts in rescuing Chinese girls while making sure that those rescued remained in the home.

As the next chapter points out, “saved” *mui tsai* and their accounts provided mission workers with material evidence regarding their work amongst Chinese girls. By packaging them as representations of “heathen to Christian” Americans could visually partake of the changes happening on their land as well as what was happening overseas. In doing so, missionaries continued to add to their membership, funded single female missionaries traveling to China, and cultivated pockets of funding that would ensure their ability to expand their work.
CHAPTER 4

“FROM HEATHEN TO CHRISTIAN”
PROMOTING THE MUI TSAI

The women of our missionary organization specialized upon what was the most glaring and flagrant phase of slavery in California, the traffic in Oriental women, particularly Chinese girls and children.

Donaldina Cameron, 1909-1910

All enquiring persons...naturally wonder and question what does the Occidental Board do with its yearly harvest of waifs gathered among an alien and heathen people? What does the Home teach these children, and what finally becomes of them? Our first care is to educate and train them along the simplest lines of Christian faith and duty.

Donaldina Cameron, 1908-1909

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The establishment of missionary associations and institutions in America required substantial funding and human resources in order to carry out mission projects aimed at Christianizing China. As rescued mui tsai settled in mission homes, they found themselves at the center of a promotional whirlwind. From serving as material representations of mission work to the inclusion of their stories and experiences in religious and secular literature, the mui tsai symbolized the necessity of Chinese mission work.

However, why did missionaries focus on the mui tsai as the primary representation of rescue homes and mission work? Both the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopalian missions could have used other rescued children since the homes opened their doors to non-Chinese inmates. For instance, Japanese girls were frequent inmates in both rescue facilities but did not receive the same media treatment as the mui tsai. The Los Angeles Times and the New York Times combined only published twelve stories on Japanese “slave girls” from 1896 to 1930. The discrepancy in coverage may have stemmed from the favorable American sentiment towards the Japanese whom they believed did not bring their “idols” with them.164

*Woman's Work for Woman* in 1902 noted that there were five Japanese girls living in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission home, including Yorki, Roe, Asa, and Waka Asaba. Fifteen-year old Asa, was rescued before Japanese men sold her in Victoria. The young girl stayed in the home for three years until she married. Hannah (Waka Asaba) after entering the home in 1902 was baptized in the church and worked as the Japanese

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interpreter helping Reverend Sakabi teach English to the Japanese girls until she married in 1905.\textsuperscript{165} Three years later, the Presbyterian Chinese Mission boasted rescues of twenty-one Japanese girls, two of which were domestic slaves.\textsuperscript{166} It is possible that the small number of Japanese girls entering the rescue home convinced mission workers that the \textit{mui tsai} would better serve their needs in promoting mission work to the American public.

Using this rationalization, the use of the \textit{mui tsai} as a publicity method was a logical choice for mission workers. In terms of sheer numbers, there were more Chinese domestic servants to “save,” which translated into a larger pool of future native missionaries. Additionally, American women would be more apt to identify with the plight of small children rather than twenty-year old prostitutes. Mission workers also found it difficult keeping prostitutes in the home since they were used to a degree of freedom and in some cases enjoyed making money. By rescuing small children and securing guardianship over them, mission workers had years to teach the fundamentals of Christianity and western domestics that often ended in the transformation of “heathen to Christian.” Many of the home girls continued the tradition of mission work after they reached the age of eighteen by marrying Christian Chinese men, joining the domestic mission system, or returning to China to minister amongst their own people.

\textsuperscript{165} “From San Francisco,” \textit{Woman’s Work for Woman} 17, no. 8 (August 1902): 246; Donaldina Cameron, “Report of Rescue Work,” \textit{Occidental Board Reports}, (1902), 38-48; and Donaldina Cameron, “Report of the Superintendent,” \textit{Occidental Board Reports} (1904), 57; and Mrs. E.A. Sturge, “Report of the Superintendent,” \textit{Occidental Board Reports}, (1905), 57. In 1903, Mr. Frank Kane of the SPCC rescued Torra and Lorri, two Japanese girls, from a brothel located on Pine Street. Fugi and Acki arrived the same year however, they were extremely ill. During 1905, Wilimina D. Wheeler worked as the interim superintendent.

\textsuperscript{166} “From San Francisco,” \textit{Woman’s Work for Woman} 23, no. 12 (December 1908): 290.
Therefore, this chapter explores the use of the *muī tsai* as a promotional method through two different lenses. First, to review how mission workers used the young *muī tsai* living in the home, as attractions for exhibitions, fundraisers, plays, and lectures as well as how the popularity of this medium culminated with the opening of rescue homes for public inspection. Secondly, to investigate how mission workers used the girls over the age of eighteen as material representation of missionary work. The primary objectives of rescue homes for older girls included taking part in Christian marriages, working in the domestic mission, or returning to China to help in the foreign mission project. In either case, both groups of Chinese girls served as material representation of transforming *muī tsai* from “heathen to Christian,” which continued to convince Americans to donate their time and hard earned dollars to the work amongst the Chinese in America and China.

Promoting the *Mui Tsai* in Mission Homes

While older *muī tsai* fulfilled mission workers goals by marrying, joining the domestic system, or returning to China to continue mission work, younger domestic servants remaining in rescue homes served as material evidence for continuing rescue work. Individuals around the globe taking interest in the plight of the *muī tsai* could now visit the facility and meet girls such as Ah Yoke a rescued *muī tsai* left in a Marysville vegetable garden or Yute Wah, Ah Leen, Suey Leen, Jung Sun, Yute Tai, Ug Kum, and Chow Mui who were all under the age of fourteen.¹⁶⁷ Mission homes issued personal

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¹⁶⁷ Donaldina Cameron, “Report of the Mission Home,” *Occidental Board Reports*, (1913-1914), 67, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Chow Mui served as a nursemaid to Lowe Chun’s baby boy. Lai Seen and Yuen Kum were rescued from Chin Yuey of Oakland; Ling Oie served Lum Bing, a rich gambler who sold her at age fourteen; Suey N’gun was a five-year old *muī tsai*; and Dong Leung, spent ten
invitations to special events and opened their doors to visitors and tourists interested in seeing the fruits of their donations and support through the years. Working in tandem with rescued Chinese girls taking part in the domestic and foreign mission project, San Francisco rescues home served as the locus of success stories and monetary donations.

Financial contributions collected from the public were imperative since the Woman’s Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast only provided $1500 to $1800 per year for work amongst Chinese women. This small budgetary allowance only covered half the expenses of rescue work, requiring mission workers to solicit funds in unique ways. In turn, the rescued mui tsai served as an effective promotional tool that packaged girls as souls transformed from “heathen to Christian.” Visitors encouraged to witness these miraculous changes attended fundraisers, exhibitions, special events, and lecture series. Missionaries believed that if guests saw the power of God working in individual Chinese girls’ lives that they would feel compelled to either join the mission movement or financially support the cause.

Fundraisers and Exhibitions

The use of rescued mui tsai as entertainment in fundraisers, lecture series, and exhibitions provided Americans additional opportunities to see the girls that they read

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168 Isabel Hart, Introduction to Historical Sketches of Woman’s Missionary Societies in America and England, by L.H. Daggett, (Boston: Daggett, 1879), 113-114. Salaries for domestic mission workers ranged from $600 to $900 per year. Donaldina Cameron and Ethel Higgins were paid $600 per year; Grace Hoover received $720 per year while Miss Crowder garnered a yearly salary of $900. See “Data on Work Among Orientals in the United States,” 1921, box 2, folder 67, Woman’s Board of Home Missions Papers, 1866-1958, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
about in the plethora of religious and secular literature circulating throughout the nation. Additionally, as interested individuals descended on San Francisco, the mission home and its girls became a must-see sight. Watching Chinese girls singsongs, recite biblical scripture, or give testimonials encouraged visitors to donate their time and money to the cause for the girls were “indeed an object lesson of what Christ has wrought.”

The Occidental Board celebrating their twenty-sixth annual meeting in 1899, capitalized on that belief by using thirty or forty Orientals as entertainment. The use was not unusual for “the girls were frequently asked to attend missionary meetings to help in the programs with their songs and verses.” The Los Angeles Times reported that Suey Seen a vocalist, who lived in one of the Chinese homes, would “be one of the attractions at the missionary meeting in the First Presbyterian Church in order to raise funds.” Following her heartfelt performance, the Ladies’ Missionary Society of Los Angeles Presbytery held a session at the Immanuel Church for three consecutive days in hopes of obtaining more contributions for the San Francisco Mission. The Methodist Episcopalians followed a similar pattern by inviting their church members and all interested persons to attend a Chinese mission service, which displayed Chinese girls singing as ‘little sheaves’ for an entrance fee of ten cents (figure 4).

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170 Ibid., 8.

171 Los Angeles Times, 18 May 1903, p. 10.

172 Los Angeles Times, 14 March 1892, p. 4 and 12 January 1893, p. 4. Both articles spoke of how mission women held meetings in order to gain financial support for their work among the Chinese slaves.

173 Edwar Lee Papers, Programs and Articles—Chinese Mission School, Ninth Anniversary (San Francisco: M.E. Church, 1879). See Library of Congress, American Memory for further examples of papers and programs relating to the use of Chinese children as entertainment.
The success of Methodist Episcopalians in using their home girls as entertainment encouraged Presbyterian women to use their rescued girls in mission activities. At the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the North Pacific Board, Chinese children adorned in native costume and trained by Mrs. Holt provided a practical demonstration of “New China.” Mrs. Poy, rescued when a little girl and taught in the Portland mission home, read a short article “thanking the board for what it had done for them, and her little daughter Frances Holt Poy, a deaf-mute.”

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Mary Franke Browne (Mrs. P.D. Browne) recounted the performances of Chinese girls and their effect on listeners in the 50th Anniversary of the Chinese Missions. As Browne reflected on the events, she remarked, “to see and hear those recently come out of heathenism speaking and singing in the language of the Canaan, and in a matter that left no shadow of a doubt of its genuineness was certainly unique.” For that reason, she urged Americans to reach into their pockets and provide the mission with funds to continue their great work.175

Americans also purchased pictures, blankets, and other fancy items made by the Chinese girls living in the home. As historian, Elizabeth Nelson pointed out, “making fancywork to sell at charity fairs was a form of benevolent production, and buying fancywork for the right reasons was virtuous consumption.”176 This meant that although American visitors may not have needed a Chinese silk blanket or a picture drawn by Chinese girls, by purchasing these items, they in turn supported a worthy cause. In 1890, the Tong Oke Light House Band under the supervision of Miss Mindora Berry and Miss Reynolds, “prepared fancy articles for a Christmas bazaar, and realized the sum of $70, as the result of their labor, the proceeds to be devoted to Christian work.”177 A year later, the girls added $67.46 to the proceeds from the 1890 Christmas bazaar.178 The girls raised the funds “by practicing petty economies, doing much under-paid sewing for


178 H.S. Tabor, “Annual Meeting of the Occidental Board,” Woman’s Work for Woman (May 1891), 140-141.
Chinese merchants, and by a distinctively Chinese entertainment given by them." The mission band donated the entire sum of $137.46 to outfitting Dr. Effie Worley’s medical mission to Suzhou, China. The girls living in the Presbyterian Mission Home contributed an additional five cents of their earnings to support a Bible reader in China. The girls earned the money from 1885 to 1902, by sewing buttonholes at twelve and a half cents per dozen pairs and by taking orders for handmade Oriental style rugs.

Figure 5: The Sixteenth International Convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor, at San Francisco. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley [MTP/HW: vol. 41:752]).

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During the Sixteenth International Convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor, the Occidental Board highlighted San Franciscan Chinese girls and their handiwork in hopes of garnering further financial support (figure 5). Decorating the booth with Chinese lanterns and dragons and staffing it with four Chinese girls dressed in traditional attire, potential buyers not only took a piece of the Occidental Board home with them but also made a personal connection with the girls who made the special item.

In November 1915, the girls provided the entertainment and exhibits for the Exposition held in the Presbyterian headquarters in an attempt to raise revenue to pay the yearly departmental expenses. Guests were welcomed to attend the entertainment after purchasing homemade Chinese products. Mrs. E.E. Williams and Mr. McKean, both from the St. Johns Church, along with several inmates provided a Chinese rendition of “Mrs. Jarley’s Wax Works” by using the girls as wax figures. The event was such an economic success that the Presbyterian board went to work planning a similar entertainment for the following year.\(^\text{181}\) The value in having Chinese girls paint pictures or sew fancy Chinese silk items for visitor consumption meant that guests had the opportunity to take a piece of the Chinese mission back home where they could show their friends and congregational members how the Chinese girls worked to support religious ventures both domestically and internationally.

**Plays and Lectures**

Building on the success of hosting fundraisers and exhibitions were plays and missionary lectures. The goal of these public displays was to raise awareness of Chinese children being used as domestic servants as well as to encourage donations. Rescued *mui*...
tsai traveled from church to church acting out the play *A New Life for Ling Wang* by Bertha M. Stephenson, which centered on the “evil” *mui tsai* system and the “pure” motives of missionary women. Congregations watching rescued girls acting out their accounts not only demonstrated the important work of female missionaries but also highlighted their inevitable transformation from “heathen to Christian.”

Americans interested in local theatre could also learn about the *mui tsai*, highbinders, and the work of missionaries. Mr. Charles Ulrich, a former San Francisco police news reporter sponsored the 1897 play *The Celestial Maiden* at the Burbank Theatre. The crux of the play centered on the theme of importation through the story of Kim Soy and Ah Mee. Outside theatre doors were informational leaflets on Chinese customs and the issue of Chinese slavery as practiced in San Francisco. The Oakland Theatre, on the other hand, hosted Chester Bailey Fernald’s production, *The Cat and the Cherub*, which placed the subject of highbinder activity in an entertaining way.

While plays, fundraisers, and exhibitions underscored the success of transforming rescued *mui tsai* into active Christians, lectures tended to focus on the somber aspects of mission work. For fifty cents to one dollar in 1913, Americans could listen to missionaries speak about the difficulties surrounding rescues and the dreadful physical condition of the girls. For instance, Margaret Culbertson highlighted a six-year old child’s “delicate form scarred and blackened by daily beatings of the woman who made her a slave.” The matron went on to discuss Chun Loie who sported two large gashes across her head made by her mistress’s hatchet and Yute Ho’s hands crippled from daily

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beatings. The emotional impact of listening to accounts of small children being pinched, kicked, beaten with wooden rods, or having hot candle wax dripped on their extremities forced listeners to compare the Chinese treatment of children with western beliefs. Margaret Culbertson ended her lecture stating that children were children no matter what their race or ethnicity. She was convinced of this fact when she found one of the newly rescued children in her bedroom “quietly sleeping on her pillow, her hand tightly clasping a bit of candy, that sweet comforter of childhood’s sorrows.”

Addressing Cincinnati audiences, Mrs. S.L. Baldwin presented material on the foreign missionary project in China by highlighting the deplorable “condition of a people embracing so large a portion of the earth’s population.” The lecturer realized that it was a fact, “however lamentable, that as deep as our interest may be in a good cause, it will flag, and sometimes die out, unless something is done to keep the fire of enthusiasm in a glow.” Therefore, lectures and public appearances by returning missionaries stationed in China as well as domestic mission workers became paramount in maintaining the enthusiasm for Christianizing the Chinese. This interest encouraged listeners to take an active role in mission programming by raising funds, investing their time, and by traveling across the nation to view the work happening amongst the Chinese in San Francisco.

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185 Mrs. S.L. Baldwin in Cincinnati” *The Heathen Woman’s Friend* (November 1872): 367.

186 Ibid., 367.
Visitors and Tourists

According to Ivan Light, “by the 1890s, middle-class whites had begun to tour Chinatowns in order to get a first hand glimpse of the filth and depravity they expected to find.” As sensation hungry tourists descended on San Francisco, Protestant board members recognized a unique opportunity in portraying rescued Chinese girls to the public. Since the girls themselves projected the need for the Chinese missionary project, mission workers opened the home for daily inspection. This interest originally stemmed from interested bystanders who sat in courtrooms and listened to girls’ testimony regarding their treatment. Carol Wilson Green noted that Yute Ying’s court case aroused curiosity encouraging San Franciscans to “visit the Home and see for themselves the tangible evidence of this rescue work.” Those who inspected the labor of the Occidental Board over the years could “hardly doubt the efficiency with which the work was conducted, the great need it supplied and the large results accrued from the small expenditure of time, strength and money.”

The board welcoming guests day and night meant that the girls living in the home were ready to entertain no matter what they were doing or how they felt. Although some visitors may have expected to see rescued girls, embracing western attire and hairstyles in the same passionate way they accepted Christianity, the only visible western changes

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188 Carol Wilson Green, Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of Donaldina Cameron House (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1931), 31. Yute Ying’s daughter became a practicing nurse in one of San Francisco’s hospitals.

they would find was the "banging" of their hair. Interestingly, the girls wanted to adopt American apparel but Donaldina Cameron kept the "girls in native costume, deploring their preference for leather shoes over their own gay embroidered silk ones" and regretfully indulged "them in a change from their own style of hairdressing to ours."  There are several reasons why the superintendent would not have wished the girls to change their appearance. First, it is likely that keeping the girls as "Chinese" as possible ensured the "visitor experience" that translated into monetary donations and increased visibility. Secondly, if Chinese girls completely embraced American cultural practices while still living in the home, the domestic mission project in a sense was over.

Whatever the reasoning behind the home in keeping the girls in their traditional attire did not concern visitors in their many trips to San Francisco mission homes. Mary H. Field in her "Report of the Home" noted in 1899 that tour guides brought sightseers singly and by the dozen to view the facility and to hear the tales of inmates. Field went further to add that the girls put on exhibitions like "little performing ponies" so that the visitors would "drop money in the contribution box." In fact, visitors found the opportunity so exciting that from April 1901 to April 1902, over 1,000 tourists from the United States, Canada, and Europe, descended on the home in order to see the Chinese

190 Bertha H. Smith, "They Call Her the White Devil," American Magazine 79 (April 1915): 60-61. See also Peggy Pascoe, Relations of Rescue: The Search for Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 117-118. Pascoe notes that the mission matrons and workers hedged on assimilation by requiring the girls to take Chinese language lessons, to eat Chinese food, and to retain the Chinese style of dress.

191 The Occident, (February 1899), 18. In February 1899, guides brought Eastern tourists to the missions.

girls perform. Some lucky guests sipped tea and relaxed while Chinese girls entertained them with songs and recitations while others attended one of the twelve formal and informal receptions held during the year.

Donaldina Cameron convinced by the positive effects of allowing visitors to inspect the mission home addressed a large audience attending a monthly Occidental Board meeting. The superintendent stated that “as the building is open for inspection every day, and any hour of the day, and the children prepared to sing their little songs for visitors at all times, we feel that the girls training as housekeepers proves its efficiency.” Frances Thompson expounded on the drawbacks of opening the home to visitors by stating that “often the girls are called from the midst of their work to sing for a party of tourists who are limited in time, so the girls are called and with good grace they bear the interruption and do their best although they would like to do their work without ‘breaks’ just as much as older people.” Based on the girls daily routine this meant that visitors interrupted school lessons, meals, prayers, and even sleep. Therefore, in obtaining freedom from “adoptive parents,” the mui tsai traded one restrictive life for another. In an interview, Presbyterian matron, Lorna Logan attributed the large numbers of runaways to not only the mui tsais’ undisciplined behavior but also their inability to tolerate the strict living

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193 Frances P. Thompson, “Matron’s Report from April 1901 to April 1902, Occidental Board Reports, (1902), 49-50.


