

THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART NINE: THE AFTERMATH OF THE HUASHAN MASSACRE.

TIMELINE: 1 OCTOBER 1895 — 8 MARCH 1897.

1895, October 1.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 1, 1895. (Received Washington Nov. 8), No 2379, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a telegram received from Messrs. Hixson and Newell; also a copy of my reply thereto; also a copy of my communication to the Tsung-li Yamen relating to the complaint made by the commissioners that the proceedings are impeded, and asking that stringent orders be issued to the viceroy ordering him to facilitate in every way the labors of the commission. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

(Enclosure 1 in No. 2379—Telegram.)

Messrs. Hixson and Newell to Mr. Denby.

Waiting for Chinese law to be enforced is rapidly rendering our presence here a farce. Viceroy's construction of the law, the deceptive acts of officials here, together with gross apathy displayed in making arrests and in conducting trials, cause alarm among peaceful people and thereby with the connivance of officials encourage Vegetarians openly to threaten native Christians. Failure to obtain full and speedy justice and complete investigation will prove lastingly injurious to United States interests in this province, and foment a most virulent persecution of native Christians. The good effect of the commission's presence here is being rapidly supplanted by a menacing attitude toward Christians and foreigners. Indications point to the massacre as being an offshoot of a contemplated rebellion. Between 200 and 300 were engaged in massacre, and of these only 45 have been arrested.

Existing elements of an uprising are daily becoming more prominent, by acts and connivance of officials, and their evident anti-foreign feeling induces Vegetarians to openly boast of future hostile intention. Former open obstruction has been followed by evasion, concealment, and deception, for the purpose of throttling the committee and securing from punishment all vandals except those actually inflicting death blows. Our helpless situation can be relieved only by peremptory action coercing viceroy to cease at once the scheming policy he is now carrying on through his subordinates here. Unless this state of affairs changes it would be better to give up the unequal struggle and return to Foochow until guarantees are given for the uninterrupted prosecution of investigation. Hixson and Newell.

(Enclosure 2 in No. 2379—Telegram.)

Mr. Denby to Mr. Hixson

Telegram. September 30, 1895.

Hixson, Suichow.

Have made urgent representations to the Tsungli Yamen to issue orders to the Viceroy to cease to impede our efforts and to order his subordinates to assist you in every way. Viceroy of Szechuan has been degraded and made forever incapable of holding office. Subordinates will be punished. Quote the example. Denby.

(Enclosure 3 in No. 2379.)

Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.

No. 37. October 1st 1895.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies.

I have the honor to inform you that I have received a communication from the American Commissioners at Kucheng making grave complaints of the conduct of affairs at that place. I call your attention to them with the hope that you will take immediate steps to remedy the evils complained of, so that the Commission now sitting may speedily and satisfactorily close its labor.

It is said that gross apathy is displayed in making arrests and in conducting trials thereby causing alarm among peaceful people and encouraging vegetarians to threaten native Christians. Such conduct will foment the persecution of native Christians. There exists now a menacing attitude towards Christians and foreigners. Indications point to the massacre as being an offshoot of a contemplated rebellion and in that view you are greatly interested in assisting in every way the Commission. There were two or three hundred people engaged in the massacre and only forty-five have been arrested. It is charged that the officials pander to anti-foreign feeling which conduct induces the vegetarians to openly boast of future hostile intentions. Open obstruction has been followed by evasion, concealment and deception used to thwart the efforts of the

commission and screen from punishment all criminals except those who actually inflicted death blows.

I request that you will order the Viceroy to cease any effort to impede the progress of the commission and to warn his subordinates that they must do their whole duty and to push on as rapidly as possible the pending examinations. Denby.

(Enclosure 1 in No. 2388.)
Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.

October 1st 1895.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies.

I have the honor to inform you that in and around Taiku, in the Province of Shansi, great hostility against foreigners is being developed and riots are to be apprehended.

By means of the sale of pictures and by organized misrepresentation the people are being falsely instructed that all the foreign powers are engaged in war against China, and they are incited by acts of violence for the sake of revenge. Unless you take immediate and stringent repressive and precautionary measures other terrible riots may ensue. I urgently call upon you to issue orders to the local authorities to post up proclamations denying the truth of the publications which are now circulating in Shansi, denouncing violence and ensuring protection to all foreigners. Denby.

(Enclosure 2 in No. 2388.)
Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby.

Your Excellency,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 24th ultimo, in which you state that the Swedish American mission at Fan Cheng in Hupeh bought a piece of ground in 1893 and that legal processes therefrom arising have continued a long time without settlement. You state that the mission has accumulated much material for the purpose of building on the premises. You point out that according to the French Berthemy Convention, as amended and agreed to by this Yamen in this year, missionaries have the right to purchase land in the interior at will and you request us to order the local officials at the said locality to offer no obstruction to the acquisition of the mission of the piece of land recently bought by them and that facilities be afforded them for the purchase of additional land whenever they may wish to buy.

We have to say in reply that we have received no report from the authorities as to the purchase of land at Fan Cheng in Hupeh by the Swedish American Mission. Being now, however, in receipt of Your Excellency's despatch we have directed the Viceroy of the Hu Kuang to take satisfactory measures in the matter.

We make this reply as in duty bound for Your Excellency's information.

The Times, (London), 1 October 1895.

THE CHINESE OUTRAGES.

Reuter's Agency is informed by the Foreign Office that an important decree has been published in the Peking *Official Gazette* ordering the Viceroy of Szu-chuan to be stripped of his rank for having failed to protect the missionaries and never again to hold office, so that his case may serve as a warning. The decree further denounces the subordinate officials who failed to take proper action.

The same agency learns that the Chinese Minister, accompanied by his secretary, left Paddington late on Sunday afternoon for Maidenhead, where Sir Halliday Macartney, Councillor of the Chinese Legation, is at present residing, and returned to London on Sunday night. It is understood that the object of the Minister's visit was to consult with Sir Halliday Macartney concerning the present attitude of Great Britain towards China.

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 30. Her Majesty's cruisers Rainbow, Spartan, and Aeolus, and the gunboats Plover and Swift are now at ports on the Yang-tsze-kiang.

The cruisers Caroline, Undaunted, Edgar, and Archer, and the despatch vessel Alacrity are at Wu-sung, while the sloop Daphne and the gunboat Firebrand are at Shanghai.

Vice-Admiral Buller, the Commander-in-Chief., arrived at Wu-sung on Saturday on board the Edgar.

BERLIN, SEPT. 30. I hear that the Chinese Government has informed that of Germany that the ringleaders in the attack made upon the evangelical mission station at Swatau have been arrested and that measures will be taken for the apprehension of the other persons concerned.—*Our Correspondent.*

BERLIN, SEPT 30. According to a telegram received here to-day, the German cruiser Kormoran arrived

yesterday at Swatau.

The Times, (London), 1 October 1895.

EDITORIAL.

There is no precedent in the annals of Chinese diplomacy for the extraordinary celerity and completeness with which the Chinese Government has yielded the demands of the British ultimatum. It was allowed a fortnight to consider the situation, and in the ordinary course we might have expected in the very last hours of the fortnight some more or less evasive and unsatisfactory reply. We do not know the precise moment at which the ultimatum was presented, but the complete submission of China was notified to the Foreign Office with a promptitude which precludes everything beyond a few hours' deliberation. We demanded the degradation of the VICEROY of SZU-CHUAN, and in the ordinary course we should have been met at the best with a mere administrative degradation. But in this case the degradation is carried out by Imperial edict, which is a far more solemn and irrevocable mode of punishment, in addition to which the Viceroy is declared for ever incapable of holding high office. The permanent disgrace of a Viceroy has never before being extorted from the Chinese Government, not is there, so far as we know, any precedent for disgrace by Imperial edict. This hasty concession of all, or more than all, we demanded is little in keeping with the usual proceedings of the government of Peking as to suggest that there must be some trick or some mistake. But, unprecedented as is the behaviour of the mandarins, there does not appear to be any doubt about the facts. LIU-PING-CHANG is the *de facto* viceroy of Szu-chuan, although another mandarin was sent about a year ago to take over the government. He, of course, is the man directly responsible for the massacre of the missionaries in the province, and therefore the man whose degradation this country desires.¹

The effect of exemplary punishment inflicted on an official of his exalted rank will be felt throughout the whole of the governing class. It remains, of course, for our representatives to see that the sentence is really carried out, but upon this point there can be no real difficulty in the case of conspicuous an offender. We have only to make it clear that any evasion will be promptly met by the same methods that have worked with such magical rapidity upon the present occasion, and at the same time exercise moderate vigilance in following the course of promotion among the higher officials. It seems that the demonstration at Swatau has procured for Germany full satisfaction of her demands, and indeed the mandarins have evidently for once arrived at the conclusion that they had better agree with their adversaries quickly.

This country, it may be hoped, will not again forget that in China it has to deal neither with a nation nor with a Government, but simply with a corrupt and exclusive governing class. The mass of the people do not count, and the central Government, though capable of spasmodic efforts when the governing class is thoroughly alarmed, has no continuous and adequate control over local dignitaries. Is it not wonderful that, among the few who know the bearing of events, the recent crushing defeat of China [by Japan] has produced something like panic. Whatever face they may put upon affairs, the mandarins cannot but be aware that their own position and emoluments are very seriously threatened. A tender solicitude for these things is their only approach to patriotism, and therefore the only lever by which we can effect any change we may desire to bring about. Our Special Correspondent, the letter we publish to-day, shows very clearly how directly the mandarins are responsible for all the attacks upon missionaries that occur from time to time, and have occurred during the last quarter of a century, with greatly increased frequency. Hating as they do every incursion of European ideas, they find in the missionaries the most efficacious propagandists. Traders are in the country, but not of it. They go their own way, mind their own business, and come into contact practically with none but the trading class.² It is quite different with the missionaries, who aim not at living their own lives but at influencing the lives of the mass of the people around them. In proportion as they succeed in doing this, they interfere with the vested interest of the mandarins in popular stupidity and stagnation. Hence they are the objects of peculiar detestation on the part of the governing class, and hence the dangers they incur in districts where, notwithstanding distance from European support, traders and travellers enjoy security. Whenever the mandarins are more than usually irritated or alarmed from any cause whatever, it is

1 This reflects the continuing confusion between events in Sichuan Province, where no missionaries were killed, and those in Fujian Province, where the eleven British Anglican missionaries were murdered.

2 Note earlier comments about cases involving missionaries making up more than half of the business of foreign consulates.

upon the helpless objects of their chronic animosity that they naturally wreak their vengeance.³ Unfortunately, we, in common with other European nations, have lapsed into a bad habit of treating the Chinese as if they were Europeans. For numerous outrages no adequate punishment has ever been inflicted, and the appetite for vindictive cruelty has increased accordingly.

Of course the common people are employed to do the murderous work of the mandarins. Left to themselves they would have no quarrel with the missionaries, from whom, on the contrary, they receive benefits which they recognize.⁴ It is sometimes said that missionaries who unsparingly attack the religion of the country in which they find themselves must expect to become the objects of popular hatred. Even in China there are, no doubt, wise and unwise ways of going to work, and quite probably some missionaries are less than wise. But to lay too much stress upon shock to the religious sentiments of a Chinaman is to invest him with a far larger share of European attributes than he actually possesses. In religion, as in other matters a Chinaman can quite comfortably hold two or more entirely incompatible opinions. He lives in a muddle of two or three religious systems, he does not hold very tightly to any of them, and he can find room for Christianity on similar easy terms, without any psychological disturbance such as attends the reception of a new creed by persons accustomed to dogmatic coherence. It is not for his creed that the missionary is hated by the mandarin, but for his partly unconscious diffusion of European ideas upon things in general. Thus the calumnies with which the missionaries are assailed by way of stirring up popular hatred usually deal with frankly secular matters. Our correspondents letter may be consulted for the fables put in circulation when an outbreak of popular passion is being engineered by the mandarins, but probably nothing short of long familiarity with Chinese modes of thought can enable us to understand the efficacy of these incredible slanders. Every outrage, however, can be traced to a deliberate stirring up of popular passion by a long course of these diabolical inventions, and they in turn can always be traced to the governing class. We thus come back to the thesis that it is this class with which we have to do, and this class which we must contrive to punish effectually for every attack upon British subjects, whether missionaries or not.

The Argus, (Melbourne), 1 October 1895.

**ENGLAND AND CHINA.
THE SITUATION CRITICAL.
INSULTS TO THE BRITISH CONSUL.
THE INQUIRY TO BE ABANDONED.
POSSIBLE ACTION BY ENGLAND.
OCCUPATION OF NANKIN HINTED AT.**

LONDON, Sept. 29,—The Ven. Archdeacon Wolfe, one of the Church of England clergymen stationed at Foochow, exonerates the British Consul, Mr. R. W. Mansfield, of showing apathy when the first news of the Ku Cheng massacre was received. Statements were made to the effect that Mr. Mansfield delayed unnecessarily for several days proceeding to the scene of the outrages.

LONDON, Sept. 30,—The chance of a satisfactory adjustment with China over the Ku Cheng outrages seems to be receding. The consuls of the different European powers assisting at the investigation propose now to terminate the inquiry, as the opposition they encounter from the Chinese authorities has become intolerable.

The Chinese soldiery have openly insulted the British consul, Mr. Mansfield.

The *Standard*, dealing this morning with the latest development of the situation consequent upon the refusal of the Chinese Government to decree to the banishment of Liu Ping Chang, Viceroy of Szechuen, and the despatch of an ultimatum to Peking by the British Government, hints that in the event of the Chinese Government proving obdurate the next step taken by the British will very possibly be the occupation of

3 This view underpins almost all the items in the collection and is best illustrated in Hixson's Report (Part Eight) with his determined efforts to identify and punish Chinese officials up to and including the Viceroy of Fujian. It must be noted, however, that missionary reports from both Sichuan Province in May-June 1895 and earlier reports from the Kucheng missionaries in late 1894 and early 1895 indicate that many Chinese officials sought to limit the impact of mob rioting on missionaries.