196 Ibid.

197 Missionaries rarely took into consideration that the girls had little or no education. Many girls did poorly in schoolwork adding to their frustration with the mission system. Laura Bethell, “Guardian at the Gate” Sunset 33 (August 1914): 351.
conditions imposed on them at the home (figure 6).\textsuperscript{198} The dissatisfaction more than likely also stemmed from their frustration in completing schoolwork and their continual use as material evidence for mission work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>Day begins—two girls prepare food for thirty girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:15</td>
<td>All girls are up and begin to ready for the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>Prayers and air out beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td>Breakfast after prayers—meal consists of rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>House work begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30</td>
<td>School begins. All attend except the two kitchen girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12:00</td>
<td>Mr. Nam Art teaches Chinese on Tuesdays and Thursdays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Noon meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3:00</td>
<td>Four days a week, home matron teaches sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>School ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4:00</td>
<td>Clean house, wash clothes, and complete other duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5:00</td>
<td>Dinner hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-7:30</td>
<td>Prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-?</td>
<td>Sing, play, recite for visitors, or attend church meetings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. The Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home daily schedule. Source: Frances Thompson, "A Glimpse of Life at 920," \textit{Occidental Board Bulletin} 2, no. 3 (1 November 1901), 15.

However, tourists visiting the home never knew about the dissatisfaction with the home for they only saw the fruits of missionary labor in the Chinese girls that entertained them so prettily. The curiosity and interest of the public was evident in the number of visitors attending the local medical and nursing convention. The 300 plus attendees descended on the Presbyterian Mission Home in order to visit with the rescued girls that they had only read about in journals and newspapers.\textsuperscript{199}

\textsuperscript{198} Laurene Wu McClain, “Donaldina Cameron: A Reappraisal,” reprint 1983, \textit{History and Perspectives} (2001): 81. Mrs. C.P. Colegrove’s \textit{Among the Chinese} spends several pages discussing the daily and weekly routines of girls living in the homes.

\textsuperscript{199} “From San Francisco,” \textit{Woman’s Work for Woman} 23, no. 8 (August 1908): 195.
The home also hosted mission luncheons as another unique way of garnering public support for the mission home and other projects. Chinese girls adorned in Oriental costumes served invited guests' a tasty meal and then treated them to performances consisting of biblical recitations. After the conclusion of the Chinese entertainment, home residents and workers encouraged visitors to visit their "literature room" where they could sift through Occidental Board publications and journals. This was an astute move on the part of mission workers for it served as excellent opportunity to secure new life members, subscribers, or future patrons, which all translated into dollars.

The promotional use of luncheons, special events, and expositions encouraged financial contributions, which helped the Presbyterian board collect enough funds to rebuild the mission home after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, which re-opened its doors in 1908. The dedication ceremony held in Culbertson Hall, provided visitors the opportunity to inspect the new facilities. Those who came "rejoiced over the airy, comfortable dormitories, fine sanitary arrangements and the good planning which keeps Japanese girls, older Chinese girls, and tiny tots wholly separated." A year later, forty visitors from the First Church of Berkeley arrived to listen to the Chinese girls recite the Bible. Miss Kersell, one of the resident teachers called on each girl to recite a biblical


201 "From San Francisco," *Woman's Work for Woman* 23, no. 8 (August 1908): 196. Hanging over the door to the 'literature room' was a plaque honoring Dr. W.C. Chichester and his wife who sent a memorial gift of one hundred dollars to furnish the room.

202 "Annual Meeting of Occidental Board," *Woman's Work for Woman* 23, no. 7 (July 1908): 168. Chinese friends of the home provided bronzes, brass ornaments, embroideries, and carvings. Other groups such as the women of Chico, California provided comfortable chairs.
passage in response to the request of visitors, "each of whom wished for a personal
text."\textsuperscript{203}

The Methodist Episcopal rescue mission followed the same pattern with over 800
visitors registered in the home's guest book.\textsuperscript{204} According to Ellen Keeler, author of the
_Balance Wheel_, visitors arrived from "every state in the union as well as from Canada,
Honolulu, Japan, China, England, and New Zealand. Some were very curious. Others
were surprised that Chinese women or children could learn English. All were
enthusiastic over the Home, its fine equipment and wonderful work."\textsuperscript{205}

The decision to visit Presbyterian or Methodist Episcopalian facilities did not matter,
for both homes shared a common goal; stimulating interest in the _mui tsai_ and the
domestic and overseas mission project. Mission workers hoped that public interest would
translate into monetary donations for once a person listened to the young girls accounts,
there was no doubt regarding the gravity of women engaging in rescue work. The use of
the home as the site of promotion encouraged Americans to travel across the globe in
order to see the girls that graced the pages of printed media. By coupling visitations with
memberships, sponsorships, festivals, and lecture series, mission boards' reaped rewards
that helped propel their organizations from small female led associations to extensive
industries that used the _mui tsai_ and their experiences as the ultimate promotional tool.

\textsuperscript{203} "From San Francisco," _Woman's Work for Woman_ 25, no. 11 (November 1909): 264.

\textsuperscript{204} Ellen Coughlin Keeler, _The Balance Wheel: A Condensed History of the Woman's Missionary
Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880-1920_ (New York: Woman's Home Missionary Society of
the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1920), 109.

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid., 109.
Fulfilling Mission Home Objectives
The Mui Tsai over Eighteen

Over the years, mission workers nurtured their young charges in the hopes that after leaving the home they would continue helping in mission work. The laws of guardianship dissolved the "familial" responsibility of the matron or mission board after the girls reached eighteen years of age. This meant, for missionaries, that rescued girls, who served as a material representation of mission work while living in the home, would now make important decisions regarding their future. Whether the former mui tsai decided to marry a Chinese Christian man, stayed and helped in the domestic mission system, or returned to China to minister amongst their own, mission workers recognized that they would retain residual benefits no matter what choice the girl made. The three mission home objectives reduced the girls once again to a material representation of successful mission work amongst the Chinese.

The Fruitfulness of Weddings

The celebration of weddings was a time of rejoicing for witnessing nuptials provided guests a visual record of the transformation from "heathen to Christian" and "were important because they scattered the good seed they carried with them from the home."206 According to Dr. Otis Gibson, the mission home retained legal guardianship, kept the mui tsai under a watchful eye, and chose their husband when they were ready to marry.207 To encourage proper matches the missionaries collected a modest sum from each suitor on


207 American Missionary, 38 no. 10 (October 1884): 311.
acceptance of the marriage proposal. Marguerita Lake of the Methodist Chinese Mission Home stated that, “the prospective husband pays the home a sum representing a year’s board for the woman he selects as his wife. It amounts to about $60.” Presbyterian Margaret Culbertson remarked in a *San Francisco Call* article that, “a Chinaman who marries a girl in the mission is expected to pay a year’s board for her, which amounts to about $75.”

In some cases, prospective husbands paid less or more than the mission required, reflecting that missionaries were flexible in accepting what the prospective mate could afford. Ah Ngo’s betrothed paid $40 for her board and provided the home with a box of tea and two jars of ginger. In another case, Ah Ho (Sin Choy) and Tai You’s fiancés only paid $10 dollars for their board, whereas Chung Ah Wing, Ah Fook He’s betrothed paid $20 after the couple married. The mission home in Portland followed a similar pattern for Ah Gum’s fiancé paid $50 for “her rice” while Ah Ngao’s betrothed provided the home with $75.

Although the practice of presenting a dowry was part of traditional Chinese society, what made it unique in the mission home was that the facility in a sense became a

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210 “Brides For a Small Dower,” *San Francisco Call*, 28 March 1897, p. 11 col. 3.


marriage broker house with missionary women functioning as western go-betweens. The fact that money traded hands in the mission coupled with rescued girls’ lack of choice in potential mates facilitated the marriage-mart belief. Chinese men who accepted Christianity, unable to return to China, or lacking substantial monetary funds found the mission home an excellent place to find a wife. Even though they had to wait a year to marry and “present the very best credentials” to mission staff before they were “ever permitted to call upon or to write to the young lady of their choice,” the men winning mission home girls found that their arranged marriages “with so little apparent romance almost prove to be happy.” For instance, Ping Leen Louie married Mr. Charles Lang, a merchant in Portland, after exchanging only a few letters. Since Lang was a member of the Portland Chinese Presbyterian Mission and had personal recommendations from Dr. and Mrs. Holt, the couple quickly married in San Francisco under the watchful Occidental board.

Surprisingly, Chinese men in the market for a bride were not deterred by the home’s stringent requirements, lack of romantic involvement, or the fact that their wedding was a public event. As couples married, they took part in Christian ceremonies officiated by Dr. Ira Condit, Dr. Otis Gibson, and Dr. Augustus Loomis. For instance, Dr. Gibson married Ah Yoke a former mui tsai to Chew Chong in front of a large audience at the

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214 In 1879, five Chinese girls married including Sing Chow to Ah Gim Wah of Sacramento City. In 1881, three couples married. In 1883, Ti Hee married Chen Ny Ark and Ah Mooie married Ng Hon Kim. Ah Yute and Ah Chee married in 1885. In 1886, Ah N’gun married Ah Ong of Los Angeles. In 1891, Qui Ho married Leung Ah Loy, in 1897, Kum Ho married Fong Chew, in 1899, Kum Yoke married Long Wing from San Diego and in 1900, Yuen Leen married a Chinese man from Kansas City. Many of these weddings were officiated by Dr. Ira M. Condit and Dr. Loomis. See “Register of Inmates,” 1878, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Chinese Presbyterian Church. Twelve years later, Dr. Condit married twenty-year old Chun Fah who served as the Presbyterian Chinese interpreter to Ng Poon Chew a respected newspaper editor and minister. The wedding originally scheduled to take place in their home located at 5 Prospect Street, was moved by the Occidental Board to the Chinese Presbyterian Church in order to accommodate the large number of invited guests. According to Sarah Refo Mason, “formal invitations were sent to friends in the community from the ‘Ladies of the Occidental Board’ in order to witness the transformation of the girls from ‘heathen to Christian.’” Occidental Board members and interested persons also attended the weddings of Choi Que to Wong Gee, Chun Loie to Quong Nuey, and N’gun Ho to Congregationalist Cho Sen Sing (Soo Hoo).

The marriage of Chin Mui to a Fresno man represented the culmination of rescue work. The Chinese girl born to California miners in 1869 was sold to Ah Gow and his wife who were also miners. The “adoptive mother” locked the six-year old in a small

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215 “Register of Inmates,” 1880, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Dr. Kerr and Dr. Gibson presided over the 8:30 wedding. Mr. Hunter brought thirteen-year old, Ah Yoke to the Chinese mission home in 1880. The teen was owned by Ah Tie (Woon Ho) and lived on Sullivan Alley. According to Ah Yoke—Ah Tie owned two other girls aged four and fourteen.


218 Occidental Board Bulletin 3, no. 4 (1 December 1902): 11. Additional ceremonies mentioned in the report included May Foong to Chung Tin San who moved to Sacramento; Loy Yow to Marysville merchant Tong Ely a member of the Congregationalist mission in 1903; and Kum Lou to merchant Mr. Jein Lum Leng of Santa Barbara. See Records of Inmates,” 1894, box 5, folder 10, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California and Donaldina Cameron, “Superintendent’s Report,” Occidental Board Reports, (1903), 45-55.
room where she suffered damage to her optic nerve that resulted in blindness. Chin entered the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home on May 28, 1878 at the age of nine and accepted Christianity in January 1881. She worked as an integral part of the mission home by handling the food allowance and purchasing ingredients to make both Chinese and American meals until she married. 219

The mission home also accepted marriage proposals from Chinese men that lived outside San Francisco. For instance, Ah Seen married Mr. Hok Chow, a member of the Los Angeles Congregational Mission; Annie Jow married Mah Goon in Los Angeles; and Flora Wong married Geo Goon from New York. 220 In 1909, Donaldina Cameron took Yoke Lon from the Presbyterian home to Los Angeles where she married Chung Tom, a local merchant. The wedding was the first ever celebrated at the Los Angeles mission and was performed by Reverend J.H. Stewart and Dr. A.W. Adkinson. Since the bride and groom represented both the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations, they each sent a representative clergy member to preside over the ceremony. The couple exchanged vows on May 13 in front of interested onlookers. Yoke was the fifth girl wooed and won from the Presbyterian Mission by Los Angeles Christian Chinese. 221

Similarly, after exchanging pictures and several letters, Choi Qui (Qui N’gun) married Wong Mui (Wong John) in Philadelphia. The couple exchanged vows in the

220 Donaldina Cameron, “Rescue Work and Its Result,” Occidental Board Reports, (1910-1911), 80-83, Stanford University, Stanford, California.
221 “To Yoke Lon Yokes Chung,” Los Angeles Times, 14 May 1909, 111. The bridegroom according to the article was a former student of the Chinese Methodist Episcopal Mission. He entered the mission in 1897 as a member of the evening class. Interestingly, Yoke Lon's bridesmaids included Margaret Chung, who may have been the child born to former mui tsai Ah Yane and Chong Wong. See Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Headed Bastards (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
Arch Street Church on January 18, 1900 in front of three-hundred guests who wanted to satisfy their curiosity. The couple marched in and out of the church making sure to go up and down all three aisles so that each person could have their visual fill of them. The couple concluded the blessed event by moving to the church lecture room where under Chinese draperies they received the congratulations of the audience for more than two hours. Reports of the wedding stated that it was the first Christian Chinese wedding in Philadelphia and perhaps the first on the entire east coast.

While marriages did not garner immediate monetary donations for domestic or foreign mission programs it was an appealing way to exemplify missionary success in transforming girls from "heathen to Christian." In doing so, guests took stories back home to share with others about their experiences in seeing Chinese couples embracing Christian principles. More importantly, as married mui tsai established Christian homes in Portland, Des Moines, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Jose, and Oakland they incorporated the teachings of the mission home into their daily lives. The women who remained in San Francisco joined the "On Lok Ui" Peace Society, which was composed solely of girls who married from the home. In 1890, the girls raised $23.25 for the support of a Native Bible woman in China, which was "earned by plying

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222 Occidental Board Bulletin 2, no. 6 (1 February 1902): 4. Wong Mui presented Choi Qui with a genuine diamond and sapphire betrothal ring and Dr. John Hemphill pastor of the Arch Street Presbyterian Church presided over the ceremony.

223 Mary H. Field, "A Bit of Romance at '920,'" The Occident (7 February 1900): 19.

the needle day after day and late into the night." In doing so, the girls served as material evidence regarding the work of domestic missionaries, which clarified that the Chinese were open to Christianity. More importantly, newly established Christian Chinese households served as role models for local Chinese, which missionaries hoped would convince them to abandon their "pagan" idols for the "good news."

Joining the Domestic Mission System

Donaldina Cameron in 1919 stated that she hoped that Americans interested in domestic work amongst the Chinese would help set in motion a "forward movement in saving and training for God's service more children and young girls" that would assist the Foreign Mission Board in Christianizing China. The *Occidental Board Bulletin* pointed out, that although mission workers hoped that reformed girls would return to China to assist their sisters find the Lord, they also needed them to stay in America and help in the domestic mission system. To their delight many rescued girls remained in America to either assist in the home or to minister to local Chinese. Mrs. Ching Yeun, a former *mui tsai*, stayed to work as an assistant in the mission home while Mrs. Tam Ching, Mrs. Condit's early interpreter, went to work as a teacher for Miss Cummings in the Presbyterian Chinese School.

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In another case, a mui tsai named Ah Tsun escaped her owners by fleeing to the Presbyterian Mission in San Francisco. Once safely in the home, she told mission workers that the woman who brought her to California did so by shaving her head, dressing her as a boy, and claiming her as her son. At sixteen, she learned that her adoptive parents planned to sell her into prostitution spurring her to make the decision to leave her owners. Once safely installed in the mission home, Ah Tsun gained proficiency in both Cantonese and English allowing her to work as the home's principal translator. Her usefulness in the domestic mission network motivated Occidental Board members to encourage her to return to China and attend the True Light Seminary, where she would gain additional skills in imparting Christianity to the Chinese in America. After agreeing to the board's plan, Ah Tsun traveled to China where she remained until 1900. Six years later, she accepted the position of teacher in the Occidental Board's Day School and in doing so, became the first Chinese kindergarten teacher in America.

*and Escape*, edited by Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 205.

229 Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair Headed Bastards*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 14. According to Wu, “native” assistants could only rise to the title of auntie. The title of “mother” was reserved for the matron of the home. The title “auntie” is an honorific title for respected Cantonese women and does not denote a family relationship.

230 “Register of Inmates,” 1877, box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Ah Tsun or Ah Hong arrived in the Chinese Mission home in 1877.


232 Ibid., 210. In 1884, Ah Tsun married Gon Wing and had two sons. She took the name of Muriel Wing and visited Chinese households where she provided English lessons as well as lectures on social issues such as footbinding. Gon Wing passed away while the family was in China, possibly encouraging her to return to the United States.
In 1894, Miss Houseworth, Florence Worley, and several unnamed police officers rescued ten-year old Teen Fook (Wu Tien Fu or Lilac Chen) on Jackson Street near Stockton. The young girl suffered from face and extremity scarring from her mistress dripping hot melted wax on her arms as punishment. In 1905, H.C. Coleman attended a Philadelphia lecture regarding the work among the Chinese girls in San Francisco. From there, he traveled to California and invited Wu Tien Fu to his home in New Hampshire, where he decided to pay for additional schooling that would help the mission home in their endeavors. Wu attended school in Pennsylvania for four years and the Toronto Bible School for another two.\(^{233}\) Although she saved enough money to return to China, she remained a companion and interpreter at the Presbyterian mission until her death in 1975.\(^{234}\) Donaldina Cameron hoped that Wu Tien Fu would succeed her as the matron of the Chinese Mission; however, she declined the position and remained as an assistant to Lorna Logan.

In 1910, California mission workers received a donation that funded the overseas migration of a True Light Seminary graduate. That spring Andrew Carnegie, accompanied by his family, visited the San Francisco Mission Home. After reviewing Donaldina Cameron’s work amongst the Chinese girls, he presented her with a generous monetary gift to use as she saw fit. According to Carnegie the most “convincing evidence of her work in San Francisco were the little Chinese maids themselves, children who had been rescued often from lives of slavery and degradation” for “their presence


was an eloquent plea for the things for which the big brick home at Sacramento and Powell streets stood.

With this donation, the women decided Yung Mo (Leung Mo Yeun or Mrs. Young) would travel from the True Light Seminary to California to work in the San Francisco mission teaching rescued Chinese girls in their native language. Yung Mo arrived in August of 1910 and worked diligently in helping her “sisters.” Dr. William Speer remarked that True Light Seminary graduates could recite the entire New Testament and that “wherever they go a knowledge of the Gospel goes.” Mrs. E. F. Hall wrote that Yung Mo was an indispensable addition to the San Francisco mission home for there was no better way to gain the girls trust then to have a Chinese Christian woman instructing them in the ways of the Bible. Furthermore, the new teacher made a favorable impression on the Foreign Board, causing a returning missionary to remark that “now you see what our native Christian women are like.”

Other mui tsai married Christian Chinese ministers that chose to remain in America and work amongst their brethren. In doing so, the couples provided both the foreign and domestic mission network with new evangelistic opportunities in reaching the Chinese living in countless American cities. Chy Hay married a Chinese Christian and took a

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235 Carol Green Wilson, *Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of Donaldina Cameron House* (San Francisco: California Historical Society with Donaldina Cameron House, 1931), 72-74. Judge Morrow of San Francisco arranged the visit of Carnegie and his family to 920 Sacramento Street. Miss Ching Leung, Ah Que, and Ah Yoke were just several of the Chinese girls that brought the famous family yellow daffodils. The following day, the girls scheduled to appear at the Riverside Mission Inn ran into the Carnegie family on a train. The girls provided the family with another impromptu recital.

236 Carol Green Wilson, *Chinatown Quest: One Hundred Years of Donaldina Cameron House*, (San Francisco: California Historical Society with Donaldina Cameron House, 1931), 225-226.

237 Ibid., 226.

238 *Occidental Board Bulletin* 3, no. 5 (1 January 1902), 12.
position as native helper in the Methodist Chinese Mission Home. Yow Ho and her
husband ministered to the local Chinese in Portland, Oregon while Yoke Yin and
Reverend Thong Chew preached in New Westminster, British Columbia. Ah Oie on the
other hand, after marrying Dr. Lamb, taught Bible school in Butte, Montana. Kum
Ying married Mr. Choon Huie the organizer of the Chinese Presbyterian Mission in St.
Louis while Qui Seen (Mrs. Uug Wah) served as both a member of Washington D.C.
church and the Ladies Aid Society. Lastly, Wong Ah Yee married Lee Choy the
youngest Deacon in the Chinese Presbyterian Church and Kum Chy married Mr. James
Fung, a Baptist missionary living in the east. Whether the girls married and set up
Christian households or helped in their husbands’ ministry programs, the “reformed” mui
tsai served as material evidence throughout the United States. Those who remained in
San Francisco mission homes and worked alongside missionaries served as tangible proof
regarding the necessity of rescuing Chinese “slave girls” from domestic servitude.

Joining the Foreign Mission Project

Rescued girls who decided not to marry or remain in America were encouraged to
return to China and attend the True Light Seminary, work as teachers in the mission
schools, or establish mission programs that integrated their knowledge gleaned from
western missionaries. N’gun Ho rescued from a brothel at the age of fourteen, remained
in the home for nearly five years. At nineteen, she married Soo Hoo a Chinese man who

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239 Benson Tong, Un submissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco

Leen and Qui Gun not only established Christian homes in the east but also were nurturing new babies.

Stanford University, Stanford, California. The two married at the Italian Mission Church on Green Street in
1915.
was a member of the Congregational Chinese Mission. The couple returned to China where Miss Durham one of the San Francisco’s mission workers visited them and encouraged N’gun to attend the True Light Seminary where she could take lessons in reading Chinese. The hope was that N’gun would master the written language and help translate biblical literature and convince parents to allow their daughters to attend mission schools.

N’gun Ho (Mrs. Sztao) and Yoke Wan traveled to Canton from San Francisco in order to enroll at the True Light Seminary to study under Miss Butler. N’gun and Yoke served as a positive illustration of how the True Light Seminary worked as an evangelistic agency that prepared Christian workers in carrying the gospel to others. Mission workers hoped that Chinese children would catch the missionary spirit and remain as teachers, Bible women, serve as foreign missionaries, or even study western medicine. This was the case for Ah Yun. The eight-year old attended the True Light Seminary until she was sold to pay her father’s opium debt. After her grandmother secured enough funds to purchase her, she burned the “sung tip” and returned the young girl to the seminary to complete her education. After graduating, Ah Yun parlayed her newfound knowledge into opening her own mission school for Chinese girls.

As former mui tsai, such as Ah Yun, fulfilled mission workers objectives, they continued to serve as material evidence for the Chinese mission project. Those who


\[\text{243} \text{ Ibid., 170-171. Noyes account provides additional stories regarding mothers redeeming their daughters after selling them to other families. The author also points out that True Light Seminary workers often could not save the young girls as they had hoped. For example, a small child at the school returned home, at the request of her mother in order to visit her dying father. A few days later, missionary teachers found that the mother sold her daughter to pay off her husband’s gambling debts.}\]
made the decision to marry Christian Chinese men, join the domestic system, or return to China to minister amongst their own, provided domestic and foreign missionaries with long-term benefits. Simultaneously, the rescued mui tsai under the age of eighteen-aided mission workers in securing financial contributions that would provide them the means to enlarge the scope of mission work. In either case, both groups of Chinese girls served as a material representation of the transformation of mui tsai from “heathen to Christian.”

The public forum highlighting the conversion of Chinese girls continued to encourage Americans to donate their time and hard earned dollars to Chinese-centered mission projects.

The next chapter builds on this formula by exploring how the mui tsai’s experiences and stories published in religious and secular literature worked as an additional promotional method. Mission workers relied on correspondence and missionary “mamas,” as well as the sale of pamphlets, leaflets, books, journals, and even board reports to stimulate interest in mission projects. Helping missionaries reach an even broader audience, local and national newspapers highlighted the escapades of mission workers as well as how highbinders or go-betweens attempted to thwart those activities.

The various types of printed literature used by missionaries reinforced the importance of mission work amongst the Chinese, which in turn encouraged Americans to join the cause and open their pocket books.
CHAPTER 5

PROMOTING MUI TSAI THROUGH PRINTED MEDIA

The value of missionary literature to the church and the family is threefold: it promotes intelligence, it shapes character, and it creates and sustains enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{244}

\textit{Heathen Woman's Friend,} 1876

By the 1820s, with increased literacy rates and improved transportation methods American access to written materials exploded. Religious and secular literature entering households introduced readers to the darker parts of American society. Whether men or women picked up local or national newspapers, purchased missionary literature, attended special events or mission Sundays; the work of San Francisco’s Chinese Mission Homes took center stage, eliciting sympathy from those on the periphery. Americans east of the Mississippi, craving stories about the west wetted their appetite by reading harrowing rescues of \textit{mui tsai.} In doing so, mission writers offered individuals “feel good” endings by demonstrating the transformation of Chinese girls from “heathen to Christian.” Supporters of the home along with benefactors could follow the life altering choices of their charges through a plethora of texts published by female missionary organizations.

\textsuperscript{244} "Value of Missionary Literature," \textit{Heathen Woman’s Friend 7,} no. 12 (June 1876): 279-280.
Helen Montgomery noted that the success of mission boards derived from mission literature such as leaflets, stories, poems, and inexpensive journals. The combination of these various printed mediums, propelled women’s associations and their mission projects into uncharted financial territory. In 1921, the Occidental Board budget required $14,410.00 to pay household expenses, property taxes, legal and office expenses, the salaries of mission workers, and to add to their evangelistic efforts and educational programming.\(^{245}\) The increase in operating costs convinced national leaders to insist that local officers learn parliamentary procedure, work on their public speaking skills, and employ business and marketing schemes in order to meet the growing financial demands of mission projects.\(^{246}\)

Mission workers took the suggestion to heart and integrated business and marketing techniques in promoting Chinese *mui tsai* rescues and missionary escapades in mission literature. As Maud Wortring Raymond of the Foreign Board aptly pointed out, there were two ways to ensure large-scale readership. First, to keep the subject frequently in print using large font that captured readers attention and secondly, to establish a “conservative, educative campaign by which those who possess something of great value make known its advantages to those unaware of it.”\(^{247}\) In doing so, women moved from the sole use of missionary letters, helps, and leaflets to the publishing of comprehensive

\(^{245}\) "Occidental Board Budget," 1921, box 2, folder 67, Presbyterian Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The largest percentage of the Occidental budget was devoted to educational programming and household expenses.


publications such as journals and books. As a result, printed media added to the missions’ agenda of demonstrating the need for domestic and foreign missionary programs that sought to Christianize China.

Missionary Correspondence

One of the earliest funding methods was the practice of sending correspondence between missionaries and the home church. Mary Newell Gutzlaff and Henrietta Shuck were just two of the hundreds of missionaries who relied on this method in the 1830s. The use of this method did not change substantially through the years for in 1879; Mrs. Churchill wrote her church and thanked her “sisters” for their “philanthropy, promising in return to make every dollar spread to its utmost value.” Twenty years later, Emily Hartwell, in a letter to Boston requested earnest prayers and financial contributions for her students in the Foochow Mission (figure 7).

Figure 7. “Miss Hartwell and Bible Women in the Foochow Mission,” Life and Light (May 1902), 211. (Courtesy of Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

The stream of letters leaving and entering the United States provided the Woman's Bureau in 1893 the ability to furnish 20,000 copies of missionary correspondence to women's societies, Sunday Schools, and Christian Endeavor Societies. The purpose of mass produced letters and photographs was to stir the hearts of readers regarding the missionaries laboring overseas that would turn into monetary donations. More importantly, a familiar individual who sent letters and pictures provided an immediate and dramatic object of support rather than general appeals coming from the faceless foreign missionary headquarters. The shrewd move of coupling letters with photographs fostered personal relationships with those living thousands of miles away.

Benefactors

The transmittal and response of correspondence encouraged American women to support a specific Chinese girl or provide funding for the larger mission project whether at home or overseas. Women who agreed to support Chinese girls residing in domestic rescue homes were frequently referred to as American "mamas." Although contributions varied, a "mama" could provide anywhere from $50 to $75 per year depending on the age of the girl in question. Charlotte Van Cleve of Minneapolis pledged financial support for Chun Fah, a six-year old mui tsai, after meeting her at the Presbyterian home. The pledge meant that Van Cleve would continue to pay her support until she married, found employment, or returned to China. In the case of Chun Fah, this translated into nearly

$650 over the years. However, in return for the donations, sponsors were kept apprised of their charges activities in hopes that their “investment” paid off. Chun Fah exceeded expectations for the young girl devoted “her time to promoting interest in missionary activities abroad and in raising funds for missionary projects.”

The perpetuation of *mui tsai* stories demonstrating the transformation from “slave girl” to native helper or “heathen to Christian” provided benefactors the opportunity to share the effect of their donations and benevolent actions amongst their peers. In “Notes from the Chinese Home” published in the *Occidental Board Bulletin*, Donaldina Cameron praised the sponsors of Chinese girls by announcing their names in their monthly publication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The American Church of Montreal:</th>
<th>Suey Leen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valona Foreign Missionary Society:</td>
<td>Ah Tye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivet Church Foreign Mission Society:</td>
<td>Annie Wong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland Union Church:</td>
<td>Ah Ching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. George Bancroft:</td>
<td>Yute Que &amp; Yuen Leen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Coleman:</td>
<td>Teen Fook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Culbertson’s Band of Fowler Presbytery:</td>
<td>Minnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Albertson of Duluth:</td>
<td>Yute Ho Ji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Other women to support Chinese girls included Mrs. Whiting of Pennsylvania who assumed Ah Yoke's $75 support and Mrs. McWilliams of Brooklyn, New York who provided art lessons for Kum Lines.\textsuperscript{255} Additionally, former Chinese inmates also took part in supporting new girls arriving in the rescue home. The yearly expenses of Ah Yute and Ah Chee paid by former inmates were supplemented with the $8 donated by Mrs. Ah Quan of San Diego.\textsuperscript{256}

By publishing sponsorships in local literature, women and their organizations gained a sense of status in their communities based on answering the call of missionaries. The tactic also worked to encourage other women in the community with the financial means to answer the call as well. National newspapers such as the \textit{Los Angeles Times} followed the same pattern in terms of publishing names of generous philanthropists on the charitable works page. For example, Mrs. A.E. Moore provided $5,000 to the Presbyterian Foreign Mission, Mrs. Georgianna Hubbard donated $20,000 to Foreign Missions, and Mrs. Eleanor Cooper presented the Presbyterian Home Mission Program $10,000.\textsuperscript{257}

The women who contributed to benevolent work or social programming throughout their lives often bequeathed additional funds to their favorite mission project. Lady Li, the mother of China's viceroy Li Hung Chang, bequeathed $1,000 for overseas medical work amongst the Chinese. Mrs. Dr. Goucher gave $5,000 to the "Isabella Fisher" hospital in Tientsin, China, Mrs. Adeline Smith provided $5,500 for the building of

\textsuperscript{255} "Report of the Mission Home," \textit{Occidental Board Reports}, (1888), 53. box 18 folder 3, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

\textsuperscript{256} "Mission Home," \textit{Occidental Reports}, (1884), 23, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

\textsuperscript{257} "Charity in 1904" \textit{Los Angeles Times}, 25 December 1904, p. 3.
schools in Nanking, and Mrs. George Bancroft left the San Francisco Chinese Mission Home $3,000.

By employing diverse funding methods and providing public credit for serving as benefactors, missionary projects continued to develop. The expansion required that women find additional ways of soliciting monetary donations in order to offset their expenses in mission work. The Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home tried to take advantage of state aid in 1908 that provided funding for orphans, half-orphans, or abandoned children under the age of four living in the home. However, the amending of the law the following year squelched the potential funding source. The new law stated “that no orphans shall receive state aid except such as can give date and place of their birth and names of parents.” Since it was highly unlikely that a child under the age of four would be able to communicate the date and place of birth along with their parents full names, mission homes had no choice but to search for other pockets of funding.

Generally banned from collecting funds during regular church services or Sunday schools, women sought donations through societal memberships.\(^{258}\) Those joining the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church paid $1 for an annual membership, $20 for a lifetime membership, $100 for a life position as honorary manager, and $300 for a life honorary patron. This highly successful method raised nearly $8,000 by 1898. With this in mind, women searched for other vibrant and cost-

effective options, which when coupled with letters, photographs, and sponsorships would reach a broader national audience.\(^\text{259}\)

Helps, Pamphlets, and Leaflets

The answer to offsetting growing mission expenses arrived in the form of publishing programs, which started with the circulation of helps, pamphlets, and leaflets. By aggressively targeting home audiences with literature that provided dramatic details on missionary life, women saw an increase in donations. Although typically quite short, around two to fifteen pages, most pamphlets contained commemorative photographs and glimpses of the redemption and rescue of “heathens.” More importantly, the materials ended with a short paragraph pleading for donations in order to continue the work. For example, “one thousand dollars will pay for medical equipment” and “five thousand dollars will pay for the renovations to equip a girls’ boarding school” all provided Americans with the ability to fund specific missionary projects.\(^\text{260}\)

Helen Barrett Montgomery, an avid supporter of integrating business methodologies with religious work, argued that churches should begin special funds or take free-will offerings at the end of mission services or Sunday school classes to offset the cost of printing small leaflets and pamphlets. Furthermore, the use of advertising or proper placement of such materials made all the difference in garnering support for mission


Lastly and most importantly, successful usage of such materials rested in the competency of women understanding their constituency and having the gumption to employ marketing tactics that would cause readers to reach into their pockets. Occidental Board worker Evelyn Browne Keck, noted that if you did not want people to forget missionary meetings than make sure to have an official point person—for “like advertising, ‘it pays.’”

Helps often accompanying pamphlets and leaflets made saving and giving more attractive. “A Plea for our Envelopes” consisted of twelve envelopes embossed with passages of biblical scriptures that corresponded with each month of the year. Every thirty days the donor filled the appropriate envelope with pennies, loose change, or paper money and returned it to the board they supported. Women working in home missions found the system “very helpful in securing consecrated offerings.”

Missionaries also recognized that children were the future of mission projects offered them creative helps as well. Methods of Work provided brief synopses of Occidental work in both foreign and domestic missions. The small piece of literature covered with dainty flags of every nation and filled with maps and souvenir postals was to act as the “fuel for kindling the missionary fire in the hearts and minds” of every child. In 1920, during the Jubilee celebration, children received a double-sided postcard that discussed their responsibility in raising $2,500 that would build a wall around the grounds of the

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262 Evelyn Browne Keck, “From Occidental District,” Woman’s Work for Women 36, no. 10 (October 1921): 236-237.


264 “From San Francisco,” Woman’s Work for Woman 19, no. 2 (February 1904): 46.
True Light Seminary in Canton, China. The wall made of brick and concrete and inlaid with yellow tiles required children to save sixty pennies in order to purchase six stamps that would blot out heathenism represented by a Chinese dragon.\(^{265}\) The uses of such a postcard by missionaries was to school children on the importance of mission work as well as encourage their parents’ involvement in helping their child save pennies that would change the life of “heathen” children thousands of miles away.\(^{266}\) Moreover, if one involved him or herself in saving children overseas they would be more likely to join the movement in saving similar children in America.

Continuing the theme of saving and transforming young lives was Mrs. C.P. Colegrove’s pamphlet *Among the Chinese*, which supplied information regarding San Francisco and Los Angeles Chinese missions as well as a plea for future benefactors. The Presbyterian board followed suit by printing question and answer booklets regarding the importance of their fieldwork. Mrs. Samantha Condit’s *Chinese in America: Mission Bands* answered frequently asked questions regarding Chinese cultural practices and the purpose of the Chinese mission home located in San Francisco (figure 8).\(^{267}\)


\(^{266}\) The Poor Heathen or Missionary Sketches for Children (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1844). The Poor Heathen Book was a palm sized one hundred and four-page book, meant for the hands of a small child. Although the pages lacked illustrations, the blue hard cover and the focus on small ‘heathen’ children demonstrated how Christian children could make a substantial difference in the lives of children.

| Q: Do Chinese Parents sell their children? | A: Yes, especially when they are poor. One example is a girl 14 years of age sold for $1000.00 or another sold for $350.00 to pay the father’s traveling expenses back to China. |
| Q: When and where was the home established? | A: In San Francisco in 1874 by the Occidental Board with the help of the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society of Philadelphia. |
| Q: What is its object? | A: Provides safe refuge where housewifery arts are taught. Teaches rudimentary English and more than all teach the way of life through Christ. |
| Q: Who are the inmates of the home? | A: There are three classes that come to the home. Young girls brought over as servants from China and are designed for sale at a suitable age. Second those in prostitution and thirdly the wives that are going to be sold or left due to cruel treatment. |

Figure 8. Mrs. I.M. Condit, *Chinese in America: Mission Bands*, 1880, 16.

The integration of question and answer formatting along with rescue narratives convinced Presbyterian women to publish a host of pamphlets including: *Sketches of Views of Chinese Presbyterian Church in San Francisco, Evolution of the Chinese Slave Girl, The Case of Li Hah and Others, How Chinese Girls Come to the Mission Home, The Hour in the Occidental School*, and *Qui Ngun, Yuen Quai, and the Chinese in San Francisco*. Interested American men and women could read about mission work amongst the Chinese for the minimal cost of two to three cents per copy. Rounding out Occidental Board literature was Miss Elizabeth Gray’s *A Glimpse of Oriental San Francisco* and Mrs. Mindora Berry-Goodwin’s *Chinese Slaves in California: Their Rescues, Our Work Among the Chinese, The Mission Home in San Francisco*, and *The Smallest Mission Field under the Presbyterian Church.*

Americans interested in the overseas China mission project could purchase Miss Clara M. Cushman’s leaflets *Peeps at Real Girls in China, Famous Filials*, and *In Boats*,

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268 “‘From San Francisco,’” *Woman’s Work for Woman* 17, no. 8 (August 1902): 246.
Carts, and Homes and Hearts in China, for ten cents per copy. The fluctuation in leaflet and pamphlet prices reflected the need to offer materials that met the needs of women with differing degrees of discretionary income. In a judicious move, the board ensured that all women and children interested in missionary work could obtain literature even if they were short on funds. Therefore, the Occidental Board: What and Where, A Cry From the Grave, and the Chinese in America: Save Them Through the Children were free of charge.

Among the most persuasive literature were the colorful and detailed tales of rescue efforts by both the missionaries in San Francisco as well as Portland, Oregon. Mrs. Francis Holt added to the growing body of the literature on the mission system with “Rescued Lives” that “set forth the reasons for establishing a Chinese Home for women and girls in Portland, by giving incidents from the lives of some of the girls who have been rescued from slavery.” Donaldina Cameron’s work “The Story of Leung Ah Ying,” chronicled the story of a young girl sold by the Leung Kai Ming highbinder society for $3,400. At a cost of only three cents, readers lived vicariously through Cameron’s escapades as she chased Leung Ah Ying from Seattle to New York then to Boston and Florida. The matron went on to write “The Yellow Slave Traffic” regarding mui tsai rescues, which included original drawings by Yuke Kum (Tsun Yow


270 “Rescue Work,” Occidental Board Reports, (1898), 99, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

271 “From Portland, Oregon,” Woman’s Work for Woman 12, no. 11 (November 1897): 316. The leaflet was free of charge, but did require one cent for postage. The journal referred readers to Mrs. M.R. Andrews of Portland, Oregon for orders.

or Ah King) and Jun Yow (Ah Yung) highlighting their escape route. The girls held against their will on Third Street in Oakland, California sent the diagram to the Presbyterian Mission Home so that workers would pull off a successful rescue.273

After the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the Occidental Board asked Cameron to “write a leaflet telling of her escape from the Mission Home with the Chinese girls.” In the work, the author related some of her experiences in rescuing the young mui tsai. The leaflet worked in conjunction with articles published in Woman’s Work. The journal highlighted the fact that during the panic, highbinders tried to grab the girls as they escaped the mission home. Moreover, they mourned, all the records and literature of the Occidental Board had been destroyed and that they now needed donations of $27,000 in order to rebuild the mission home.274 Not content to just rely on these two methods of raising revenue, the board reprinted Evolution of the Chinese Slave Girl and Old and New China (each two cents) to accompany Cameron’s leaflet.275 The new building ultimately cost nearly $53,000 and with the financial panic, donors were unable to provide the home with their pledges. In doing so, the Presbyterian home carried a $10,000 debt, which according to Donaldina Cameron, was a serious hindrance to expanding mission work.276

Appealing to American women’s wise use of familial funds, missionaries provided poems such as “Two Cents a Week” and “Best Use of a Dollar.” Adding to that


274“Occidental Board after Earthquake and Fire,” Woman’s Work for Woman 21, no. 6 (June 1906): 128 and A.W. Halsey, “Girls Worth Saving,” New York Observer and Chronicle, 84, no. 35 (30 August 1906): 286. Halsey remarked that although the Japanese mission at 328 Haight Street did not burn down, the Chinese Mission House was leveled. For that reason, the board transferred young inmates to San Anselmo where the girls took refuge in a barn loft, sleeping on a dusty floor, for many days.