4 At Kucheng, local people informed the US Consul in Fuzhou, within two or three days, of the names of virtually all the local Vegetarians involved in the massacre on 1 August and local people arrested most of the offenders.

Nankin, the important city on the Yangtse-Kiang, which is virtually the southern capital of China.

(News published yesterday stated that Her Majesty's cruiser *Aeolus* had been ordered to Wuchang, on the Yangtse-Kiang, for the purpose of protecting the British residents there, and that four more British warships had also been despatched to the same river. The British ultimatum demanded that within 14 days an edict should be issued by the Emperor degrading the Viceroy Liu, and threatened that unless the demand were complied with the British admiral on the China station would take immediate action.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 1 October 1895.

THE CHINESE OUTRAGES.

A CONSUL EXONERATED.

LONDON, Sept. 29.—Archdeacon Wolfe, of the Church Missionary Society's Mission at Foochow, exonerates Mr. R. W. Mansfield, the British Consul at Foochow, from the charges of apathy which were made against him in connection with the recent massacre at Ku-Cheng.

THE KUCHENG INQUIRY.

PROPOSED TO BE ABANDONED.

INTOLERABLE CHINESE OPPOSITION.

LONDON, Sept. 30.—The foreign Consuls at Ku-Cheng propose to abandon the inquiry concerning the recent massacre of Christian missionaries at that place, as the opposition which the Chinese are showing to the inquiry is becoming intolerable.

The Chinese soldiers have insulted Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul.

The London *Standard* hints that, in view of the state of affairs in China, Great Britain may possibly occupy the city of Nanking, on the river Yang-tse-Kiang.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 1 October 1895

CHINA YIELDS.

The determination of the British government to protect its citizens is well known. If an Englishman is maltreated in a foreign country that country is made to feel the power of the British arm. So the announcement from Peking that the British minister had demanded that the Peking government issue a proclamation degrading the viceroy of Szechuen was not surprising. The missionaries murdered at Kucheng were English subjects and under the protection of this viceroy. He is suspected of complicity with the murderers, or at least at winking at their acts. The demand for his degradation indicated that the English do not propose to allow treaties to be disregarded. A British subject is a British subject whether he is missionary or merchant. The Chinese government has agreed to protect both merchants and missionaries. It cannot be brought to understand the necessity of respecting its promises except by an exhibition of force. The demand for the degradation of the viceroy was accompanied by the announcement that unless he was punished the British admiral in Chinese waters would take action. The Orientals understood what this meant. They have had previous experience with gunboats. The European powers also knew what it meant. It is not improbable, however, that serious European complications will arise if England limits herself to a demand for the immediate and summary punishment of all those implicated in the massacre. There are Frenchmen and Germans in China as well as Englishmen. The safety of every Caucasian in China is at stake. If the murderers of Europeans are to escape punishment life will not be worth anything in the country. The seriousness of the menace against China seems to have been appreciated in Peking, for the offending viceroy has been summarily removed from office and made ineligible ever to hold office again. If this thing had happened in Europe its significance would be fully appreciated. But they do things differently in China. The wily Orientals have a way of punishing officials who offend the Europeans and later restoring the officials to all their honours and rewarding them for accepting punishment so meekly. Then, too, they are frequently rewarded for the acts which have provoked the demand for punishment. But even under the circumstances that exist in China the moral effect upon the masses will be good. The degraded viceroy is the brother of Li Hung Chang and is influential. The Chinese appreciate the force of gunboats as arguments and respect them.

There is no danger that intelligent people will think that an attempt is to be made to Christianize China at the mouth of cannon. She may have to be civilized by force. She may have to be taught to respect life and property after a severe chastisement at the hands of Europeans. But her acceptance or rejection of Christianity

is not at stake. The missionaries are protected by their home government because they are British subjects, engaged in a lawful and peaceful occupation. They have chosen to live in China and do the work which pleases them. In that respect they do not differ from the merchants. There are not two opinions as to the wisdom of the commercial invasion of the East, but there are many different opinions as to the wisdom of the religious invasion under present methods. Many of the missionaries have narrow ideas of Christianity and still narrower notions of morality. They frequently mistake the uses of convention for the moral laws. Convention in China differs from convention in China. They also fail to respect the sincerity of the belief of the natives in their own religion, forgetting that a man may earnestly strive for the truth in a way different from that which they follow. But it is unfortunate that none of these issues was involved in the British ultimatum.

The New York Times, 1 October 1895.

SUBMISSION OF CHINESE.

Viceroy of Sze-Chuen is Degraded and Ineligible Forever.

LIU'S VICIOUS OFFICIAL CAREER.

Only the Influence of Some Leading Politicians at Peking Had Retained Him in His Government.

LONDON, Sept. 3,—The Government has received information that China has yielded to the pressure of the British ultimatum, by degrading the Viceroy of Sze-Chuen, and according in full the other demands of Great Britain.

The dispatch received at the Foreign Office says that the Chinese official Gazette has published an Imperial edict, announcing that the Viceroy of Sze-Chuen has been stripped of his rank for failing to protect the missionaries and will never again be allowed to hold high office, so that his case will serve as a warning for all future time to officials who may be disposed to do wrong. The decree also denounces the subordinate officials of the province who failed to take proper action of the protection of the missionaries.

The Pall Mall Gazette says that the Twung-li Yamen, (the board controlling Chinese foreign affairs), formally communicated its decision to the British Minister, who expressed himself as satisfied with the terms of the edict. "It is now probable, also says the Pall Mall Gazette, "that the British vessels which had entered the Uang-tse-Kiang River, for the purpose of enforcing the demands of Great Britain, will forthwith descent the river and resume their former stations."



A dispatch from Shanghai says that the British Admiral Buller, (Vice-Admiral Alexander Buller) commanding the Chinese squadron, arrived at Woo-Sung on Saturday on board the warship Edgar. The other English vessels at Woo-Sung are the cruisers Caroline, Undaunted, and Archer and the dispatch boat Alacrity. The war sloop Daphne and the gunboat Firebrand are at Shanghai and at various ports up the Yang-tse-Kiang are the cruisers Rainbow, Spartan, and Aelous and the gunboats Plover and Swift.⁵

Ian Welch

The New York Times, 1 October 1895.

THE BRITISH IN CHINA.⁶

The British, it seems, have been entirely successful in obtaining from China all the redress of which the case admitted for the massacre of British missionaries. In doing this they have also rendered a substantial service to civilization and have furnished an excellent example for our own Government to follow.

5 See Part Seven: Appendices, Appendix 2 for comparative listing of foreign naval vessels in East Asia.

6 This article must be analysed with care. There is a conflation of the issues following the Husashan Massacre in Fujian Province with those of the earlier Cheng-Tu riots in Sichuan Province.