275“From San Francisco” Woman’s Work for Woman 21, no. 8 (August 1906): 194.

sentiment was the offering of discounts on their well-written and beautifully illustrated leaflets, helps, and pamphlets. Presbyterian women provided a 20% price cut on orders over 50 and less than 300. Any orders over 300 received a 33 1/3% discount.\footnote{277} The Woman’s Board of Home Missions on the other hand, provided a discount of 20% on orders over $1.50 but offset the reduced cost by charging a delivery fee unless the order exceeded $15. Female managed organizations exercising prudence in terms of sending out small packages of literature found it cost-effective to send out helps and leaflets in bulk.\footnote{278} Missionaries also relied on selling leaflets and pamphlets over the table at monthly mission meetings or Presbyterian meetings and at the summer school of missions at Mt. Hermon.\footnote{279} Therefore the “little stories and poems, brief biographies, historical series on separate lands and missions” all were sources of profit often working “as propaganda in order to reap an abundant harvest.”\footnote{280} The formula worked, for by 1913, the Occidental Board distributed 2,160 leaflets and sold 1,250 yearbooks that provided the financial means to support forty-eight foreign missionaries.\footnote{281}


\footnote{279}W.F. Geldert, “Literature,” Annual Report of Woman’s Occidental Board of Foreign Missions (San Francisco: Brunt Press, 1919): 31. In 1911, the Occidental Board purchased a bungalow at Mt. Hermon, which was open during the summer months for missionaries for a nominal expense. The purpose of the facility was to offer weary foreign and domestic missionary workers a place of respite.


\footnote{281}C.L.M. “Annual Meeting of the Occidental Board,” Woman’s Work for Women 28, no. 7 (July 1913): 164-165.
Journals

Maude Wotring Raymond noted, "the publications of the mission boards react upon one another. A generous use of reports and magazines will create a demand for the leaflets which amplify and complete their story." Women interested in learning about global mission work, subscribed to missionary journals that essentially brought the globe into their parlors. Periodicals such as the *Heathen Woman's Friend* (Methodist), *Woman's Work for Woman* and the *Home Mission Monthly* (Presbyterian), *Life and Light* (Congregationalist), *The Helping Hand* (Baptist), *American Missionary* (Women's Bureau), and the *Occident and Occidental Board Bulletin* all offered stories and insight into domestic and international missionary ventures.

Launching the *Heathen Woman's Friend* on May 7, 1869, Methodist Episcopalian women hoped to arouse interest in foreign mission work. The first article in the prospectus journal stated that the paper would be "filled with interesting facts and incidents illustrating mission work." Furthermore, the paper designed to "enlist the sympathies of the children, and educate them more fully in the missionary work" was an attempt to ensure a future pool of missionaries. There was a sense that if children did

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285 Ibid.
not catch the missionary fever early or did not see the benefits of such work there was a possibility that they would disregard it completely in adulthood.

Initially, the publication consisted of eight pages but under the leadership of Harriet Merrick Warren, the journal expanded quickly to twenty-four pages. Pricing the paper at thirty cents per year, the women boasted 25,700 subscriptions by July 1872. Coupling the increase in subscribers and subscription rates (now at fifty cents), the journal raised nearly $13,000 yearly. By 1879, the journal was a resounding success in reaping $66,843 in revenue. Hoping to double or triple their income, the Methodist board encouraged the placement of advertisements as early as December 1893.

The Presbyterian women followed suit in 1870 with Woman’s Work for Woman. Although, beginning with a subscription list of only 500, within a year the list grew to more than 4,000. By 1875, subscriptions topped nearly 10,000 reaping $6,000 annually. Ten years later, the board boasted nearly 35,000 subscriptions and $21,000 in profit. Adding the 1885 earnings to the $5,244.96 raised from fundraisers provided the Presbyterian board enough funds to support twenty-six missionaries, sixteen bible readers, native teachers, and a number of children in schools at different overseas locations.

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287 Isabel Hart, Introduction to Historical Sketches of Woman’s Missionary Societies in America and England, by L.H. Daggett, (Boston: Daggett, 1879), 98. By July 1872, the price of the subscription was thirty-five cents.

288 The Heathen Woman’s Friend 11, no. 4 (October 1879): 88.

289 The Heathen Woman’s Friend (December 1893): 3.

The thirty-six page monthly paper provided its readers with information on foreign mission fields, reports of missionary society meetings, sketches of missionaries, the role of women in the church, and a section devoted entirely to children.\textsuperscript{291} Similarly, to the *Heathen Woman's Friend*, the children's section provided maps, pictures, and stories with moral lessons, and worked to interest the smallest child in mission work around the globe.\textsuperscript{292}

More importantly, *Woman's Work for Woman* published a column “From San Francisco,” in their monthly editions that chronicled the numerous accounts of mission workers in daring rescues of *mui ts'ai*.\textsuperscript{293} The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Occidental Board held in 1891 and covered by the journal reported on the issues the Chinese Mission Home faced. Miss Margaret Culbertson remarked that although they admitted seventy-one women, the home could only accommodate thirty comfortably.\textsuperscript{294} Two months later, in a follow up article, Helen Bashford Smith explained that the tight quarters stemmed from the fact that the home lacked proper facilities. The mission, not intended to house more than thirty people at any given time often forced girls to sleep


\textsuperscript{292} The Presbyterians recognizing the importance of children as the future of mission work provided them with their own magazine. Yearly subscriptions to *Over Sea and Land* were twenty-five cents. The periodical started in Philadelphia in 1876 with the goal of educating young children along missionary lines. The first issue entitled “Children's Work for Children” instilled the belief that even the smallest child could make a difference in the life of another child. After thirty-four years of service, it was decommissioned after the debut of *Everyland* a interdenominational magazine for children. “Over Sea and Land History,” 1903-1921, box 2, folder 72, Woman's Board of Home Missions 1866-1958, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Arthur Judson Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, (New York: Fleming H. Revel Company, 1936), 148-149.

\textsuperscript{293} “From San Francisco,” *Woman's Work for Woman* 25, no. 1 (January 1909): 24 and “Records of Inmates,” 1907, box 5, folder 10, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

\textsuperscript{294} H.S. Tabor, “Annual Meeting of the Occidental Board,” *Woman's Work for Women* 6, no. 5 (May 1891): 140. Two of the girls admitted during the year were Japanese.
three to a bed. Smith added that the girls living in the home raised money by taking in under-paid sewing for Chinese merchants and by providing distinctively Chinese entertainment to friends of the home. Guests entering the home, according to the author, watched Chinese girls adorned in native costume sing “All Hail the Power of Jesus’ Name,” which demonstrated the life altering changes stemming from the perseverance of mission women working to save mui tsai.

Reiterating missionaries’ vital work was the article “Missionaries in San Francisco.” In 1900, Miss Emma Cable, one of the house-to-house missionaries, allowed a tourist to accompany her for the day. The duo first arrived at a Jackson Street tenement where the tourist viewed first hand the living conditions of “heathens.” From there, the couple traveled to Prospect Place to view the fruits of mission workers labor. Stopping in to say hello to former Chinese inmate, Mrs. Wong Lee, the tourist realized there was a stark difference between the “heathen” home and the residence reflecting western Christianity. According to mission workers, it was their determination and unwavering commitment to saving Chinese women from a life of darkness that facilitated the transformation.

295 According to the 1880 census records, there were seventeen Chinese girls living in the Chinese mission home under Margaret Culbertson and Sergis Hoormah. The seventeen girls included Kum Loy, N'gun Qui, Young Ah, Luie Choi, Choy Ti, Choy Qui, Sue Ah, Mooie Ah, Ho Chune, Choie Yen, Lon Sou, Mooie Chin, Fah Chun, He Ti, Yoke Ah, Som Ah, T'sun Ah. The girls ranged in age from seven to twenty-eight years of age. By 1900, there were twenty-nine girls in the home, three of which were Japanese. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States (1880), (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1880), 708 and See Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States (1900), (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1900).

296 Helen Bashford Smith, “Mission Work Carried on by the Occidental Board Among Chinese Women and Children of California,” Woman’s Work for Women 6, no. 7 (July 1891): 184-186. Miss Cable continued to provide house visitation and mentioned that even the slave girls who waited upon the mother and children readily listened to the lessons.

This belief was clear in Occidental Board literature, which relied on highlighting the transformation of “heathen to Christian” as well as narratives that stirred emotions in order to garner public support and monetary donations. Mary Field’s “A Bit of Romance at ‘920’” spoke of domestic servants who braved the streets of San Francisco in an attempt to locate the mission home. Qui N’gun, an eleven-year old mui tsai tired of enduring severe beatings finally ran away from her owners even though she had no idea where she was going. Field’s point was to underscore the fact that girls would rather attempt an escape in a strange city knowing that they may lose their lives rather than stay in servitude. Laura Bethell concurred in her article, which chronicled the escape of Yute Kum and Jun Yow. In this case, the girls sent a letter and a map to the Presbyterian mission home pleading for a rescue:

Honorable Miss:

I am a wretched girl. My name Yute Kum was changed to Tsun Yow: another girl with me is Jun Yow. We both kneel down before you to beseech you to help us; we remember last time you came to our place to try and rescue us but our keeper knew before you could reach us and compelled us to hide in the back of the house. In this place, one day is as long as a year. I often thought to commit suicide, but could not. I want to climb to heaven, but cannot. I want to hide under ground, but cannot. Your home is our only hope. I send a diagram with the letter. Be sure not

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Mary H. Field, “A Bit of Romance at ‘920,’” *The Occident* (7 February 1900): 18. Field notes that while temperance worker Mary Allen West, was visiting California that she took special notice of Qui N’gun and provided the young girl with her Americanized name—Mary Allen West. Additionally, the ladies of the Stockton Presbyterian Church took Qui N’gun as their special charge and paid for her yearly support in the home.
to let any of the highbinders know what I have written. Chinese, first month, fourth day.299

According to Bethell, mission women went to work learning that the keeper of the girls would pass along a dark street, moving the slaves from the day den to the night resort. Although these two girls were most likely prostitutes rather than mui tsai, they highlighted the element of danger in leaving their masters. According to rescued girls living in the mission home, anyone caught attempting to leave their masters were killed.300 Bethell concluded on a happy note by stating that after successfully rescuing the two girls, they married Christian men and established western style homes.

The success of parlaying dramatic accounts of Chinese mui tsai rescues and transformations in journals and other publications encouraged American women to answer the missionary call. For some this meant applying for missionary positions while others organized prayer bands and circles that raised “money to send missionaries abroad” or supported “native Bible women teaching heathen women”301 As the interest in Chinese girls continued to grow in America, female missionary boards added books to their marketing repertoire.


300 In another instance, a domestic servant contacted the Methodist Mission with a note that said, “Please come save me. I am a poor Chinese slave girl. I am beaten and abused by everybody. Help me or I will die.” With this simple note, the lines of communication opened and the plans for a rescue operation ensued. The directions for the rescue called for the girl to stand at the front door and look through the grated window. When she recognized the rescue party, she was to hold a card in her hand and then open the bolts that held the door closed. However, her owners realizing what was happening, slammed the door shut, placed a cloth over her head, and dragged the shrieking girl away. The Methodist missionaries never heard from the young servant again and according to other rescued girls living in the home, anyone caught attempting to leave their masters were killed. Records of Inmates,” box 5, folder 10, Mildred Martin Crowl Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

301 The Heathen Woman’s Friend (October 1869): 37.
Books

Bolstered by the success of journal subscriptions and the degree of interest shown in learning about heathen girls lives, women’s boards and auxiliaries published full-length books and studies depicting life amongst the Chinese in both America and China. The use of these materials had several purposes. First, the recounted tales of mui tsai persuaded American men and women to donate to the cause; secondly, books encouraged American women to join domestic or foreign mission programs; and lastly, they informed the public about the plight of girls being held in domestic servitude. Led by the Women’s Board of Foreign Missions, the organization sold over a half a million books within an eight-year period. Methodist Episcopalian women who in 1890 worked hard to raise $200,000 for their mission work passed the million-dollar mark by 1914.302

Helen Bartlett Montgomery’s Western Women in Eastern Lands, which sold 50,000 copies in its first six weeks and nearly 100,000, copies the first year, fueled further missionary writings. At seventy-five cents per book, Montgomery raised $75,000 for mission work. The success of the work stemmed from its interdenominational approach in providing an alphabetical sketch of twenty-one missionary organizations ran by women. Furthermore, the author included an appendix, which provided statistical data, summaries of women’s organizations, and a list of publications that readers would find useful in learning about other missionary enterprises, outside their specific interest or denominational affiliation.303


303 “Historical Sketches of Woman’s Missionary Societies in America and England” Heathen Woman’s Friend (December 1879): 128.
For those interested in learning about overseas Chinese mission work, Reverend J.A. Davis’s work *The Chinese Slave Girl* and *Leng Tsao: Sequel to Chinese Slave Girl* was an excellent choice. For the cost of $1.25, readers could follow the story of a young Chinese girl’s transformation from “heathen to Christian.” In *Leng Tsao*, Davis built upon his previous work by explaining to readers that after the young girl converted to Christianity she took a position as a teacher and dedicated the remainder of her life to helping missionaries convert Chinese women. The author concluded both works with a plea for American women to join the missionary movement, since they were the guardians of the soul (figure 9).

![Figure 9. A Chinese Slave Girl: Highbinder and Tong Wars, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, [MTP/HW: vol. 30: 100].](image)

*Little Ah Yee of the Opium Dens* by Emma R. Cable sold for ten cents in 1886 and focused on the *mui tsai* system existing in San Francisco. The book, she stated, was the

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outcome of her monthly report as a house-to-house visitor. The Occidental Board felt that Ah Yee’s story was something that all eastern readers should know. Cable met Ah Yee in 1880 and immediately sought to find her support from women sympathetic to the cause. She eventually raised $2.50 that provided the young Chinese girl with a pint of milk, oatmeal, and quinine because she was ill. As Emma continued to visit Ah Yee, she found that the girl had a quick intellect, and demonstrated the makings of a great missionary teacher. Emma convinced the young girl to attend the 1885 Occidental annual meeting where she sang, “Swing Low, Sweet Chariot” in an attempt to raise money for her yearly support. Several weeks after her performance, Ah Yee contracted cholera and passed away. Emma buried the young girl with the $12.50 raised from her heartfelt recital at the Occidental Board meeting. The author concluded the book by highlighting the mui tsai practice in America aimed at stirring American sympathy and outrage regarding the blatant allowance of slavery in their country. As she recounted missionary rescues of small children forced into servitude, she requested that readers send donations in order to stamp out the heathenistic practice and to fund young girls such as Ah Yee who would join the mission movement and work to save their Chinese sisters.

Several years later, the Occidental Board published Strange True Stories of Chinese Slave Girls, which provided additional accounts of mission workers engaging in

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305 Emma R. Cable, Little Ah Yee of the Opium Dens, (San Francisco: Occidental Print, 1886), 1-36. In 1882, after being ill for sometime, Ah Yee contracted small pox but managed to survive. That same year, her family falling deeper into poverty sold baby Bing Foon for food. The family urged Emma to purchase the baby so that he did not go to strangers but she declined. She also noted that young girls bought in China for $10 sold in the United States for $600 to $1200. Ung Wah, for example, was a five-year old Chinese girl forced to sew buttons on clothing until two am every night. When mission workers rescued her, they noticed scars that covered her body from harsh treatment. In another instance, workers rescued a four-year old from her life in a cigar factory where she stripped tobacco leaves all day long.

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dangerous and exciting rescue work. The harrowing stories of infants and bloody mistreated *mui tsai*, who barely escaped masters, provoked emotional reactions from readers. Authors hoped that the response to these works would include monetary donations or involving oneself in the mission project.\(^\text{306}\) *Dragon Stories* by Mabel Craft Deering relied on the same psychological response. By relating accounts of suffering *mui tsai* or ones that were willing to ingest *powfah*, gel for Chinese hair, in an attempt to commit suicide demonstrated how difficult these girls’ lives were. Deering like others concluded her work by highlighting the positive effect that mission workers had on rescued girls’ lives. For instance, Bon Yoke who served as a *mui tsai* for three years returned to China and entered Hong Kong’s Victoria Home. She later joined the local church, gained a command of the gospel, and preached amongst her own people. Furthermore, Yoke worked as a Chinese native helper and held positions in missionary families living in Hong Kong.\(^\text{307}\) In doing all of these things, Bon Yoke represented the fruit of missionary work in California, for there could be no doubt in any American’s mind that their Chinese work was nothing less than successful.

Missionaries stationed near or in Hong Kong and concerned about the location serving as a locus for immigrating *mui tsai* began inquiries into the British involvement.

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\(^{306}\) Donaldina Cameron, *Strange True Stories of Chinese Slave Girls* (San Francisco: Presbyterian Church in the USA Women’s Foreign Missionary Society, Occidental Board, 1900). Cameron provided harrowing stories regarding inmates’ lives and rescues. For example, rescuers took Woon Ho from a gambling den in Isleton, a small town on the Sacramento River when she was only six. The small child spent her days rolling cigarettes for men who sat around gambling. Suey Lon, according to her “sung tip,” had three different owners. In another case, rescuers took baby Yute Ho Ji away from the woman who claimed to be her grandmother. The middle-aged woman purchased the one year old in Hong Kong for $10 and then brought her to America for future income. Cameron convinced the court that she did not belong to the woman and the small infant returned with the matron to the Presbyterian mission home.

Dr. Katherine Bushnell who served in Kiu Kiang as a medical missionary under the Women’s Foreign Missionary Society stumbled upon the *mui tsai* system during her overseas assignment. In 1894, Bushnell along with Englishwoman Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew visited Hong Kong to collect information regarding the trafficking of *mui tsai*. After careful investigation, they filed a report with Lord Ripon on their return to London that called for political change. The two women co-authored a book entitled *Heathen Slaves and Christian Rulers* in an attempt to raise social consciousness regarding the plight of the *mui tsai*.

According to Bushnell and Andrews:

> We send it [the book] forth, therefore, with the earnest prayer that, while the book itself may have a limited circulation, yet, through the providence of God, it may arouse some one to attempt that which seems beyond our powers and opportunity,—some one who will feel the call of God; who has the training and the ability; some one who has the spirit of devotion and self-denial; some one of keen moral perceptions and lofty faith in the ultimate triumph of justice, who will lead a crusade that will never halt until Oriental slavery is banished from our land…

The book concluded with accounts of the San Francisco Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian rescue homes in an attempt to enlighten readers regarding the *mui tsai*

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308 Dr. Katharine Bushnell attended Chicago Women’s Medical College and began her medical career in 1880. The young doctor did not care for the life of a missionary spurring her to return to America in 1881.