The obstacle which the British Government had to overcome is that which always arises when a civilized Government has occasion to exact redress of China. It is the tendency of China to attempt to work off upon the complainant the shadow of redress instead of the substance, to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope. The nation which accepts such a pretense as the real thing does not receive indemnity for the past; much less does it obtain security for the future. A money indemnity to a considerable amount the Chinese Government was ready enough to pay to Great Britain to avoid further importunity. It was even readier to order any reasonable number of cheap Chinamen, possibly already under the lash of the Chinese law, to be led out to execution under the eyes of the British representatives and for their satisfaction. But these things would not have deterrent or exemplary. It was only by the active or passive complicity of persons much more important than those the Chinese Government was willing to sacrifice that the massacre of the missionaries could have been effected, and it was only by the punishment of these important persons that a repetition of such outrages could be prevented. This is what all the missionaries, merchants, and other Britons who knew China have been insisting on all along. At last they prevailed with the British Government and a demand was made for the degradation of no less a person than the Viceroy of the Province in which the massacre occurred. Of this demand the Chinese Government showed the value and necessity by obstinately resisting it. It succumbed at last only to the presentation of an ultimatum, backed by the assemblage of a British squadron off the unprotected Chinese coast. But now it has succumbed completely. The offending Viceroy is not only degraded from his office and his rank, but he is disabled from holding any office in future.

The lives of English missionaries will henceforth be safe from Chinese violence in the province lately administered by this ex-Viceroy. If we mean to make the lives of American missionaries equally safe, we in our turn must insist upon an example being made of some official whose punishment will really be exemplary.

The Church Missionary Gleaner, (London), October 1895.

THE KU-CHENG MASSACRE.

Details by the mail.

The anxiously looked for mail from Fuh-chow, with details of the sad events at Ku-Cheng, arrived at mid-day on Saturday, Sept. 14th. Although the telegraphic accounts are substantially confirmed, a good deal of light is thrown upon the exact incidents. For one thing, the Native Christians in the district and their houses and churches, were not touched; which is a matter for deep thankfulness, and an unmistakable sign that in this case the outbreak was against the missionaries as "foreign devils," and not against Christians as such. For another thing, it is clear that no tortures or mutilations took place. The dear missionaries were just killed; and the two who have really suffered are the two who were badly wounded but escaped with their lives., Miss Codrington and the Stewarts' eldest girl, Mildred. Moreover, those whose bodies were found burnt were not burnt alive; they were killed, and their bodies left in the burning house...

1895, October 2.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O'CONNOR, PEKING TO MANSFIELD, SUIKOW.***

Cypher. Despatched Peking, 5.15 p.m. Oct 2, 1895.

Your telegram No. 10. I do not see what you have got to do with the punishment of Vegetarians as such. You should press authorities arrest criminals still at large with view continuation of investigation. O'Connor.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O'CONNOR, PEKING TO MANSFIELD, SUIKOW,***

Cypher. Despatched Peking, 5.15 p.m. Oct 2, 1895.

No. 14. Your telegram No. 12. Telegram to Viceroy is a travesty of my language.

I told Yamen we did not want wholesale butchery but insisted upon all principals being sentenced to death and the leaders executed.

Were the seven criminals executed among the leaders most guilty?

Have any further arrests been made? O'Connor.

The Times, (London), 2 October 1895.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Exeter Hall was crowded last night upon the occasion of a farewell meeting of the friends of the Church Missionary Society to bid "God speed" to the missionaries about to proceed to their stations in Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, China, Japan, North-West America, and the North Pacific. Sir John Kennaway, M.P., the president of the society, occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings said the friends of the society were mourners still for the dear ones who had been recently taken from them in China. Now, by the action of the Government—action which was unasked for by the society, but which would seem to have been taken hardly a day too soon, in view of the threatening circumstances—it had been proclaimed to the people of China that missionaries were not to be murdered any more, and that protection should be given to missionaries and traders alike. As the managers of boards of missionaries at home, the members of the society has a great responsibility cast upon them, and he hoped they were fully alive to it, although it sometimes seemed to be thought that they were not. In view of the critical circumstances and condition of China, nine of the ladies who were going out to that country had for the present been detained. That a great work was being done in China was clearly admitted, and there was abundant testimony in that direction. It was also a great cause for satisfaction that no accusation of imprudence, irregular conduct, or wanton provocation had been brought against any of the missionaries, and it might be believed that they had dealt in wisdom and discretion with all matters requiring attention. The recent riots, it was believed, were anti-foreign, and not anti-missionary, and the evidence showed that the common people outside the official class were not opposed to missionaries, but that, on the contrary, the missionaries were welcomed by them and had done a great work amongst them. The Rev. H. E. Fox, the hon. secretary, stated that the total number of missionaries who had been appointed to go out this year was 147, of whom 77 were returning missionaries and 70 new missionaries. That was the largest number sent out on any previous occasion. Of the returning missionaries, three were Bishops, 30 were ordained clergy, one was a fully-qualified doctor, four were laymen, 16 were single lady missionaries, and 23 were the wives of returning missionaries. Of the new missionaries, 21 were ordained men, of whom Oxford had given one and Cambridge ten; ten were laymen, 28 were single ladies, and three were ladies going out to join future husbands. The meeting was subsequently addressed briefly by Bishop Moule, who is about to go to Mid China with Mrs. Moule; Bishop designate Cassels, proceeding to the same place; the Rev. L. Lloyd, and others of the returning and new missionaries.

The Times, (London), 2 October 1895.

THE CHINESE OUTRAGES.

SHANGHAI, OCT. 1. The despatch vessel Alacrity, with Vice-Admiral Buller on board, has come up to Shanghai from Wu-sung.—*Reuter.*

PEKING, SEPT. 30. Evening.

An Imperial edict was issued yesterday degrading the Viceroy of Szu-chuan and condemning him to perpetual exclusion from office, and directing that the other officials implicated in the recent outrages should also be punished. M. Gerard, the French Minister, demanded reparation from the Government to-day on account of the attack upon the French mission at Cheng-tu.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, OCT. 1. As if to temper the possible delight of Englishmen at the happy and immediate success of the naval demonstration at the mouth of the Yang-tsze-kiang, a semi-official note has been issued, apparently by the French Foreign Office, implying that France is not obliged to take such serious steps to obtain equally speedy satisfaction. This note is as follows:— has been issued, apparently by the French Foreign Office, implying that France is not obliged to take such serious steps to obtain equally speedy satisfaction. This note is as follows:—

The satisfaction accorded to France on account of the troubles in Szu-chuan is now complete. It will be remembered that in consequence of our representations, made at the very earliest moment, indemnities were granted to our missionaries and the punishment of the culprits was formally promised. On September 15 the Chinese Government informed our Minister in Peking that six of the principal culprits had been executed and 13 severely punished. The speedy publication of the decree specifying the punishments to be meted out to the responsible authorities was also announced. The Tsung-li-Yamen communicated yesterday to the French Minister the decree degrading the Viceroy of Szu-chuan as responsible for the riots against the Christians. This decree, published by the official journal, thus adds a final sanction to the pecuniary and judicial reparation previously obtained by M. Gerard.