309 Dr. Katherine C. Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, *Heathen Slaves and Christian Rulers* (Oakland: Messiah’s Advocate, 1907), chapter sixteen and Ernest A. Bell, *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls, or, War on the White Slave Trade: A Complete and Detailed Account of the Shameless Traffic in Young Girls* (Chicago: L.H. Walter, 1910). The duo also contributed to exposing the slave trade in Bombay, India.

310 Ibid., preface. Whether the duo sparked the debate that later ensued in Hong Kong and Great Britain regarding the *mui tsai* system is unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that the two women did provide British women with information regarding the domestic system practiced in their colony.
system and to spur American and British women into action. The duo dedicated the book to Margaret Culbertson, the early matron of the Presbyterian Home for her work in rescuing Chinese girls from slavery and for enlightening them about what was happening on American soil. In doing so, *Heathen Slaves and Christian Rulers* elevated the plight of the *mui tsai* to an international level, involving British women in their cause. The saving of Chinese girls no longer was just the domain of American women but now encompassed those living under the British Empire as well.

As religious materials spanned across state and national borders, female missionary boards provided access to the successes and the failures of women’s work across the globe. The publishing of books filled a unique niche of adding substance and depth to women’s publications. Whereas journals provided women with general information on all foreign and domestic missionary fields, books allowed women to delve into the particulars of a specific locale. As women continued publishing correspondence helps, leaflets, journals, and books, they found additional outlets by promoting their message in articles carried by mainstream newspapers.

The Mainstream Press

By combining religious literature with secular newspapers, missionaries and churches reached diverse audiences that they otherwise could not. The use of missionary interviews and “slave girl” testimonies “set the stage for the glorification of white matrons ‘heroic endeavors’ to rescue ‘slave girls’ and prostitutes in the name of

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benevolent reform. Missionaries in San Francisco found a useful ally in San Francisco Chronicle’s assistant commercial editor, Mr. Alfred A. Worley Jr. The editor, his sister, and his two daughters, Minnie and Florence, were all active participants in Chinese mission work. Additionally, Mrs. James King, an early citizen of San Francisco, married the editor of the San Francisco Bulletin. Although she did not participate in the Occidental Board, she did help establish the San Francisco Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society for European immigrant women and children that needed a safe refuge. King like other women who married newspapermen used their connections to help further their cause.


Other missionaries used the San Francisco Call as a public forum, urging residents to open their pocketbooks in order to secure legal assistance, necessary in winning cases.

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313 New York Times, 10 June 1892, p. 6. Chinese highbinders sent Editor Worley and his sister letters warning them to stop rescuing female slaves as well as demanding the release of forty of the girls in the home. See also The San Francisco Blue Book & Pacific Coast Elite Directory, (San Francisco: Bancroft Company, 1892) and “Fight for a Slave Girl,” San Francisco Call, 9 July 1895, p 4, col. 5.

314 Rowena Beans, In as Much.... The One Hundred Year History of the San Francisco Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society, 1853-1953, (Berkeley: James J. Gillick and Company, 1953).

against slave owners. In other articles, mission workers pleaded for money to purchase mui tsai themselves. Miss Stein, the matron of the Baptist Mission in Fresno beseeched readers for money to purchase Wye Lun a three-year old being sold by her father Lui Sing for $550. The matron hoped that Baptist ministers would see the value in purchasing the young girl, especially if Americans supported and donated to the cause.

Relying on public support, the Call in 1891 circulated a petition signed by nearly every clergyman and hundreds of Christian people. Addressed to President McKinley the document requested that a Washington special agent investigate the slave trade in San Francisco. Countering the move was interested Chinese men who published a petition of their own calling for non-intervention. Although San Francisco newspapers published both petitions, regional and national newspapers such as the Los Angeles Times and New York Times did not print the story, even though they often covered the escapades of San Francisco missionaries in “saving” Chinese girls. The Los Angeles Times from 1882 to 1933 ran nearly 120 articles on Chinese “slave girls,” San Francisco missions, and rescue

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316 “The War Upon Chinese Slavery,” San Francisco Call, 31 August 1897, p. 6 col. 1. “Morality vs. Iniquity,” San Francisco Call, 25 August 1897, p. 6, col. 2. Mrs. Wong, the wife of a Chinese merchant, sold Ah Chun, her mui tsai, after her husband’s death. Mrs. Wong negotiated with a local brothel keeper and eventually received $600 for Ah Chun. Once the girl found out about the impending sale, she escaped to the Methodist Mission. The thought was that if missions could win a test case regarding the legality of a Chinese couple holding a minor in their den, it would help end slave trafficking in San Francisco.

317 “Christians to Buy a Slave,” San Francisco Call, 7 September 1897, p. 12, col. 1.

318 See document 3 in the appendix. The Chinese men known as the Housekeeper’s Association met at a restaurant on Dupont Street to discuss their strategy in fighting the mission workers. See “From San Francisco” Woman’s Work for Woman 12, no. 11 (November 1897): 316; “To Fight the Slave Traffic,” San Francisco Call, 7 November 1897, p. 11 col. 4; “Chinatown Becoming Excited,” San Francisco Call, 12 August 1897, p. 7 col. 2; “Suggesting a Remedy,” San Francisco Call, 12 August 1897, p. 6 col. 2; “Chinese Slavery Must Stop,” San Francisco Call, 9 August 1897, p. 6, col. 3; “Appeal to All Christians,” San Francisco Call, 30 August 1897, p. 7 col. 3; and “A Bitter Fight on Missions,” San Francisco Call, 22 August 1897, p. 11, col. 4.
homes. Similarly, the *New York Times* published over fifty editorials from 1869 to 1932 covering San Francisco mission homes and Chinese "slave girls." Other less prominent newspapers such as the *Las Vegas Age, The Oregonian, and The Silver State News* also dedicated space to the subject of *mui tsai* and mission work along the west coast. In 1897, the *Omaha World Herald* carried an article informing its readers that most of the girls in San Francisco were "bought in China from their poverty stricken parents." Since the contract lacked stipulations regarding the girls treatment, the purchaser was free to treat them anyway they chose. The paper went further by describing thirteen-year old Tsau Kuk's haggard appearance. Her back covered with scars by the application of red-hot irons were just as visible as the lash marks that decorated her legs and arms. According to the correspondent, "she was almost an idiot from starvation and terrible cruelty." The same year the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, ran a story about Choy, a mistreated domestic slave, and her owner Chu Nan. Chu Nan "having learned something about the laws and customs of the country" stated that the girl was not his slave but his daughter. In a turn of events, Chu Nai Nai, Chu Nan's wife,

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322 Ibid.
stated that they bought the girl in China when she was five years old and if she had been their daughter her feet would have been bound in infancy.\textsuperscript{323}

In 1898, the \textit{Dallas Morning News} provided their local readership with images of the \textit{mui tsai} system. Yu Wek sold at the age of six for $200 was sold five years later for nearly $2,000. She was brought to the United States to work in the Omaha Exposition but after two weeks was smuggled to San Francisco, where her owner sold her to a brothel owner. Choey Kam, on the other hand, was sold in China by Cantonese authorities to defray the expenses of her parent’s funeral. In 1879, Choey entered the United States and served as a domestic servant in the household of a rich Chinese merchant until he arranged to sell her to a house of ill repute on Dupont Street.\textsuperscript{324} The \textit{New York Observer and Chronicle} in 1908, called upon “generous friends of missions at home and abroad” to contribute to the worthy object of freeing the San Francisco Occidental Board from its $10,000 debt incurred after the 1906 earthquake and fire.\textsuperscript{325}

As newspapers carried accounts across the nation, editors and reporters painted dramatic descriptions of missionary work as dangerous, exciting, and necessary. Embedded within these stories, was the success of missionaries in transforming rescued \textit{mui tsai} from “heathen to Christian,” demonstrating once again the significance and fruitfulness in bringing lost lambs into the flock. Furthermore, the use of newspapers spurred women to take part in the domestic mission program but more importantly,


\textsuperscript{324} “Slavery in San Francisco,” \textit{Dallas Morning News} (9 December 1898), 9.

\textsuperscript{325} “Rescuing Chinese Slave Girls: Ten Thousand Dollars Needed to Free the Home From Debt,” \textit{New York Observer and Chronicle} 86, no. 46 (12 November 1908), 634.
opened the door for soliciting donations from benefactors outside the Methodist
Episcopalian and Presbyterian denominations.

Countering these rescues and transformations were importers, highbinders, and
immigration officials fueled by the opportunity of making quick money with low risk and
overhead. However, as these two groups clashed over the fate of servants, mission and
rescue workers gained a distinct advantage over their opponents. As the overseas supply
of girls dwindled after the enactment of the 1875 Page Law and the 1882 Chinese
Exclusion Act, owners made sure to maintain control over those in their care.  
Missionaries “rescuing” girls from residential homes or dens of prostitution began
chipping away at the supply, inciting tongs and individuals to protect their assets at any
cost. In doing so, the highbinders and other importers unwittingly provided American
missionary workers with stories of intrigue, danger, and “heathenism.” These accounts
not only became one of the primary subjects of mission literature but also personalized
the plight of the mui tsai encouraging women across the nation to take an interest in the
happenings of San Francisco rescue homes.

As stories of highbinders and tongs filtered into periodicals, Americans read about
their involvement in the importation business and their attempts at hiding and
circumventing female missionary efforts in rescuing the mui tsai. Beginning in 1896, the
Los Angeles Times ran twenty-seven articles highlighting Chinese highbinders activities,

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326 “The Chinese Exclusion Act,” Woman’s Work for Woman 8, no. 7 (September 1893): 179-180. Domestic and Foreign Missionaries were convinced after the 1892 Geary Act that the work in China would be weakened. The article called for Christians to help repeal this act in order that missionaries could continue converting the Chinese in their own country.

327 “From San Francisco,” Woman’s Work for Woman 12, no. 11 (November 1897), 316. Furthermore, many slave dealers in Chinatown levied a tax upon the victims of the trade that would offset the court expenses when missionaries brought them to trial.
weapons of choice, and their attempts to bribe American officials. The *Chicago Daily News*, *Harper’s Weekly*, and the *Wasp*, also carried stories and photographs of highbinders in San Francisco. Reflecting American’s fascination with the subject was the 1899 cover of the *Wave* depicting highbinders walking down Bartlett Alley, one of the notorious locations of *mui tsai* rescues.

The utilization of newspapers across the country helped missionaries working amongst the Chinese in San Francisco and in China to spread their message to Americans outside the Methodist Episcopalian and Presbyterian denominations. Articles highlighting the deplorable conditions in San Francisco’s Chinatown stirred excitement and interest in what was happening on the domestic shores encouraging tourists to stop by rescue homes to talk with inmates or mission workers. The combination of newspaper accounts with missionary journals, leaflets, helps, and books enlarged the pool of Americans interested in both the domestic and overseas Chinese mission project. Women capitalizing on different print mediums and price points reached broad audiences across the nation that provided them the means to expand the scope of their work. By using the *mui tsai* as a material representation of mission work, American women could stay at home and read about the *mui tsai*, or take the unique opportunity to travel to San Francisco and view what Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal workers were doing to save “China” on their own shores.
CHAPTER 6:

ALL GOOD THINGS MUST COME TO AN END

The success of slave narratives, promotional materials, lectures, newspaper articles, journals, and the mui tsai themselves all worked concurrently in maintaining a high degree of public interest in what the missionary was doing for China and the Chinese. Over the years, the success of such programs provided the financial foundation for women’s boards to send and support single missionary women overseas. More importantly, it also allowed them to purchase girls in China as well as target Chinese girls living in California that they felt were nothing but “slaves.” Even though many rescued domestic servants embraced Christianity and followed western domestic patterns, some never really believed that the mui tsai system was inherently wrong. Instead, they still viewed it as a beneficial system for both parties. When asked in 1902 whether “Chinese parents in San Francisco still continue to sell their children” Mrs. Muriel Wing responded by stating:

A Chinese mother’s love for her child is as great as any mother’s love. Some poor mothers with large families are not able to support so many children and poverty compels them to give away some to some family having no children of their own. Of course, they receive some money for the child, which is to pay for that already spent by the mother since the
birth of the child. The child is generally better off with its adopted parents than if it was living at its own home. Many times, it will return to its own mother for a visit and is always taught to recognize its own brothers and sisters.\(^{328}\)

Wing recognized the benefits of the traditional *mui tsai* system in providing an alternative to death or starvation. However, the visible benefits of Chinese domestic servitude were convoluted in America. The San Francisco *mui tsai* continued to perform labor in the home but owners found higher monetary returns in selling the girls to brothels rather than finding them a husband at the age of eighteen. No longer fearing repercussions from the Qing Dynasty in not fulfilling the systems requirements, “adoptive parents” had little motivation in maintaining the traditional system.

In many ways, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal women unwittingly created a hybrid *mui tsai* system in America that was beneficial for both parties. Whether missionaries bought small Chinese children from poverty-stricken parents or rescued them from cruel owners, they became the “adoptive” parent. During the *mui tsai*’s time in the home, missionary women kept them under a watchful eye and used them in various “unpaid” mission related functions. Mission workers maintained guardianship until the *mui tsai* reached the age of eighteen and more often than not married them to Christian Chinese men. Chinese girls in turn, who lived under stringent rules of mission homes enjoyed decent care, received an education, and were given the opportunity to marry or take positions within the mission system.

\(^{328}\) Mrs. Muriel Wing, “Report of the Native House to House Visitor,” *Occidental Board Reports*, (1903), 44.
The girls who married mission-recommended Chinese men integrated mission teachings into the fabric of their lives. This deep lasting relationship with the home was visible in both the former mui tsai and their children. Ah Yane, for example after marrying Chung Wong and moving to Santa Barbara welcomed a daughter into their lives. Margaret Chung born in 1889 grew up in a staunchly religious household that mirrored the teachings gleaned from Christian missionaries. According to Margaret’s biographer Judy Tzu-Chun, Ah Yane instilled a passion for learning in her daughter that culminated in Margaret becoming the first American born Chinese female physician.329

Liang May Seen, a former inmate in the Presbyterian Mission Home parlayed her marriage to Woo Yee Sing of Minneapolis into opening her own import shop and serving as the point person in the growing Chinese community. The couple attended the Westminster Church and often welcomed Donaldina Cameron in their home during her frequent trips to the city. In 1920, Minnie Jun Soo moved to Minnesota with her husband Frank Hin Chan. Liang and Minnie developed a deep friendship based on their shared experiences living in the Presbyterian rescue home and their devotion to the missionaries that rescued them from domestic servitude.330

The fact that former inmates settled across the nation and served as material evidence for missionary work provided the Presbyterian mission board the financial means to add

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329 For more information regarding the life of Margaret Chung see Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair Headed Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

to their 5,000 workers, thirteen Christian Colleges, 200 middle schools, 275 hospitals, and countless Young Men and Young Women Christian Associations.\textsuperscript{331}

The 1920s also marked the passage of the constitutional amendment providing American women the right to vote. Whether this momentous change was the catalyst for the growing concern in the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal denominations regarding the balance of power is unclear. However, it was apparent that missionary organizations were changing their structure for parent boards began to consolidate women’s societies and auxiliaries. By 1922, the Presbyterian Chinese mission home came under the jurisdiction of the National Presbyterian Woman’s Board of Home Missions, which combined with the Board of National Missions a year later.\textsuperscript{332} Under the new system, the National Board wanted to sell 920 Sacramento Street (Presbyterian Rescue Home) and distribute the rescued girls into other organizations. Although Donaldina Cameron maintained her position as superintendent, the merger changed the financial status of the mission. The new board required rescue homes to discontinue its public meetings that “featured entertainment by Chinese Mission Home residents chosen to represent the transformation from “slavery” to mission freedom.”\textsuperscript{333} The change in attitude, according to Clifford Drury, stemmed from Katharine Bennett’s beliefs that missionary work should be conducted scientifically. The home’s personal program initiated by Margaret Culbertson in the 1870s, no longer meshed with the national


\textsuperscript{332} Peggy Pascoe, \textit{Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 182

\textsuperscript{333} Clifford Drury, \textit{Presbyterian Panorama: One Hundred and Fifty Years of National Missions History}.
bureaucracy of mission work. By 1924, the Occidental Board voluntarily merged into the Pacific District for both Home and Foreign work. “Thus in 1925, after fifty-two years of distinctive work, the Occidental Board surrendered its independent organization and its name.”

Historians have argued that the collapsing of women’s boards stemmed from social changes in American society beginning as early as 1910. Douglas Anderson argues that women beginning to bend the idea of the “feminine sphere” included activities that normally fell in the male domain, which challenged notions of masculinity and femininity. Anderson also believed that women’s strong influence in Protestant churches, public education, temperance reform, and social programs helped renew the emphasis on masculinity as “a semiconscious attempt to control women’s growing cultural power and, for some Anglo-Protestant men, to further stabilize male power within the church and make their churches attractive to business and professional men.”

Gail Bederman’s study of the 1911 Men and Religion Forward Movement reveals that the religious revival excluded women in an attempt to present religion as “manly” and as an extension of the growing business realm. Susan Lindley puts forth a different view by pointing out that male board members resented female missionaries’ beliefs that they were more efficient in keeping administrative costs down. More importantly, male board feared that the funds raised by women for women ignored the needs of general boards,

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although their funds provided mission projects with one-third to one-half of the overall financial contributions.337

As male-dominated boards consolidated female auxiliaries and associations, women began to question why they did not have a voice in parent administrations. Although Presbyterian women “did not agitate the matter and took no official action” the “large amount of co-operation so freely granted by the Assembly’s Board was not satisfactory and the drift of sentiment was unmistakable.”338 Working to solve the growing rift, parent organizations merged the Women and Assembly boards into a single board that provided seats for fifteen women. Presbyterian Margaret Hodge and Katharine Bennett upset with the consolidation of their organizations filed a report entitled, “The Causes of Unrest Among the Women of the Church.” The circulation of the document helped stir support for the three positions in the church formerly unavailable to women—elder, evangelist, and minister. However, pressured by male congregational members the Presbyterian Assembly rejected all of them except the first.

Simultaneously, as American women took seats as church elders other women found outlets in literary and social clubs. More importantly, as women embraced their new social freedom, missionary work became less attractive to younger women. The declining interest encouraged previous mission workers to shift their focus to activities that reflected the growing secular mood. Acquiescing to the shift, the San Francisco Chinese Mission Home altered the nature of its work by turning the property into a


Chinese language school and renaming it the Donaldina Cameron House. Interestingly, local Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopalians, and Congregational churches ran the language school jointly until 1947 when the building became a community center for youth work. Today, the structure still serves as a youth and religious center, which has influenced many Chinese-Americans living in San Francisco.339

Although many historians attribute the collapsing of female mission boards in the 1920s to the modification of Protestant mission programming they neglect taking into consideration the undercurrents of change already occurring in San Francisco’s Chinatown. Prior to the 1906 earthquake, San Francisco’s Chinatown was fast becoming a major tourist destination. Americans hoping to experience China on their own shores ate in Chinese restaurants and attended Chinese entertainments. After the earthquake leveled the Chinese enclave, interested Chinese merchants and societal members worked to rebuild Chinatown in a modern but still “Chinese” way that would appeal to Americans visiting the coastal city. The resulting change was an economic success.

Coinciding with financial changes was local and national legislation, which worked to end prostitution and slave trafficking. The 1910 White Slave Traffic Act (Mann Act) regulated and prevented the transportation and commerce of girls. Supported by women and mission workers, the California Red-Light Abatement Act of 1913 made property owners liable for the activities of renters rather than the actions of prostitutes themselves. Lastly, Public Law #12 signed by President Woodrow Wilson and passed in 1917

required prostitutes to remain five miles away from military installations. The combination of these laws essentially shut down the darker side of San Francisco’s Chinatown.

Furthermore, by 1920, there were visible signs of Chinese family life emerging from San Francisco. Although the female to male ratio was evening out, it did not reflect a substantial increase in the Chinese population. After years of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the numbers of Chinese living in the United States remained quite small. Americans viewing the diminutive numbers of Chinese and comparing them to the large numbers of Japanese immigrants entering the country began to see them in a positive light. The wave of xenophobia that dominated Chinese immigrants experience for nearly seventy years was now crashing over the new Asian “foreigners.”

Across the ocean, China was in the midst of transforming as well. The 1911 Revolution ended the Qing Dynasty, broke with the past, and moved towards the ideology of “westernization.” In doing so, it was no longer fashionable for Chinese girls to bind their feet or serve as mui tsai, although there were families still engaging in the practice. Chinese women living in America integrated the social changes into their own lives after reading or hearing about what was happening in their home country.

Even with these momentous changes, the fifty plus years of the Chinese mission rescue system was a testament to the influence of returning female foreign missionaries from China. Without these women, the American Chinese mission movement may have

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splintered in different directions or perhaps never evolved at all. Their familiarity of Chinese culture, language, and gender relations helped solidify a foundation, which paved the way for work amongst Chinese women residing in America. By widening the scope of missionary activities, these women initiated social reform programs that they felt would assist the Chinese woman in escaping a life of immorality or servitude.

The influx of Chinese male immigrants into California following the discovery of gold, supplied domestic missionaries with a unique opportunity in ministering to the local Chinese. Since many Chinese women did not accompany their husbands to America, there were few women living on the Gold Mountain. This discrepancy, served as the catalyst for the trade in mui tsai and brothel workers. In doing so, slave trafficking became an extremely lucrative undertaking for both Americans and the Chinese.

Concurrently, as single missionary women began traveling overseas, they established schools, missions, and churches that would elevate the “heathen” woman to western standards. In doing so, missionary women constructed national and transnational networks that encouraged organizational growth. Domestic mission workers kept in close contact with those working in sister missions scattered along the west coast and overseas. The close-knit community of religious workers not only collaborated in rescuing mui tsai but also used such rescues as a way to highlight how missions were faring in transforming “slave girls” into young Christian women. American women working in missions or schools such as the True Light Seminary sent girls back to the states to help with the domestic movement, while American missions sent the “rehabilitated” girls back to China for additional educational instruction.
American missionaries “motivated by their missionary zeal and moral sense of superiority rather Puritan in character” used the slave trade as a “horror that they could point to in inspiring greater missionary zeal against a culture they deemed entirely depraved and misguided in its ‘paganism.’”

By building missions in San Francisco and “saving” Chinese girls, missionary women provided their constituency with the opportunity to witness the successful harvest of young souls. In effect, missionary women engaging in such work alleviated American’s suspiciousness regarding the need for domestic or international missions and how and if donations were being used in an appropriate manner.

The incoming mui tsai provided female domestic missionaries with a material representation of mission work that demonstrated the power of Christianity in changing lives. By packaging and promoting mui tsai as “heathens” as well as model converts, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal missionaries found a way to create and sustain a high degree of public interest while garnering financial support for their numerous ventures both home and away. It was through their dedicated work that China boasts nearly 68 million Christian Chinese men and women.

As this work demonstrates, missionary projects rely on both human and monetary resources to carry out their work. Whether missionaries target mui tsai or other “heathens” around the globe, the mission system today reflects the same components as its nineteenth and twentieth century counterpart. Churches still rely on returning missionaries to show slides and photographs, give lectures, write literature, and relay exciting conversion stories to their congregations. The only visible difference is the widespread use of the World Wide Web that brings the world, “heathens,” and

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missionary projects into any home or space where a computer exists. In doing so, foreign missionaries no longer have to rely solely on their denominational constituency, but can reach across nations cost effectively in soliciting financial and spiritual support.

Churches engaging in mission projects also rely on fund raising tactics such as mission Sundays, services, and potlucks in order to raise adequate funds for missionary work. Church members continue to sponsor a single child or several children who are attending missionary schools or churches overseas. In return, benefactors receive letters from children discussing their progress. However, the greatest gift for those taking part in the missionary project is seeing and listening to converted “heathens” such as the Chinese mui tsai who personally thank them for revealing the word of God to their pagan hearts. As a result, western Christians continue to “Go into all the world and preach the good ‘news’ to all creation.”

\[^343\] Mark 16:15.
APPENDIX

Table 1: Total numbers of Chinese arriving in San Francisco between 1852 and 1876.
Source: Data from the U.S. Customs House and Census Records and Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 20. However, with the information provided by the Chinese Six Companies regarding arrivals and departures from 1873 to 1876, the number is more likely near 148,000 in America with nearly 60,000 in the state of California and 30,000 in San Francisco. The *San Francisco Post* on April 20, 1876 rounded the number to 110,000 Chinese in the country while the *San Francisco Bulletin* “estimated that there were 30,000 in San Francisco and 30,000 in the state, outside of San Francisco.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrived</th>
<th>Departed</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrived</th>
<th>Departed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>20,623</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>3005</td>
<td>2285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>4,279</td>
<td>4,421</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>2245</td>
<td>3111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>16,084</td>
<td>2,330</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>4290</td>
<td>4475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>3,329</td>
<td>3,473</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>11081</td>
<td>4210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>4,807</td>
<td>3,028</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>14091</td>
<td>4885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>5,925</td>
<td>1,938</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>10870</td>
<td>4236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>5,427</td>
<td>2542</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>5540</td>
<td>3260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>8175</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>9770</td>
<td>4800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>7541</td>
<td>2050</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>17075</td>
<td>6805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>8490</td>
<td>3180</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>16085</td>
<td>7710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>8175</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>18021</td>
<td>6302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>6432</td>
<td>2404</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>50063</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1864 | 2082    | 3910     | Total | 214,126 | 90,829  


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>San Francisco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4574</td>
<td>3881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>4779</td>
<td>1781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3868</td>
<td>2790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>7996</td>
<td>1303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Societies</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Organized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female Missionary Society</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>5 July 1819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies’ China Missionary Society</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies’ Board of Missions</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Spring of 1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>22 March 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>October 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast</td>
<td>Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>May or August 1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Board of Missions of the Pacific Coast</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>25 March 1873</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: San Francisco’s Chinatown ran north and south on Dupont Street and California to Broadway—ran east to west on Sacramento, Clay, Commercial, Washington, Jackson, Pacific, and Broadway. Located in the heart of Chinatown were Protestant mission homes and education facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Physical Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>829 Washington Street (1870); between Sacramento &amp; Waverly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalists</td>
<td>#5 Bremham Place; 1818 Laguna Street; and 1729 Carlos Avenue near 19th Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>916 Washington Street (1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>912 Washington Street (1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>940 Washington Street (1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterians</td>
<td>8 1/2 Prospect Street (July, 1874)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>933 Sacramento Street (October 31, 1876)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>920 Sacramento Street (1893)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1869 to June 1870</td>
<td>$4,546.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1870 to June 1871</td>
<td>$24,485.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1871 to June 1872</td>
<td>$44,044.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1872 to June 1873</td>
<td>$56,856.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1873 to June 1874</td>
<td>$59,008.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1874 to June 1875</td>
<td>$63,675.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1875 to June 1876</td>
<td>$74,727.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1876 to June 1877</td>
<td>$85,682.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1877 to June 1878</td>
<td>$82,932.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1878 to June 1879</td>
<td>$80,938.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Receipts 10 years</strong></td>
<td><strong>$518,896.06</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Selected missionaries in China, 1838-1886: Source: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, (Philadelphia: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 264-266.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Served</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapin, Oliver H. Rev. and Mrs. Chapin</td>
<td>1882-1886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Ira M. Reverend.</td>
<td>1860-1865</td>
<td>Served in Canton as a minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Laura Carpenter</td>
<td>1860-1865</td>
<td>Ira M. Condit’s first wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Samantha Knox</td>
<td>1870-1912</td>
<td>Ira M. Condit’s second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happer, Andrew P. M.D. Rev.</td>
<td>1844-1894</td>
<td>Medical doctor served in Canton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happer, Elizabeth Susan Ball</td>
<td>1844-1862</td>
<td>Andrew Happer’s first wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happer, A.L. Elliott</td>
<td>1869-1873</td>
<td>Andrew Happer’s second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happer, Hannah J. Shaw</td>
<td>1876-1894</td>
<td>Andrew Happer’s third wife. Hannah went to China in 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, William Sylvester Reverend</td>
<td>1873-1885</td>
<td>Portland, Oregon Mission Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Frances Pratt</td>
<td>1873-1885</td>
<td>William Holt’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, John G. M.D.</td>
<td>1854-1901</td>
<td>Joined Andrew Happer in Canton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, Abby L. Kingsley</td>
<td>1854-1855</td>
<td>John Kerr’s first wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, Isabella J. Mosely</td>
<td>1858-1885</td>
<td>John Kerr’s second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, Martha F. Noyes</td>
<td>1873-1923</td>
<td>John Kerr’s third wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughlin, John H. Reverend</td>
<td>1881-1903</td>
<td>Served in Shantung Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughlin, Annie Kimball Johnson</td>
<td>1881-1884</td>
<td>John Laughlin’s first wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughlin, Jennie Anderson</td>
<td>1877-1899</td>
<td>John Laughlin’s second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loomis, Augustus Reverend</td>
<td>1844-1850</td>
<td>Served in Ningpo, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loomis, Mrs.</td>
<td>1844-1850</td>
<td>Served in Ningpo, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loomis, Mary Ann</td>
<td>1886-1914</td>
<td>Augustus Loomis second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noyes, Henry V. Reverend</td>
<td>1866-1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates Served</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameron, Donaldina</td>
<td>1895-1935</td>
<td>1895-1897 as assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1897-1935 as superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culbertson, Margaret</td>
<td>1879-1897</td>
<td>Matron of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culbertson, Margie B.</td>
<td>1887-?</td>
<td>Margaret’s niece who worked in the Chinese mission home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Ira M.</td>
<td>1870-1915</td>
<td>Served in Canton before returning to U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Laura Carpenter</td>
<td></td>
<td>First wife passed away in 1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condit, Samantha Knox</td>
<td>1872-1912</td>
<td>Second wife, known as ‘Mansie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cummings, Sarah M.</td>
<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>First matron of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, Otis</td>
<td>1858-1868</td>
<td>Served in Foochow, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson, Eliza</td>
<td></td>
<td>Served in Foochow, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, Nathaniel Rev.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Early member of the Occidental Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, Emmaline Hubbard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, William Sylvester Rev.</td>
<td>1885-1897</td>
<td>Couple opens Chinese Home in Portland, Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt, Frances A. Pratt</td>
<td>1885-1897</td>
<td>William Holt’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull, Ida Mrs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. Church Oriental Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, William C. Rev.</td>
<td>1882-1892</td>
<td>Worked in home mission before going to China. Kerr also served in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1908-1953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, Grace A Kilborne</td>
<td>1912-1953</td>
<td>Worked in home mission until she went to Japan in 1912. She married William in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake, Marguerite</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.E. Church Oriental Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughlin, John H. Rev.</td>
<td>1903-1918</td>
<td>Superintendent of work for the Chinese in California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughlin, Annie Boyd</td>
<td>1904-1922</td>
<td>Third wife who worked alongside him in California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loomis, Augustus</td>
<td>1859-1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Missionaries and mission workers in San Francisco: *Source: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, (Philadelphia: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, 1886), 266.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loomis, Mary Ann</td>
<td>1859-1891</td>
<td>Second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips, Harriet N.</td>
<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>Served in the Presbyterian Chinese Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speer, William</td>
<td>1852-1857</td>
<td>Retired in 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speer, Elizabeth</td>
<td>1852-1857</td>
<td>Wife of William Speer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worley, Alfred A.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Assistant Commercial Editor for the San Francisco Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worley, Effie Deane M.D.</td>
<td>1890-1892</td>
<td>Worked in Chinese Home and learned Cantonese. Effie served in China from 1892-1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worley, Minnie G. M.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Was the doctor for the Chinese Mission Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worley, Florence</td>
<td>1899-1915</td>
<td>Teacher in Chinese mission home, served in Japan as a foreign missionary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: 1870 and 1880 Census Data. Girls in Chinese families listed as domestic servants (*mui tsai*) in San Francisco.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page #</th>
<th>Ward #</th>
<th>Dwelling #</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Choy Yin</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Merchant Chew Hung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kie Ah</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Merchant Chew Hung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Li Ang</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Merchant Chew Hung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sam Yea</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Merchant Pin Jib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lun Choy</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Doctor Hah Tuoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lan Ah</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Goy An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lop Ah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Goy An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tow Sinn</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Interpreter Lee Kew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Kew Ah</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cigar Maker Chuck Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sow Kee</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Butcher Hop Shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yok Ah</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Ah Loon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yok Ah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Owner Joss House: Hee Nah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Heen Ah</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Owner Joss House Hee Nah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Fung Kum</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Choy King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yee Ah</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Hoo Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seen Ah</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Hoo Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kim Far</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cigar Maker Chan Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ling Hee</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cigar Maker Chan Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hung Seen</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cigar Maker Chan Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Choon Wan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Storeman Kee Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Toy Sine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female Keeping House: Him Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ti Choy</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Shoebinder Uok Uon ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fui Kum</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Merchant Yoke Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Fee Lee</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Quoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Ward #</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Family</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ne Ah</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Quoy Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Pooh Ah</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Toy Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tow Ah</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Laborer Fon Sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Foon Ah</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Carpenter Choy Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Me Ah</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Hoc Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Toong Ah</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Mee Chee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ah Meen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Hee Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Fong Ah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Hee Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tong Ah</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Female Brothel Owner: Jee Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Foong Ah</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Male Brothel Owner: Sing Ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Data gleaned from the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home Records. “Records of Inmates,” 1892-1907, box 5, folder 10, Mildred Crowl Martin Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California and “Register of Inmates,” box 33, folder 299-301, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE &amp; PAGE NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>NOTES OF INTEREST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877 Pg. 27</td>
<td>Ah Ngo</td>
<td>Remarried in home</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Husband Chun Ah paid $40 for her board, a box of tea, and two jars of ginger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877 Pg. 32</td>
<td>Hoormah</td>
<td>Native Christian from Persia</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Came to America w/ her brother - Mr. Roberts offered her job in mission home for $10 per month. - Spoke 6 languages, Chalderie, Syrian, Turkish, Armenian, Russian, and German - Returned to Persia in 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877 P. 11</td>
<td>Ah Fah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Worked as servant for Mrs. Cassalman in San Jose. - Earned $6 per month - Married a Chinese man in San Jose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877 p. 25</td>
<td>Mary Marks</td>
<td>18 yrs old</td>
<td>Marries Loosie Fook in July 1878 by Rev. Condit</td>
<td>- Brought to home by unnamed woman - Mary bought in China by a German Jew and worked as a servant. - Pregnant gave birth to son in July 1877. - A Chinese family adopted her son named George.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877 p. 26</td>
<td>Ah Ho— Sin Choy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Husband paid $10 for her board after they married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877 p. 26</td>
<td>Tai You</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Tai You married Adam Luin—pd $10 for her board at the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 p. 33</td>
<td>Ah Fook He</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Married Chung Ah Wing and he pd $20 for her board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 p. 35</td>
<td>Tsun Kum and Sing Chow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Brought to home by Dr. Kerr; they were owned by Tai May - Tsun Kum married Ah Bue - Sing Chow married Ah Gin Wah of Sacramento City in 1879. - Performed by Dr. Condit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 p. 37</td>
<td>Ah Mooie</td>
<td>Slave girl</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ah Mooie married Ng Hon Kim - Performed by Loomis in 1883 - 1898-1899 in Bakersfield has four children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 p. 40</td>
<td>Ti Hee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Owned by a prostitute on Jackson Street beat who her and she fled to the home - Ti Hee married Chen Ny Ark in 1883 by Dr. Loomis and went to live on Virginia Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 p. 42</td>
<td>Tong Cook known as Chun Fah</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Brought to home at 9pm by Mr. Hunter and Lewis Lock, a Chinese interpreter - came from 728 Jackson Street, on the 4th floor of a tenement, - owned by Lui Tsioi - A Chinese man named Ah Chin at 943 Dupont Street provided information - Matron renamed her Chun Fah that means Spring Blossom. - Lee Chuck of the firm Leuong Lin Chun at 753 Commercial Street tried to remove her stating he is a friend of the father Lee Woy - Mr. Hunter states that Chun Fah is a slave brought to S.F. two months earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE &amp; PAGE NUMBER</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>NOTES OF INTEREST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1880 p. 55        | Ah Som | 16 years | Alley on Clay Street | -Came to home to stay a year  
|                   |      |        |          | -Rescue assisted by friend  
|                   |      |        |          | -She was owned by a woman named Ah Soo  
|                   |      |        |          | -Ah Som married Ah Wong and went to Chico where her husband worked as a house servant  
|                   |      |        |          | -Service by Loomis  |
| 1880 p. 56        | Ah Yoke | 13 years | Sullivan’s Alley | -Brought to home by Mr. Hunter  
|                   |      |        |          | -Owned by Ah Tie also known as Woon Ho  
|                   |      |        |          | -Owned two other girls in the brothel age 14 and 4  
|                   |      |        |          | -Ah Yoke married Chew Chong in 1897 at the Chinese Presbyterian Church at 8:30pm, wedding performed by Loomis and Kerr  
|                   |      |        |          | -Large audience present; went to live on Prospect Place  |
| 1880 p. 57        | Mook Line | 13 years | From brothel on Bartlett Alley | -Brought to home at 4pm by Mr. Hunter  
|                   |      |        |          | -Owned by a woman named Hung Far  
|                   |      |        |          | -Married Looie Hong Fong in 1890 and went to live on Stockton Street  
|                   |      |        |          | -Wedding performed by Kerr  |
| 1880 p. 59        | Men Leen |       |          | -Rescued by Mr. Hunter  
|                   |      |        |          | -Chinese consul proposed to send her back to China; returned on the Chinese steamer Ho Chung  |
| 1880 p. 59        | Ah Ngun | 16 years | 728 Jackson Street in back of store | -Brought to home by police, officer, interpreter; owned by Hung Chow  
|                   |      |        |          | -dirty and neglected, hair cut short  
|                   |      |        |          | -Married Ah Ong of Los Angeles in 1886, ceremony by Loomis  |
| 1880 p. 60        | Ah Ho | 12 years | From brothel on Bartlett Alley | -Brought to home by Mr. Hunter  
|                   |      |        |          | -Married Man Hop of Woodland California, ceremony by Dr. Kerr  |
| 1880 p. 60        | Ah Yane | 7 years but looks 9 | From brothel on Kum Cook Alley | -Brought by Mr. Hunter at 10 pm  
|                   |      |        |          | -Owned by Sam Ah Lick  
|                   |      |        |          | -Woman claimed to be mother was 60 years of age  
|                   |      |        |          | -Ah Yane married Cheung T. Hong a Christian merchant of Santa Barbara, ceremony by Loomis and Kerr  |
| 1889 p. 121       | May Seen | 18 yrs old |          | -She was to sing at a highbinder feast  
|                   |      |        |          | -married Yee Woo Sing, a Christian merchant in Minneapolis  |
| 1889 p. 120       | Kum Choie |       |          | -Brought to home by Mr. Hunter and assistant Mr. Banning  
|                   |      |        |          | -Kum was taken from Quan Kay on their way to the Chinese Theatre  
|                   |      |        |          | -Married her friend in 1892  |
| 1889 p. 125       | Kum Yoke | 7 years | Brought from Beehive House | -Brought by Mr. Hunter and Holbrook  
|                   |      |        |          | -Badly scarred from her mistress case went to court and was published in the Law Journal January 27th 1890  
|                   |      |        |          | -Mrs. Smith of Portland, Oregon assumed her support until 1899  
<p>|                   |      |        |          | -Married Long Wing from San Diego  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>NOTES OF INTEREST</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 130</td>
<td>Ah Ho</td>
<td>12  years</td>
<td>Brought from brothel at 1107 Dupont street by officers Glennon and Holbrook</td>
<td>-Fought hard when brought to home, she was returned to the alleged mother who works in a brothel by Judge Van Rynegom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 132</td>
<td>Mitsu Ono</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>-Brought to home by Mr. Hunter; she was brought to S.F. by an old Buddhist Priest who wanted to work in the restaurant business. -He treated her poorly and she ran away to Fresno where she was brought back to S.F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 136</td>
<td>Annie Johnson</td>
<td>7 or 8 years</td>
<td>Father Chinese mother Caucasian</td>
<td>-Father brought Annie to home where she would stay until her mother and siblings arrived from New Orleans, Louisiana -He worked as a cook on one of the ships moored in the Pacific Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 136</td>
<td>Kum Ho</td>
<td>From 765 Clay Street; man who owned her is Yuen Look</td>
<td>-Wife beat Kum Ho three times per day -Limbs and feet blackened and swollen, has limp, large scar on forehead -Married Fong Chew in 1897 and when to live at Hilo -Dr. Condit performed ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 138</td>
<td>Wong Hay also known as Yute Ho</td>
<td>13 years</td>
<td>Brought from 717 Clay Street</td>
<td>-Owned by man named Chung Ah Sing, who owns store in the country; his wife brought her to S.F. recently -Filthy condition and hands crippled from being beaten. -Brought to home by Mr. Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 140</td>
<td>Lui Ho or Qui Ho?</td>
<td>-Came to home after learning that she was to be sold -Married Leaung Ah Loy in 1891</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 141</td>
<td>Yuen Leen</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>731 Washington Street</td>
<td>-Brought by Holbrook and Reese -Filthy condition crawling with vermin -Kept sewing from morning until midnight -Support came from Mrs. George Barstow; when she was 20 a woman came from Kansas City to find wife for her brother -Married on May 12th 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 p. 142</td>
<td>Yeun Lui also known as Woon Tsun</td>
<td>Waverly Place brothel next to Baptist Mission Church</td>
<td>-Arrested by Officer Cox -Owned by Kum Mah -Became assistant in home but died from consumption in March 1901 after a rescue in Fresno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891 p. 144</td>
<td>Kum Choie or Kum Chi</td>
<td>Belmont Cigar Factory at 641 ½ Washington Street</td>
<td>-Was in the home before but did not remain long; -She was to be sold by a woman who owned a brothel in Fresno for $1700 to $2100 -Returned to China in 1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892 Pg. 43</td>
<td>Chun Fah marries Ng Poon Chew</td>
<td>20 years old</td>
<td>Home at 5 Prospect Place</td>
<td>-Ira Condit presided, reception held at their home, American friends provided them w/gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE &amp; PAGE NUMBER</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Page 164 Culbertson | Chun Loie          | 9 years old | Found on N.W. corner of Clay and Dupont | - Chun had two cuts on head from her mistress’s hatchet.  
- Home had mistress arrested and fined $25  
- Stayed in home until Sept. 20 1898 when she married Quong Nuey  
- Went to live in the Congregational Chinese Mission Home with her husband  
- They had a son in 1899.                                                                 |
| 1892              | *Sing Ho           | 22 years old | Bartlett Alley                    | - Ah Ching helped with rescue  
- Sing Ho was sold to pay her parents debts.  
- She remained in the home one night and then returned to the brothel.                                                                            |
| Page 174 Culbertson | Teen Fook          | 10 years old | Jackson Street near Stockton       | - Tien Fu Wu  
- Rescued by Miss Houseworth, Miss Florence Worley, and police officers  
- Face pinched, candle wax drippings on arm                                                                                                    |
| 1894              | David Solomon      | 2 ½ years old | Brought by a Mrs. Cleft            | - Syrian boy whose mother tried to sell  
David went to live in the Presbyterian Orphanage in San Rafael two years later.                                                                  |
| Page 198 Culbertson | Bessie Watson      |           |                                   | - Bessie brought a note to the church asking for a place to live.  
- She wanted to marry Dr. Karl M. Lee a Chinese dentist who was a member of the Congregational Church  
- He cut his queue and wore European clothing.  
- Bessie went to live in Mrs. Browne the President of the Occidental Board’s home  
- She returned because she caused problems  
- Bessie’s mother was white, married to Chinese man, and had a family of children.  
- Bessie and Dr. Lee were married by Lincoln Worley, attorney at law                                                                 |
| 1894              | Yute Toy           |           | San Jose: near Commercial Street   | - Returned to China a month later on the Steamer Rio                                                                                              |
| 1894              | Ho Kum             |           | Rescued at 8am from 702 Pacific Street | - Tried to escape brothel once before but was not successful  
- She sailed for China on the Steamer Rio                                                                                                         |
| 1894              | N’gun Ho           | 13 years old | Rescued from a brothel at $29 Washington Street | - Rescued by Holbrook, Wells, and two police officers  
- Sold in Marysville for $800 and brought to S.F.  
- She remained in the home until 1898 when she married Cho Sen Sing and went to live with him in Judge Herrin’s home on Broadway where he worked as a butler.  
- Husband was a Congregationalist and pleasant man.  
- The two left for China in 1900.                                                                                                                 |
<table>
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<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>NOTES OF INTEREST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1895 p. 224        | May Foong     | unknown | Rescued from      | -Rescued by Ah Ching and two police officers.  
                     |               |         | Bartlett Alley    | -Forced way in and took May Foong.  
                     |               |         |                   | -She married Chung Tin San and went to live in Courtland, Sacramento County.  
                     |               |         |                   | -The wedding was performed by Dr. Ira Condit.                                                                                                             |
| 1897 p. 230        | Suey Leen     |         | Baker Alley       | -Arrested at the insistence of a Chinese man and eventually went to the home.  
                     |               |         |                   | -She left a few days later because her sister filled out a *writ of habeas corpus*.                                                                         |
| 1897 p. 234        | Ah Mooie      |         |                   | -Detained by customs because her papers were not right.  
                     |               |         |                   | -She spent 6 years in Miss Noyes school in China.                                                                                                        |
| 1897 p. 234        | Loy Yow       | 16 years old | Lived on Washington Street | -Loy Yow belonged to the woman’s cousin who brought her to the home.  
                     |               |         |                   | -Unable to manage her.  
                     |               |         |                   | -She married Tong Ely of Marysville who ran a store.                                                                                                     |
| 1903 p. 241        | Kum Lou       |         |                   | -Kum Lou was disobedient that her mistress gave her up allowing her to go to the home.  
                     |               |         |                   | -She worked in the home until she married merchant Mr. Jein Lum Leng of Santa Barbara.                                                                 |
| 1899 p. 259        | Chio or Chyo  | Japanese girl |                   | -Brought by Rev. Sturge  
                     |               |         |                   | -She stayed a year and then went to live with Mrs. Dung of San Rafael.                                                                                   |
| 1899 p. 259        | Yute Jni (spelling) | 12 years old |                   | -Rescued by Cameron and Mr. Frank Kane of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.  
                     |               |         |                   | -Slave of the wife of Charlie Ah Him.                                                                                                                  |
| p. 260 1900       | Torra and Lorri (spelling) | 2 Japanese girls |                   | -Frank Kane brought them to home after taking them from Pine Street brothel.  
                     |               |         |                   | -Stayed for several months: one went to live with Japanese family the other went back to Japan.                                                            |
| p. 260 1900       | Fugi and Acki | 2 Japanese girls |                   | -Frank Kane rescued them but very ill.                                                                                                                  |
| 1900 p. 269        | Kum Qui       |         | Baker Alley       | -Chinese man came to mission and asked to rescue girl; police officer helped with the rescue.  
                     |               |         |                   | -The Chinese man had a price on his head and escaped to Oregon and then to China.  
                     |               |         |                   | -The Hip Sing Tong sent warrant for her arrest forcing her and Cameron to take the train to Palo Alto.  
<pre><code>                 |               |         |                   | -went to Shanghai where she lived with Miss Mary Posey of the Presbyterian Mission.                                                                  |
</code></pre>
<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899 Cameron p. 271</td>
<td>Moon Ho (Woon Ho)</td>
<td>Little girl</td>
<td>The city of Sacramento</td>
<td>-Found rolling cigarettes for Chinese men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1899-1900 Cameron p. 275 | Gook Fong            | Little girl | The city of Sacramento          | -Rescued at request of Ah Tam from the Baptist Mission   
Dr. Gardner married the couple   
-Returned to China                                                                |
| 1901 Cameron p. 276 | Ah Tye Leung          | Mich      | The city of Sacramento          | -Rescued from home where parents were attempting to sell Ah Foo  
-Miss Caruthers of the Occidental School and Mr. Kane made rescue  
-Parents agreed to allow her to remain in the home until she was 18. |
| 1901 Cameron p. 282 | Yoke Hay              | Merchant   | Corner of Washington and Brenham Place | -Servant of Chinese druggist  
-Sent back to owner                                                                                         |
| 1903 Cameron p. 295 | Chen Heng             | 2 years old | Corner of Washington and Brenham Place | -Woman paid $20 for the child when she was 1 month old.  
-Woman returned to China and did not want the girl.                                                        |
| 1903 Cameron p. 297 | Chuey Lin or Ping Leen| 9 years old | Merchant on Commercial Street    | -Couple ill-treated slave girl.  
-Judge Coffey awards guardianship to the home                                                                  |
| 1904 Cameron p. 322 | Baby Yute             | Float      | Baker Alley                     | -Born to one of the girls in the mission home                                                                 |
| 1904 Cameron p. 322 | Ah Leen               | 9 years old | Baker Alley                     | -Stayed for ten days                                                                                        |
| 1907 Cameron p. 363? | Kum Foong             | 2 years old | Barlett Alley                   |                                                                                                              |