To read this note would one assume that the British ultimatum and the appearance of the British fleet went for nothing in the determination of the Emperor's advisers. It should not be supposed, however, that the best French opinion is so ill-informed. In the *Debats* of to-night there is a long article giving the British Government full credit for its decision not to temporize, and for the success of its action. It thinks this success an excellent precedent, and adds that all civilized nations can only rejoice at the action of England. However, the *Debats* suspects England of some ulterior object in displaying so much spirit in dealing with China at this juncture. It thinks that over and above the laudable desire to protect her missionaries England desires to impress on China that although it has of late allowed France, Russia, and Germany to take the lead in the Far East, this mood is but a passing one. "Perhaps," says the *Debats*, "the object of England is to make China feel that she must show some respect for her in negotiations which, if certain telegrams may be trusted, have begun between London and Peking relative to the Chinese frontier near the Mekong. In this case the energetic intervention of England has been inspired partly by a feeling that she must protect her subjects, and partly by considerations which the diplomacy of the other Powers will do well to watch carefully. ...

WASHINGTON, OCT. 1. It is announced that the delay in the dispatch of the American Commission of Inquiry to Cheng-tu was due to the insistence of the State Department that the mission should be sent overland. The Chinese Government on the other hand, desired that it should proceed to its destination by the Yang-tsze-kiang. It was felt here, however, than an overland journey with the presence of a strong escort would have a salutary moral effect upon the inhabitants as resembling a demonstration of force. China eventually yielded to the representations made by the United States.—*Reuter.*

* * *

Reuter's Agency is informed that Sir Halliday Macartney, Councillor of the Chinese Legation, called at the Foreign Office on Monday and formally and officially announced the intention of the Chinese Government to degrade the Viceroy of Szu-chuan in consequence of his failure to protect the British missionaries. Sir Halliday Macartney further confirmed the intelligence previously received from the British Minister in Peking that an Imperial edict to the above effect had been published in the Peking *Official Gazette*.

The Times, (London), 2 October 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

CHINESE ANSWER TO THE ULTIMATUM.

To the Editor of The Times, Sir,—Most people will share the surprise expressed in your leading article to-day that the Chinese, when given a fortnight within which they were required to degrade and depose the Viceroy of Szu-chuan, should have apparently yielded all that we demanded from them in something like 24 hours. We are told that an edict has appeared in the *Peking Gazette* ordering that the viceroy should be stripped of his rank and should never again hold office. It will be interesting to know which viceroy is here referred to. Until lately the late viceroy, Liu-ping-chang, had been in charge of the province, and it is true that to his action has been popularly attributed the late outrages on the missionaries within his jurisdiction. But if this is the man meant he was stripped of his rank more than a year ago, and was dismissed from his office, though still allowed to act, in November last.⁷

In the beginning of last year a consul denounced him as being “weak and incompetent,” a charge which was endorsed by a commission, especially appointed to inquire into the accusations made against him. “But by especial grace,” so ran the Imperial edict issued on the case,

we command that Liu-ping-chang be simply degraded from his present rank, but allowed to retain his post. This is because we have taken into consideration the many years he has served the dynasty energetically and faithfully, and because he has usually been known as a careful and diligent in his duties... But we would exhort him to brighten up his intellect in the future, and govern with better care the civil and military organizations of the Szuchuan province. Let not Liu-ping-chang fall away into future habits of laziness and carelessness of the good government of the province confided to his care by us.

In November of last year this “weak and competent” official was ordered by a decree “to give up his post and come up to Peking to await some other appointment.

Is this the man who is now re-degraded and re-dismissed? If so the Chinese Government have met our demands at a very small cost, and the knowledge of this may possibly account for the alacrity which they have shown to bring the matter to a conclusion.

October 1 Yours obediently, Robert K. Douglas.

⁷ See response at *The Time* (Lonfon), 9 October 1896, below.

1895, October 3.

The New York Times, 3 October 1895.

CHINESE TRICKS THAT ARE VAIN.

Sze-Chuen's Viceroy Was Degraded a Year Before Britain's Ultimatum.

LONDON, Oct. 2.—Sir Halliday Macartney, counselor of the Chinese Legation in Great Britain, gave information today that the punishment of the Viceroy of Sze-Chuen for neglecting to protect the missionaries in his district had been decided upon by China before the British ultimatum was issued.

R. K. Douglas, a professor of Chinese language and literature, who is accepted as high authority on the affairs of China, has written a letter for publication, in which he says that the Viceroy was degraded a year ago for incompetency and ordered to give up his post and return to Peking. Mr. Douglas thinks that China has met the demands of Great Britain at small cost, adding that the fact that the Viceroy had already withdrawn from his post accounts for the alacrity of the Peking authorities in responding to the ultimatum.⁸

The St. James's Gazette says: "It is an uncomfortable suggestion that the wily Chinamen have to some extent done us; but our demands upon Peking do not end at this point."

The Post will tomorrow say that a news agency has been informed that the Tsung-li-Yamen, the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs, notified Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British Minister, of the degradation of Liu Ping, Viceroy of Szechuen, Sept. 29. The British ultimatum demanding his degradation was presented the day previous, and certainly produced this effect. The removal of Liu Ping from office has no connection with the Kucheng massacre, the inquiry into which is proceeding.

8 See preceding letter October 2.

1895, October 4.

The North China News, (Shanghai), 4 October 1895, p 559.

THE WILES OF THE VICEROY AT FOOCHOW.

4th Oct.—WHEN we received the Reuter's telegram dated London, the 19th of September, saying that it was understood that Lord Salisbury intended to insist on the Viceroy and other high officials who are answerable for the Kucheng massacre being brought to account, and that he would bring pressure to bear upon China for that purpose, there seemed some reason to think that there was some confusion at the Foreign Office between Kucheng and Chengtu.

A closer consideration shows, however, that the Viceroy at Foochow, Pien Paochuan, and other high officials are really answerable for the Kucheng massacre, because they took no effective steps to control the Vegetarians before the massacre; and the full news that we have now received of the Viceroy's recent action shows that it is very necessary, if our prestige is to be preserved and the safety of foreigners in the interior secured, that he should be brought to account, as his former colleague in Szechuan has been. A rapid summary of the information contained in the instalment published to-day of the Report of the Kucheng Commission of Investigation will prove this without the need of much argument.

From the 7th to the 11th of September the Commission did not sit because news had arrived that a plenipotentiary had been appointed from Peking to conduct the enquiry. He turned out to be one Hsu Taotai; he made his official calls on the foreign Consuls on the 12th, The impression given them was that Hsu Taotai had full powers to see justice done without delay. At first he promised to issue a proclamation, counteracting a mischievous one that had been issued by the city magistrate, in which it was stated that Vegetarians might be enrolled in the Home Guard raised for the protection of the towns, but not Christians. This promise he deferred carrying out. He then explained that he had instructions, evidently from the Viceroy, that there were to be no executions until all the guilty had been captured and the Consuls consented to consider the case closed and the matter finally settled on behalf of their respective governments. This the Consuls, of course, refused altogether, and they demanded that as the prisoners were convicted and sentenced they should be executed without delay. When the Consuls officially returned his visit, Hsu Taotai showed his instructions from Peking, giving him authority to act in this matter, but said, according to the official report, that " he was hampered by instructions from the Viceroy at Foochow which he had received two days before the arrival of the order from Peking. The Viceroy has evidently been playing false to the Tsungli Yamen and the foreign Ministers. In the first place, the Viceroy said that Hsu Taotai had only been appointed to the Board of Foreign Trade in Foochow, whereas he had been appointed to settle this case; and secondly the Imperial telegram said; ' How is it that the foreign Ministers keep saying that no plenipotentiary has been appointed!

What answer the Viceroy gave to this is not known; but it is plain that some underhand work has been going on either in the Tsungli Yamen or the Viceroy's yamen at Foochow. It is for our Ministers to find out. Here is an excellent instance of the difficulties our Ministers have to surmount with what is called the Chinese Government; difficulties which Lord Salisbury clearly discerned when he made in the House of Lords in 1871 the speech recently referred to in our columns and in the *Times*. The semi-independence of the high provincial authorities makes it absolutely necessary that, if there is any delay in getting redress at Peking, we should go direct to the place where an outrage occurs. In the present case we have Peking appointing a plenipotentiary and this plenipotentiary at once allowing himself to be guided by the Viceroy whom in the particular matter he is intended for the time to supersede. Prompted undoubtedly by the Viceroy, Hsu Taotai had the coolness to ask the Consuls how many heads they would take to close the case at once. The suggestion was, of course, promptly repudiated, and the sittings of the Court were suspended. The report says: " Though the local officials have worked well, and the real criminals have been captured, yet there seems to be a feeling of resentment in their minds at the presence of outside pressure, and all that they have done and will do is in this spirit." The Viceroy's nod is all-important to them.

Meanwhile thirteen of the prisoners had been condemned to death, the sentences being, approved by the prefect and the Consuls; but the Viceroy, being evidently determined to show himself the paramount authority, only allowed seven of them to be decapitated. To this the Consuls gave only partial

approval, re-affirming their position, *viz.*: that according to Chinese law laid down by prefect and magistrate in open Court every member of the band who went *to* Whasang was guilty of death, and they must demand the passing of the death sentence on every one, the consideration of clemency to any being a matter for after consideration. At the same time they agreed to immediate execution of the seven criminals." A proof that Chinese law is as thus laid down was given, if it were wanted, in Shanghai on Wednesday last, when eleven men were executed. for robbery with violence at Singyanghsien. But there the victim was a wealthy Chinaman, not a missionary or a Christian. We know that since the instalment of the report that we print this morning was written, some forty prisoners have been released without the Consuls being consulted at all. The instructions from the Viceroy to his subordinates have evidently been that they were to take every opportunity to discredit and disgust the Consuls while apparently co-operating with them.

After all, as our Foochow correspondent says, the Viceroy has some excuse for his conduct. The British Government; thought it sufficient to send Mr. Mansfield to Kucheng "with no more support than a junior assistant would have if he had been sent up to enquire into the details of a street brawl in which a missionary had got a black eye." This was sorely to invite the Viceroy and all the officials downwards to take every advantage of his helpless state, and to treat the whole thing as a trifling matter easy to get over." We expect Admiral Buller, when he has settled affairs on the Yangtze, to go down to Foochow, and make the Viceroy understand that the British Government may move slowly, but that it does move, and when it does, it moves irresistibly

1895, October 5.

The Times, (London), 5 October 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

CHINA'S ANSWER TO THE ULTIMATUM.

To the Editor of *The Times*, Sir,— I have before me a letter, dated June 1, addressed by Mr. Jackson, a missionary in the disturbed part of China, to my brother, Mr. J. Heywood Hosrburgh, who is a missionary of 12 years' standing in that country, and whose station for some time past has been in the neighbourhood of Chen-tu. Mr. Jackson wrote as follows:—

We have managed to get hold of a very nasty telegram, sent through by the natives, to the effect that, because the foreigners of Chen-tu had killed a boy, their places have all been destroyed, and it further stated that a mutilated corpse was found concealed under the floor of one of the houses. This wicked lie has been scattered all along the line and is calculated to possibly make matters worse.

Now, at the side of the paragraph I have quoted I find the following note in my brother's writing:—"Sent by the Viceroy, I believe, who is already in disgrace."

In view of Professor Douglas's timely letter in your issue of this date respecting the "degraded" Viceroy, my brother's annotation seems worth quoting, for it supports the suggestion that the Viceroy's degradation (or disgrace) does not seriously interfere with his emoluments or his power.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, J. M. Horsburgh.⁹
Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W., Oct 2.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 5 October 1895.

TRAINING MISSIONARIES

IMPORTANT WORK CARRIED ON AT THE WAVERLEY PLACE INSTITUTE.

The Union Missionary Training institute of this city, which is situated at 129-131 Waverly Place, is now actively at work. Its faculty is composed of twelve competent teachers, most of whom are prominent pastors of this city and New York. The medical department has a faculty of eight leading physicians of this city. Persons of any evangelical denomination who desire to prepare for missionary work are welcomed as students. Bible study, literary and medical instruction, the Eastern languages, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, history, geography, mental and moral science, music, elocution, church history, theology, ethics, comparative religions and medicine are taught, the Bible being the most prominent study in all departments. The medical department is designed to supply the knowledge and training so important in missionary work in foreign fields.

In addition to these studies students are given practical knowledge in such lines of industrial pursuits as household economy and printing. City mission work is also part of their training for their work as missionaries. Lectures are given on various subjects during the academic year. No charges are made for board, and the fees for tuition are but \$50 per year. No worthy young person need stay away. The expenses of the year are met by the small sum of \$25 and even less than that in cases where applicants are without sufficient means. The school is dependent, in a large measure, upon the voluntary offerings of the friends of missions, individuals, churches and societies of women and young people in the churches. All donations of books, maps, library supplies, furniture, coal, table supplies, and clothing are gratefully received.

Forty-one persons have gone forth from this institute as missionaries to Africa, India, Burmah, China, Japan, Bulgaria, Mexico and the West Indies. Five others are now under appointment, while others are pastors and evangelists here at home. Those who have gone are Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Baptists, and are the appointees of nine different missionary boards. These missionaries are preachers, teachers, doctors, nurses, printers, carpenters, farmers, etc. The present school year opens encouragingly and with increasing promise.

9 See Part Thirteen. Far Eastern Question, *The Times*, (London), 1 October 1895.

The San Francisco Call, 5 October 1895.

WENT TO KU CHENG.

Dangers of the Journey of the Commission of Inquiry.

GUARDS NOT TRUSTED.

Boat of Soldiers Kept at a Distance From Foreign Representatives.

IMPUDENT MONGOL MANDARIN.

At First he Refused to Recognize the Investigators, but He Was Called to Time.