Table 10: Information from *Occidental Board Reports*, Sarah Refo Mason Papers, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SPONSORS</th>
<th>TOTAL # of GIRLS ADMITTED</th>
<th>TOTAL # of MARRIAGES IN HOME</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1879 |                                | 16    |          |                          | 5                           | -11 stayed 1 year or longer  
-7 returned to China                                                                       |
| 1880 |                                | 15    |          |                          |                             |                                                                                           |
| 1881 | "Report of the Mission Home"   | 23    |          |                          | 3                           | -4 returned to China                                                                 |
| 1882 | "Chin Mui: The Blind Girl"     | 11    |          |                          | 3                           | -34 inmates in home  
-6 baptized                                                                         |
| 1882 |                                | Chin Mui |        |                          |                             | -born in 1869  
-went blind at 6  
became inmate on 28 May 1878  
baptized in January 1881                                                               |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SPONSORS</th>
<th>TOTAL # of GIRLS ADMITTED</th>
<th>TOTAL # of MARRIAGES IN HOME</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>&quot;Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Mooie, Sou Long, and Ah Soo</td>
<td>10 years of operation admitted 129 women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ah Mooie married -17 baptized during last 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>&quot;Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Yute and Ah Chee</td>
<td>Mrs. Ah Quan of San Diego (former inmate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ah Yute entered home 18 months earlier -Ah Chee was 13 and found in room with 3 opium smokers -both married within a year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>&quot;Report of Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Chow Yuen</td>
<td>Ah Soo of San Diego gave $5</td>
<td>154 inmates in 11 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Chow Yuen 14 years of age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>&quot;Report of Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Annie Browning</td>
<td>33 inmates living in the home</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>-white child -taken from Chinese -stayed in home for 1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>&quot;Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Yute, Ah Seen, Tsuy Yoke</td>
<td>190 inmates in the home since it opened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ah Yute sold for $300 at 15 on September 12, 1882 -Tsuy Yoke 13 yrs, placed in Boys &amp; Girls Aid Society by Judge Austin -Ah Seen brought to U.S, age 5 in 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>&quot;Report of Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Yoke</td>
<td>Mrs. Whiting of PA assumed $75 support</td>
<td>203 girls admitted to home during last 13.5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Mrs. McWilliams of Brooklyn, NY provided art lessons for Kum Lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Chinese Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Geet Young</td>
<td>227 admitted since home opened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Geet Young 10 yrs of age -highbinders paid $600 for her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Chinese Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>261 admitted to home during last 15 years</td>
<td>11 married</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2 girls died -Yoke Qui brought by woman who imports girls -four girls came on the Oceanic -Kum Yoke, 11 yrs. old taken from &quot;Bee Hive House&quot; -Chun Fah appointed interpreter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>&quot;Annual Report for 1890&quot;</td>
<td>Admitted 323 girls in last 16 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Tong Oke Light Band raised $137.46 for missionary work overseas -raised funds by throwing Chinese festival -used funds for Effie Worley’s outfit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Assistant Missionary&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-girls along with the Ladies Board gave an “Oriental Musical” to raise money for the million-dollar missionary fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>&quot;Rescue Work&quot;</td>
<td>Dung Ho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Occidental Board furnishes free leaflets on Chinese work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Home&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-the girls establish the Occidental Red Cross Society -Yeun Quai as President, Kum Yok as treasurer, and Kum Ying as secretary -wanted to help soldiers by sewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>The Occident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Eastern tourists brought to home by guides to see Chinese girls -March 1899 girls sell rugs to the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>The Occident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st Christian Chinese wedding takes place on East Coast in Arch Street Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>-8 Japanese girls entered the home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>&quot;Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Rescued 56 girls</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 married; 2 married Chinese ministers</td>
<td>-12 girls are Christians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>“Report of Rescue Work”</td>
<td>Kun Qui, Gook Foong, Yoke Lon, Ah May, Woon Ho, Ah Tye, Yuen Ho, and Suey Lon</td>
<td>Ah Soon support by Olivet Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>33 living in home, but sheltered more than 85 girls during the year</td>
<td>Yow Ho married and ministered in Portland, OR</td>
<td>-Kum Qui rescued from Baker Alley -Yuen Ho, sold for $2,755 and escapes w/ help of ‘Jim’ a Chinese man who she married -Frank Kane brings Chyo to home -Mr. Henry E. Monroe, is home lawyer -5 cases in Sup. Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>“Report of the Matron”</td>
<td>Ah Young, Ah Ho, Kum Yong, Yoke Hay, Ah Soon, Ten Ping, Ah Hay, Good Hueng, Ah Yung, Bon Yoke, and Moon Ho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1st Japanese wedding takes place in home -Dr. Minnie Worley is home’s physician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>“Report of Rescue Work”</td>
<td>Ah Young, Ah Ho, Kum Yong, Yoke Hay, Ah Soon, Ten Ping, Ah Hay, Good Hueng, Ah Yung, Bon Yoke, and Moon Ho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ah Young hit in head w/large knife -Ah Ho, sold in south by highbinders -Kum Yong, servant for boundfoot woman; Attorney McGuire worked for owner who was member of Big 6 -Yoke Hay slave of Chinese doctor -Ah Soon found in Walnut Grove -Ten Ping deaf girl poisoned by ‘mother,’ -Ah Hay fled to mission on own; Gook Hueng in same household -Ah Yung tricked in China and sold in U.S. -Bon Yoke slave for 3 years before escaped to home -Moon Ho rescued from gambling den in Isleton</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
| April 1901 to April 1902 | “Matron’s Report”                                       |                                             |                               |                           |                             | -1000 visitors to home  
-12 formal and informal receptions  
-Dr. Minnie Worley still home physician                          |
| April 1901 to April 1902 | “A Glimpse Into the Home School of the Occidental Board” |                                             |                               |                           |                             | -each girl contributes 5 cents to support bible reader in China     |
| 1903         | “Superintendent’s Report”                               | N’gun Ho, Yute Ying, Yuen Kum, Low Ah Fah     |                               |                           |                             | -N’gun Ho married Soo Hoo a Chinese man from the Congregational mission  |
|              |                                                         |                                             |                               |                           |                             | -Yute Ying taken from factory  
-Mae Tao servant for Louie Ying (did not win case)  
-Kow Seen (did not rescue)  
-Yuen Kum lost but found home  
-Low Ah Fah slave of Tong Duck  |
-Yute Qui married Chin Willie a popular U.S. interpreter from Boston  
-Long Ying married Christian man  |
|              |                                                         |                                             |                               |                           |                             | -How Seen beat with heavy pipe sent back to China                    |
| 1905-1907    | “A Sketch of the Mission Home”                           | Suey Sum and Chow Ha                        | Admitted 20 girls and several Japanese but few rescues | Lai Sum married Tong Bing from Piedmont |                             | -Japanese Kyo and Kissi brought to home  
-1906 fire moved to San Rafael and then to 477 E. 11th Street |
| 1907-1908    | “Report of the Mission Home Superintendent”              | Chow Yute, Ah Ngum, Lum See, Ah Tong, and Ah Tye |                               | 10 marriages  
-Qui Seen now Mrs. Uug Wah  
-Kum Ying married Mr. Choon Hui |                             | -Chow Yute rescued from Hanford  
-Ah Ngum rescued from Marysville  
-Lum See/Fresno             |

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908-1909</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Mission Home Superintendent&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Oie, Ah Hueng, Foo Qui, and Yoke Qui</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 rescue cases</td>
<td>12 Japanese rescues</td>
<td>-Ho Yoke and Yoke Leen on steamship Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>&quot;Rescue Work and Its Result&quot;</td>
<td>Chin Ah Ho, Flora Wong, Wong Ah Yee, Ah King, Ah Young, and Sue Mui</td>
<td></td>
<td>52 inmates</td>
<td>Ah Seen married Mr. Hok Chow member of Congregational church</td>
<td>-Chin Ah Ho on steamer Asia -Wong Ah Yee owned by Oakland druggist -4 girls found under Oakland trap door—sell for $12,000 -Sue Mui kidnapped brought to U.S. on Manchuria, in men’s clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1912</td>
<td>&quot;Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Cameron on sabbatical -Jeung Suey Ying former inmate returned to China for 2 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1914</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Mission Homes&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Yoke, Ah Oie, Ah Leen, Suy Leen, Jung Sun, Yute Tai, Ug Kum, Chow Mui, all mui tsai under the age of 14 -Ah Young, Dong Mui, Goon Took, Lai Guen, and Loy Kum rescued in S.F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N’gun Ho now Mrs. Sztao</td>
<td>-N’gun Ho 2 years at the True Light Seminary -Ah Yoke found in a Marysville garden -Yute Wah found in Marysville Opium den; sister Tsoy Yoke already in home—the two separated for 6 yrs, sold by mother in China -Chow Mui servant in Lowe Chun family served as nurse to baby boy -9 girls rescued from Marysville over the years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>&quot;Report of Chinese Mission Home&quot;</td>
<td>Yoke Ying, Suey N'gun, Lai Seein, Yuen, Kum, Dong, Leung, Ling Oie, Quan King, Ah Que, Que Ying, Suey N'gun</td>
<td>12 girls rescued from slavery</td>
<td>Wong Ah Yee married Lee Choy</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Yoke Ying age 16 -Suey N'gun age 5 -Lai Seein and Yuen Kum age 14 and owned by Chin Yuey of Oakland -Dong Leung 10 years in slavery in NW -Ling Oie owned by Lum Bing a wealthy gambler who sold her at 14 -Suey N'gun Los Angeles girl sold at 5 -Yoke Wan went to Canton to study at the True Light Seminary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1916</td>
<td>&quot;Report of the Schools at the Mission Home and the Tooker Memorial for the School Year&quot;</td>
<td>Ah Ying, King Seen</td>
<td>-Leung Kai Ming reported as head of highbinder society; bought Ah Ying</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ah Ying wanted to rescue King Seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Register of Communicants of the Chinese Presbyterian Church of San Francisco, listing San Francisco Presbyterian Mission Home inmates. Source: Register of Communicants, p. 20-71 Bancroft Library microfilm (finish citation)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>458</td>
<td>Lee How Yuk</td>
<td>March 4, 1909</td>
<td>Joined with church by letter, returned to China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459</td>
<td>Chau Cha Fa</td>
<td>March 14, 1909</td>
<td>Joined with church by letter, married in Portland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460</td>
<td>Lai Sun Choy</td>
<td>March 14, 1909</td>
<td>Joined with church by letter, married in 1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td>Chin Sing Hoie</td>
<td>March 14, 1909</td>
<td>Joined with church by letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>Wong Ah Yer</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (married Lee Choy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501</td>
<td>Chan Ho Yoke</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (married Jan 1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>502</td>
<td>Yee Ngan Gue</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>503</td>
<td>Lee Leen Sun</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (married Henry Sue went to Honolulu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td>Lee Yer She</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505</td>
<td>Lee Tsai Hay</td>
<td>September 10, 1911</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>517</td>
<td>Wong Choy Ying</td>
<td>March 17, 1912</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (Mrs. Wu Wai Kee of Clay Street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518</td>
<td>Yip May Seem</td>
<td>March 17, 1912</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (Mrs. Leung of San Mateo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>519</td>
<td>Fong May Kum</td>
<td>March 17, 1912</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (Mrs. Law Suey Won)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>540</td>
<td>Yee Yen Jung</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church by letter; came from the Portland Chinese Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541</td>
<td>Ng Fung Ching</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (married and moved to San Antonio, TX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542</td>
<td>Jea Mui Gwai</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (married Yee Ho Chung in February 1914 and moved to China)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543</td>
<td>Chan Kwan Dai</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544</td>
<td>Fong May Yuk</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, Mrs. Percy Lee of Sacramento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545</td>
<td>Lo Dai Dai</td>
<td>March 23, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>NOTES</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>547</td>
<td>Soo Yuk Fan</td>
<td>June 29, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (married in Minneapolis to Frank Chan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>548</td>
<td>Lee Guan Sow</td>
<td>June 29, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (from Chung Mae Home?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>549</td>
<td>Lo Gum Lem</td>
<td>June 29, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, returned to China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>550</td>
<td>Lee May Gun</td>
<td>June 29, 1913</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, returned to China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>615</td>
<td>Leung Gam Yok</td>
<td>December 10, 1916</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (moved to Marysville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td>Wong So</td>
<td>December 10, 1916</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>623</td>
<td>Wong Suey Kin</td>
<td>March 18, 1917</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession (Seattle-Social Security Inquiry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>624</td>
<td>Long Suey Len</td>
<td>March 18, 1917</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Sophie Hill</td>
<td>March 18, 1917</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (Siamese—Honolulu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626</td>
<td>Wong Dung Leung</td>
<td>March 18, 1917</td>
<td>Joined with church on confession, (married to Lew Wing Mow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Photo 1: Miss Emma Cable’s Class of Chinese girls. West side of Stockton St. between Clay and Washington: From Roy D. Graves pictorial collection: San Francisco Early Views [Courtesy of California Historical Society, Sacramento (S.F. Children 29441)].