LONDON, Eng., Octo. 4.—The Pall Mall Gazette published a letter received through the mails from a correspondent at Ku Cheng, and bearing no date, in which occurs the following:

It seems odd that the only fighting man sent to Ku Cheng with the commission of inquiry should be Lieutenant Evans of the United States warship Detroit, although the English boats Linnet and Rainbow were lying at Foo Chow. British Consul Mansfield, accompanied by Mr. Allen and United States Consul Hixson, the Rev. Messrs Banister and Star and Dr. Gregory, went with Lieutenant Evans. The purpose of this party was to go into the disturbed district with a high Chinese official, Chut Seng Ping, accompanied by a hundred picked men from the Foo Chow garrison under command of Colonel Chu.

The commission went in two houseboats, flying the American and English flags. The boats, which were towed by steam launches, were nearly wrecked by coming into contact with the piers of the bridge above Foo Chow. The Mandarin at Tuchu ordered a halt for the night at the customs station. The feeling of confidence in the soldiers on the part of Europeans was so slight that while lying at anchor they objected to having the soldier's boats moored with them. The soldiers were also refused permission to go ashore, as it was uncertain what depredations they might commit. The party resumed their journey on August 13 and arrived at Suey Kow [Sui Kau], the end of their journey, by river, on August 15. At this point began their land journey to Ku Cheng.

During their night halt at Suey Kow Colonel Chu begged the commission to moor alongside the junks occupied by the soldiers, but the commission was suspicious of the soldiers and refused. Accordingly a guard of four men were sent to each boat to protect it during the night. The party filed off on in the morning on their journey to Ku Cheng. It consisted of four mandarins in state chairs and eight English and Americans, also in chairs, guarded by stalwart soldiers, every one of whom was over six feet in height and armed with breech-loading rifles. During the march the heat became so great that the soldiers were obliged to give up and let the English and Americans walk nearly half the way in order to relieve the chair bearers.

As the commission neared Ku Cheng bands of Christians, catechists and school-boys came out to meet the procession, saluting them with "Peace to you." About 200 of these people fell in and marched behind the commission.

When the city was reached the people crowded in masses, their silence broken only by whispers. On the following day the great Mandarin in charge of the inquiry arrived. This dignitarian was not inclined to admit the English and Americans to the proceedings of the inquiry. The American Consul insisted on the admission of the English and Americans, saying he did not care how great a person the Mandarin might be, he would arouse the powers to action in the matter unless they were admitted to the inquiry. He gave the Mandarin four hours in which to make up his mind and all the day was passed in discussion with the bowing and arguing Mandarins.

The debates were finally ended by Consul Hixson sending the Rev. Mr. Star with dispatches to Foo Chow. Upon his arrival there Mr. Star boarded the United States warship Detroit, where he was told by Captain Newell, the commander of that vessel, that his Government had appointed him by cablegram a member of the Ku Cheng commission, and this in the face of the fact that no English officer was appointed on the commission. The local newspapers are very sore on this point and say that if the United States can send two officers on the commission Great Britain might certainly do as well.

The letter is very discursive and breaks off abruptly. It mentions among the vegetarians caught by the authorities but few head men. The lawyers are distinguished by their nails, which are longer than they are allowed to grow by men of inferior rank. One of the prisoners taken had his throat cut. The wound was sewed up by Dr. Gregory.

1895, October 6.

The New York Times, 6 October 1895.

CHINESE OBSTACLES TO INQUIRY.

The British Vice-Consul Will abandon His Ku-Cheng Mission.

SHANGHAI, Oct. 5.—The Chinese authorities are contesting every point of the inquiry into the massacre of Christians at Ku-Cheng. They maintain that the seven executions of natives that have already taken place have amply avenged the murders of the missionaries and members of their families.

The British Vice-Consul has started from Foo-Choo. He will go to Peking, with dispatches to Sir Nicholas O'Connor, explaining the hopeless situation, and the futility of continuing the farce of inquiring into the massacre.

The New York Times, 6 October 1895.

GREAT BRITAIN IN CHINA.

The Tension Between the Two Nations Still Extreme.

By the United Press.

LONDON, Oct. 5.—Though the Foreign Office professes to be satisfied with the full and prompt acceptance by the Peking Government of the ultimatum forwarded to it by the British Government, demanding the degradation of Liu Ping Chang, Viceroy of Se-Chuen, for his connection with the Se-Chuen riots, the trouble growing out of the overt hostility of the Chinese to British subjects is not over. The movements of the British squadron in the Yang-Tse-Kiang show that the tension in the relations between Great Britain and China has hardly been lessened by the punishment of Liu Ping Chang. Vice-Admiral Fuller [Buller], instead of ceasing to demonstrate the pressure that is being brought to bear on the Peking Government, keeps under orders the British warships at every point where they were stationed before the Tsung-li Yamen apparently conceded the British demands.

The warship Aelous has gone to Wu Chang, where Vice Admiral Buller is charged to present to Chang Cheh Tung, the Viceroy, the demands relative to the inquiry into the Ku-Cheng massacre. Chang Che Tung is a notorious hater of foreigners, and Wu-Chang is the centre of the production of the pamphlets and placards inciting the populace to the murder of Europeans. No overt act of hostility that would justify Great Britain in demanding his dismissal from office can be traced to him despite his known antipathy to foreigners. The exact nature of the demands that will be presented to him has not transpired. A strong feature of Vice Admiral Buller's mission is that he is directed to deliver the British dispatches directly to Chang Cheh Tung, instead of negotiating through Peking. It is expected by the Foreign Office that the Viceroy will concede the demands.

Prime Minister Salisbury has directed Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British Minister to China, to expedite his return to London. Sir Nicholas will go to St. Petersburg as Ambassador in room of Sir F. C. Lascelles. He will be in London in November, when a new Minister to China will be appointed.

It is evident that Great Britain is determined to conserve and expand her trade and other interests in China. In order to effect this end, important changes will be made in the duties of the members of the Legation at Peking. Besides the Secretary of the Legation, a special commercial attaché will be obliged to make an annual tour of the treaty ports. The Secretary will visit the chief consulates, and the commercial attaché will receive the British residents, learn their grievances and watch the course of trade. As Sir Nicholas O'Connor suggested these changes, nothing will be done in the matter until Lord Salisbury personally confers with Sir Nicholas.

The San Francisco Call, 6 October 1895.

TROUBLE YET BREWS.

England Continues to Watch China Very Closely.

GUARDED BY WARSHIPS.

Vice-Admiral Buller Still Demonstrates the Pressure on Peking.

DEMAND MADE ON A VICEROY.

At the Same Time There is a General Shaking up in the Diplomatic Service.

LONDON, Eng., Oct. 5.— Though the Foreign Office professes to be satisfied with the full and prompt acceptance by the Peking Government of the ultimatum forwarded to it by the British Government, demanding the degradation of Liu Ping Chang, Viceroy of Se-Chuen, for his connection with the Se-Chuen riots, the trouble growing out of the overt hostility of the Chinese to British subjects is not over. The movements of the British squadron in the Yang-Tse-Kiang show that the tension in the relations between Great Britain and China has hardly been lessened by the punishment of Liu Ping Chang. Vice-Admiral Fuller [Buller], instead of ceasing to demonstrate the pressure that is being brought to bear on the Peking Government, keeps under orders the British warships at every point where they were stationed before the Tsung-li Yamen apparently conceded the British demands. The warship Aelous has gone to Wu Chang, where Vice Admiral Buller is charged to present to Chang Cheh Tung, the Viceroy, the demands relative to the inquiry into the Ku-Cheng massacre.