920 Sacramento Street—was dedicated in 1893. The building stood until the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. On April 24, 1924, the Board of Foreign Missions sold 920 Sacramento Street to the Woman’s Board for the sum of one dollar, which provided them with the property bordering on Sacramento, Stockton, and Prospect Place. This acquisition came from the sale of land over the years to the Board of Foreign Missions. Jeanne N. LaRoche sold her property at the east corner of Sacramento and Prospect Place to the Board of Foreign Missions for $4,100 on March 20, 1893. Susan E. Barry wife of Robert Barry sold their property from Prospect Place to North Sacramento Street for the sum of $10 on March 14, 1893. John and Elvira Blossom from Lander County, Nevada sold their property from Prospect Place and Sacramento for the sum of $10. John Benson sold his property for $10 to the Board of Foreign Missions on October 30, 1903. For further information, see the San Francisco Chinese Rescue Home (Prospect Place) Deeds, County of San Francisco Deeds, 21 April 1924, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Barstow, George Mrs.—the Occidental Board elected Mrs. George Barstow as their president in 1874 after the resignation of Mrs. Albert Williams (1873-1874). Barstow juggled her three-year term as president with a husband who was a leading figure in the judicial life of early San Francisco. Additionally, she supported a Chinese home girl for ten years, served as the director of Mills College, and was an active member of the Daughters of the Revolution. She passed away in 1902 at the age of forty.

Browne, Mary Franke (Mrs. P.D. Browne)—served as the president of the Women’s Occidental Board of Foreign Missions for twenty years and founded the Young Women’s Christian Association in San Francisco. She was the key individual in securing the financial aid from the Foreign Board of New York to purchase 920 Sacramento Street.

Browne, Evelyn (Mrs. Francis Bancroft)—was Mary Franke Browne’s daughter. Evelyn took the position of Secretary to the Board of National Missions in the early 1920s. It is likely that she married into the famous California Bancroft family.

California Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children—was incorporated September 2, 1876. The Society worked closely with the Chinese Mission Home over the years in rescuing young Chinese girls from servitude and prostitution. The office was located at 604 Merchant Street, room #12. San Francisco 1890 City Directory, 71.

Cameron, Donaldina—was the most famous Chinese mission workers in San Francisco. Cameron was born in New Zealand on July 26, 1869. She immigrated with her family to California when she was only two years old. The family settled on a ranch in the San Joaquin Valley but moved after the death of her mother to the Puerto Ranch in the San Gabriel Valley. Mrs. P.D. Browne befriended the family during their short time in Oakland and often traveled to the Puerto Ranch for visits. Browne convinced Cameron in 1895 to return with her to San Francisco and work in the Chinese mission home.
Chew, Ng Poon—was born in 1848 about seventy miles from Canton. When he was fourteen, he traveled to America where he had over three hundred relatives living in San Jose. On arrival, his uncle placed him in the mission school where he learned English. He returned to San Francisco and attended the San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1889. After graduating in 1892, he worked as an assistant in the Presbyterian mission. The young man married Chun Fah and had four daughters and one son. He published a newspaper under the title of Chung Sai Yat Po or Chinese-American News until his death on March 13, 1931 at the age of sixty-five.

Chinese Benevolent Association—was established in 1862. The object of the association was to assist the Chinese coming to the state of California, to assist them when desiring to return to China, to minister to the sick, bury the dead, and return their corpses to their native land. San Francisco 1864 City Directory.

Ching, Tam Mrs.—was raised in Guangzhou in the family of Andrew Happer. She later married a Chinese pastor in San Francisco named Tam Ching and worked in the Chinese Mission Home as the early “native” helper.

Condit, Ira M.—was born in Mercer County, Pennsylvania in January of 1833. He graduated from Washington and Jefferson College in 1885. He attended the Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pennsylvania and on March 6, 1860 married Ohio teacher Laura Carpenter. Laura born in Danville, Vermont attended the Willoughby Female Seminary and Lake Erie College before their marriage. The two appointed as missionaries in 1859, sailed to Canton, China shortly after their marriage. They lived there five years but eventually returned to the states in 1865 due to Laura’s failing health. On their return, the couple worked in the mission for the Chinese in San Francisco until they returned to Ohio where Laura passed away in December of 1866. Ira returned to his work four years later and married Samantha Davis Knox in 1872. The two were married forty years until Samantha’s death in 1912. Condit continued to work with the Chinese as the superintendent in Alameda and Oakland until his death in 1915. Additionally, he worked with Fung Noy and founded the Chinese YMCA, which operated jointly between the Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

Condit, Samantha Davis (Mrs. Ira Condit)—was Ira Condit’s second wife. Although heavily invested in the San Francisco Chinese Mission she also worked with the Spanish Mission School in Los Angeles by providing Bibles and organized the Circle of Kings Daughters in 1893, made up entirely of Christian Chinese women. Samantha’s daughter Mary Ellen Condit Kibbe also worked in the local Presbytery while her other two daughters Dr. Adelaide Kibbe and Mrs. Laura Kibbe Webster served as missionaries. Adelaide worked as a medical missionary in Persia while Mrs. Laura Kibbe Webster operated as a missionary in Alaska.

Culbertson, Margaret—was born in East Groveland, New York. She originally traveled to California as a governess for the children of the brother of pioneer magnate D.O. Mills. After becoming fast friends with Mrs. P.D. Browne, she took the matron
position in the Chinese Mission Home in 1878. She worked in that capacity until her death in 1897 at Avon Springs, New York.

Dollar, Robert—was the owner of the Dollar Shipping Line, which brought the lumber business into Asia. He encouraged American businessmen to invest or explore the development of industries in China. He was also a key benefactor in purchasing the lot near Mills College. [http://www.apl.com/history/topics/explore/dollar.html](http://www.apl.com/history/topics/explore/dollar.html).

Happer, Andrew—was born in Pennsylvania on October 20, 1818 and died in 1894. He attended Jefferson College and then the Western Theological Seminary. He earned his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania and left for China in 1844 to set up a medical dispensary where he treated thousands of cases. He married Elizabeth Ball in 1847 and had five children. Elizabeth passed away on December 29, 1864 leaving him the sole parent. He remarried in 1867 to schoolteacher Miss A.L. Elliott and planned to return to China. However, his second wife died on October 10, 1873, after only a few years living in China. He then married for the third time to Hannah J. Shaw, the Presbyterian missionary who helped open the True Light Seminary in Canton. Due to illness, the couple returned to the United States in 1884, and went on a fund-raising campaign circuit to garner funds for a proposed college in Canton, which was eventually built.

Hearst, Phoebe Apperson—was heir to the Hearst magazine fortune and served as a member of the Occidental Board in its formative period.

Hoormah—was another early ‘native helper’ in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home. According to 1880 census records, Hoormah was forty-eight years of age and a house servant rather than an ‘auntie.’ The Persian woman accompanied her brother to the United States in search of a better life but fell upon desperate times. Mr. Roberts offered her a position in the Chinese mission home at $10 per month. Highly intelligent, the woman spoke six languages, which included Chaldaric, Syrian, Turkish, Armenian, Russian, and German. According to the Chinese mission home records, she returned to Persia in 1886.

Jackson, Sheldon Dr.—founded the Rocky Mountain Presbyterian in March of 1872, which he published and mailed free to every Presbyterian in the west. Dr. Jackson called for the organization of women for home mission work. Through his repeated requests for teachers and women workers, the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1875 appointed a committee to prepare plans to work with committees of women. In 1881, Jackson changed the name of his publication to Presbyterian Home Missions, which became the official paper of the Woman’s Executive Committee of Home Missions. A year later, the paper became the official publication of the Board of Home Missions and took the name the Presbyterian Home Missionary. By 1886, the women launched their own publication entitled the Home Mission Monthly.

Lee, Otis Mrs.—was recommended by Reverend Hong Lee of the Oakland Chinese Presbyterian Church for the position of Chinese teacher at the Sunshine Cottage.
Recently widowed and having spent time in China, she was the perfect choice to teach the girls about their culture and home country as well as instruct them in their indigenous language. During her thirty-three years working at the Sunshine Cottage, Miss Lee taught the girls how to prepare Chinese dishes such as sweet and sour spare ribs, tomato sautéed with beef, and Chinese fermented cheese topped with sugar, and encouraged them to use chopsticks.

_Margaret Culbertson Home_—opened in 1900 on Prospect Street in San Francisco. The facility was outgrown quickly encouraging Donaldina Cameron to locate a new benefactor. By enlisting the financial support from her friend Captain Robert Dollar, the board was able to purchase a two-acre lot near Oakland’s Mill College. Julia Morgan who also designed the Methodist Chinese Mission designed the Margaret Culbertson Home. See Mrs. P.D. Browne, “Margaret Culbertson Home,” _Occidental Board Bulletin_, 1, no. 1 (1 September 1900): 5.

_Ming Quong Home (Radiant Light)—_was established in 1915. The facility opened as an outgrowth of the San Francisco rescue mission. In early spring of 1915, Donaldina Cameron visited Last Orange, New Jersey to meet with the Tooker family. While there, she impressed the Tooker sisters with her work among the Chinese girls to the point where they “poured their means and their selves into the support of Miss Cameron’s work.” With their generous donation, the women bought a two-story house in East Oakland and placed Miss Nora Bankes and later Miss Emma Mills as matron. The home became a refuge for domestic servants and orphans with a secondary focus of maintaining the separation of the older girls from the younger ones. See Gerrye Wong, “Ming Quong Home,” in _Chinese Argonauts_ edited by Gloria Sun Hom (Los Altos Hills: California History Center): 177.

_Occidental Board of Foreign Missions_—was originally named the California Branch of the Women’s Foreign Mission Society. It was changed in 1877 to the Occidental Branch and then in 1881 to the Occidental Board. The board was an outgrowth of three women who met in 1872 at 1009 Stockton Street to discuss the plight of young Chinese children. Succeeding Mrs. George Barstow as Occidental Board president was Mrs. P.D. Browne (Mary Franke Browne) from 1877 to 1900; Mrs. C.S. Wright (1900-1906); Mrs. H.B. Pinney (1906-1919); and Mrs. Rawlins Cadwallader, 1919-1920. Serving as house matron after Sarah M. Cummings were: Miss H.N. Phillips in 1875 from the Chippewa mission; E.V. Robbins, until Mrs. Preston returned from her Canton mission in 1878; Miss Margaret Culbertson in June 1878; Miss Mary Field in 1897; and Miss Donaldina Cameron in 1900.

_Reber, Lucille—_worked as the staff dietician for American meals in the Sunshine Cottage. Reber taught the girls table manners, to finish everything on their plate, and celebrated their birthdays by baking individual cakes. The daily routine of the girls included household duties, gardening, cooking, chores, and Chinese lessons so that they would not lose the ability to speak their native tongue.
San Francisco Ladies’ Protection and Relief Society—was organized in 1853, at the Trinity Episcopal Church on Pine Street between Montgomery and Kearny. A year later, the women elected Mrs. Nathaniel Gray as the first president (1854-1887). Mrs. A. B. Eaton, Mrs. James King, Mrs. E.B. Goddard proposed a home for women and children that needed shelter and placed Mrs. A.O. Strong as the first matron of the home. Other presidents of the society included Mrs. George Barstow (1888-1903), Mrs. S. W. Dennis (1903-1910), Miss Anna Wheaton Beaver (1911-1937), Mrs. James Henry Deering (1937-1941), and Mrs. Edwin Vernon Krick (1943-1952).

Speer, William—was born in Pennsylvania in 1822. He attended both Jefferson and Kenyon College, and graduated in 1840. From there he traveled to the Allegheny Seminary where he graduated as a licensed preacher in 1846. That same year he left the United States for Canton, China where he spent four years ministering to the local Chinese. He returned to America after the death of his wife and first child. Speer later remarried, joined the lecture circuit to raise the funds to build a chapel in San Francisco’s Chinatown. The couple ministered to the Chinese in California for the next five years.

Sunshine Cottage—was a two-bedroom home on Loma Alta Avenue in Los Gatos, California. In 1934, Cameron moved the girls to the Sunshine Cottage and placed them under Miss Mary Banke’s leadership. After the Sunshine Cottage, the girls moved to a new home located on four acres in Los Gatos, which was originally part of the old Spreckles Estate. The home consisted of three bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room, dining room, and recreational room. Both homes were extremely rustic—one was made of wood, had no hot water, screened windows, and canvas awnings. Many of the girls placed raincoats over their beds so that they did not sleep in a puddle of water. See Gerrye Wong, “Ming Quong Home,” in Chinese Argonauts edited by Gloria Sun Hom (Los Altos Hills: California History Center, 1971), 182.

Warren, Harriet Merrick—was the daughter of prominent Methodist parents and born and raised in Massachusetts. In 1861, she and her husband moved to Germany for six years and then returned to the United States where she took the position of editor for the Heathen Woman’s Friend. Warren took the position in 1869 at age twenty-five and retained her position for twenty-four years until her death in 1893. Her husband William Warren served as the President of Boston University.

Woolston, Beulah—was born near Vincentown, New Jersey on August 3, 1828 and died at Mount Holly, New Jersey on October 24, 1886. She joined the church at the age of fifteen and received her early education in her hometown. Both she and her sister Sarah H. Woolston attended the Wesleyan Female College in Wilmington, Delaware. She graduated with honors in both the English and classical departments. Based on her aptitudes she remained in the college as a teacher for several years until she answered the call for missionary teachers to China. The sisters sailed on October 4, 1858 and arrived in Shanghai the following year. After reaching Foo-Chow on March 19, 1859, the duo organized a boarding school for Chinese girls under the China Female Missionary Society of Baltimore. The sisters remained in China for twenty-five years until illness forced them to return to the states.
Bill of sale—I, Lam Tew Keuy of Pak Tsz Sher, situated at the south side of Tuk Chow, make this bill of sale, selling forever our daughter for a slave, because of being short in food and clothing and generally helpless, my wife, and I, after consultation, decided we should sell our own eldest daughter, called Chun Lau, aged 10 years, being born in the tenth month, twentieth day, 3:05 A.M., to be a slave of other people, we receiving therefore 120 taels [$168] toward defraying the cost of bringing her up and other expenses.

The offer was first made to our relatives, but they were not willing to accept. Then the go-between, Mrs. Lam (formerly Miss Chew), brought the matter to the attention of Chew Kuey Lung Tong for him to purchase, which was agreed upon by all parties concerned.

As word of mouth may not be long depended upon, this bill of sale was drawn up the same day the transaction took place, the amount being paid in full in the presence of all concerned directly to me, Lam Tew Kuey, and my wife for our use, not leaving one cent unpaid. This was for our daughter, called Chun Lau, who was the same day handed over to Chew Kuey Lung Tong, to be called thereafter a slave. In after days, when she shall be grown up, Chew Kuey Lung Tong shall have the transferred right of giving her in marriage to whomsoever he may desire. She shall not be redeemed, nor shall any other claim be made for her. If anything unforeseen should happen to her, that must be regarded as from heaven.

This girl is truly the natural born daughter of me, Lam Tew Kuey. No dowry has ever been accepted for her nor earnest money from any one, and there is no debt for which she may be held. The price money is bona fide and this bill is genuine. Should there be anything not entirely cleared up, that shall be a matter for myself and the go-between to settle, and it shall not concern the purchaser.

With faith in each other, it is not necessary to state more, but lest hereafter there should not be evidence, this bill of sale, in which my daughter is forever sold as a slave, is drawn up to be proof.

This shall be evidence of the fact that I received from Chew Kuey Lung Tong the sum of 120taels and of the fact that I, Lam Tew Kuey, have sold my own first-born daughter, called Chun Lau, for a slave.

Signed: Go-between, Mrs. Lam, formerly Miss Chew.
Witness to Paper: The mother, formerly Miss Jung
Each Signature is made by a thumb mark.
Amanuensis: Lam Lok Kuey

This bill of sale, selling forever our daughter, Lam Chun Lau, by me, the father, Lam Tew Kuey, for a slave is made this 15th day of the 12th month in the 16th year of Kwong Suey (January 24, 1890).
The President Asked to Stop Slavery  
San Francisco, California August 7, 1897

To the President of the United States, Washington D.C.

We your petitioners, citizens of the City of San Francisco and State of California, respectfully beg leave to present for your consideration the following statement of conditions as they now exist in this City and State, and request that you embody such recommendations as you deem fit, in your forthcoming message to Congress, in order that that body may take suitable action in the premises and make such investigation through a special committee as shall be deemed necessary to arrive at a complete knowledge of these conditions in order that some remedy may be devised and our Nation be relieved from the stain which now rests upon it through an open and notorious violations of the constitution and laws of the United States.

The fourteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States expressly forbids the holding of human beings in bondage and declares that the barter and sale of such human beings is a felony, yet, there is now a condition of slavery in this City and State whereby more than 1000 females are held in bondage, bought and sold as chattels and kept in a condition of involuntary servitude.

These slaves are scourged, beaten, tortured, and even killed by their owners insolent defiance of the laws of the land. The number of these slaves is annually recruited by importations of others from China, in violation of the Exclusion Act passed by the Congress of the United States.

While there are no records of the illegal landing of Chinese females, or the attempt to illegally land Chinese females other than those who are held as slaves, the Federal and municipal officials seem powerless to prevent such illegal landing and traffic in human beings.

The workers in the Christian missions in this City are in constant receipt of appeals from these unfortunate women calling for aid to escape from their bondage, yet the attempts to rescue them and place them in that condition of freedom which is their natural right are obstructed to such an extent that it a matter of greatest difficulty to get them away from those who claim ownership in them.

So bold have these traffickers become that they have even sent threats of death to those who have taken an interest in having the illegal business broken up, and they placard the walls of the City with notices that they will fight those who in any way interfere with their traffic in human females.

And your petitioners will every pray, etc.
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