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1895, October 7.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O'Connor Peking to Hopkins Foochow.***

Cypher Despatched Peking, 6.00 p.m. Oct 7, 1895.

Following for Mansfield.

Viceroy reports to Yamen that 11 of the 37 prisoners deserve capital punishment.

Obtain names of the eleven with view to seeing whether they are the more guilty and if any of the others were leaders in massacre.

Yamen advises me that every effort will be made to arrest any prisoners at large against whom proof of guilt established by enquiry.

Following for yourself.

Take every opportunity to hint to Viceroy serious consequences of miscarriage of justice and say that you know privately that I have been asked by High Officials here whether I had any complaint against him and that I said I had not yet received consul's written report.

Private.

You understand of course that we do not desire wholesale butchery of prisoners. O'Connor.

The Times, (London), 7 October 1895.

CHINA.

The Viceroy of Nanking has declined to receive Vice-Admiral Buller on the plea of illness. The British ships have left Nanking. The commission of inquiry at Ku-cheng has come to deadlock, owing to the obstinacy of the Viceroy. Vice-Consul Allen has returned to Fu-chau.—

The Chinese government has agreed to pay compensation to Germany for the plundering of the mission station at Swatau. The German Consul-General at Shanghai has concluded an agreement with the Chinese Government for a crown concession to Germany at Han-kau. It is hoped that negotiations which are being carried on for a similar concession at Tientsin will be successful.

The Times, (London), 7 October 1895.

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

SHANGHAI, OCT 6. The Viceroy of Nanking has declined to receive Vice-Admiral Buller, pleading that he is ill. The British ships have left Nanking. The commission of inquiry has come to a deadlock. Disgust is felt at the Viceroy's obstinacy. The British warships Archer and Undaunted have arrive at Fu-chau, whither also Vice-Consul Allen has returned.— *Our Correspondent.*

HONG-KONG, OCT. 5. Vice-Consul Allen is about to proceed to Peking with despatches for Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British Minister, explaining the hopelessness of the situation, and the uselessness of continuing the enquiry at Ku-cheng. The investigation into the massacres, is, in fact, a judicial farce, the foreign and the Chinese commissioners being hopelessly at loggerheads. The Prefect of Ku-cheng left to-day for Fu-chau.— *Reuter.*

BERLIN, OCT. 6. The Chinese Government has now agreed to pay compensation to Germany for the plundering of the mission station at Swatau, and has despatched a general and troops to restore order at that place.

The German Consul-General at Shanghai has concluded an agreement with the Chinese Government for a crown concession to Germany at Han-kau. This is the first concession of a territorial character made by China to Germany, but it is hoped that the negotiations which are being carried on for a similar concession in Tientsin will be successful. The *Cologne Gazette* remarks that this piece of news is especially important because German trade and commerce in the above-mentioned treaty ports have hitherto been obstructed by the envy of the English, who, for instance, refused to grant a German subject permission to erect a warehouse on the British concession in Han-kau.— *Our Correspondent.*

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 7 October 1895.

**THREATENING THE MISSIONARIES
THE SEZ-CHUEN HORROR NEARLY REPEATED AT LIN CHING.**

The New York office of the American board of foreign missions has received from Lin Ching, North China, an account of a meditated attack on its missionaries located there. Lin Ching is a city in Shantung, near the junction of the Grand canal with the Wei River. It has a population estimated at fifty thousand.

“On the evening of August 17,” says the missionary correspondent, “we had our first experience of mob violence in Lin Ching. During the ten years that this station has been opened we have felt that we had gained the good will of the people sufficiently so that we need not fear trouble from them; but our recent experience has shown us that we need to be more on our guard.

The report had been widely spread that the foreigners had opened the river dike, gongs were beaten and in a very short time, many hundreds of men armed with guns, revolvers, knives, clubs, etc., had assembled in a temple court nearby, ready for any deed of violence. Two of the foreigners, by standing in the gateway and talking to the people, were able to keep the compound clear, while a friend of ours among the gentry was doing his best to secure peace. We were willing to accept almost any terms, provided they were not dishonorable, rather than take the risks of being attacked by this excited mob (which everywhere is noted for its ferocity when aroused), with the three ladies and nine small children on our hands. A courageous woman in the neighbourhood came and offered the ladies and children a refuge in her house. A few necessary articles were collected and we were ready to take advantage of this kind offer if it should come to the worst. Thus the day was passed in suspense until the middle of the afternoon, when peace counsels prevailed.”

1895, October 8.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 October 1895.

**THE SITUATION IN CHINA.
THE KU-CHENG MASSACRE.
THE INQUIRY CLOSED.**

LONDON, Oct. 7.—The British and other Consuls who proceeded from Foo Chow to Ku-Cheng to institute full inquiries into the circumstances of the late massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng have closed the inquiry, due to the obstinacy of the Chinese Viceroy.

The New York Times, 8 October 1895.

KU-CHENG DISOBEYS PEKIN'S LAW.

American Commission Leaves Tien-Tsin for Cheng-tu Inquiry

LONDON, Oct. 7.—A dispatch from Shanghai to a news agency says that the Viceroy of Foo-Choo is preventing the enforcement at Ku-Cheng of orders promulgated from Peking. The foreign Consuls report that, in consequence of this official, it is perfectly useless to proceed with the inquiry into the recent outrages. British Vice-Consul Allen has left Ku-Cheng in disgust.

1895, October 9.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O'Connor Peking to Mansfield Suikow.***

Cypher Despatched Peking, 1.00 p.m. Oct 9, 1895.

No. 15. Yamen inform me that you presented demand at Foochow for arrest of two hundred within prescribed period of time.

I do not understand this and I fear you will provoke riots and strong anti-Christian agitation.

You have not replied whether any prominent leaders still at large. If so continue press for arrest and wind up enquiry as soon as you can. You should see that those executed are the most guilty.
O'Connor.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 9, 1895, No 2392, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to state that I have not thought it necessary to inform you of the times and occasions when I have requested Admiral Carpenter to send ships to various ports in China.

In view, however, of recent criticisms of me I beg to submit the following copies of telegrams sent by me to the Admiral and the dates stated.

June 17th 1895. Riots imminent on Yangtze. Though there are several foreign ships in river it would certainly have a good effect if you would send ship to Hankow.

August 6th, 1895. Great riot at Kutien. Ten English killed. Our missionaries took refuge in Foochow. Hope you will send ship there.

August 9th, 1895. Urgently review request for ship at Foochow.

I believe that Admiral Carpenter complied with these requests as soon as he could. Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 9, 1895, No 2393, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose a translation of a communication from the Tsungli Yamen relating to affairs at Kucheng.

It is a response to my communication of which a copy was transmitted to you in my despatch No 2379 of the first instant.

I am somewhat embarrassed as to what answer to return. In despatch No 1116 of August 13th last the honorable Acting Secretary confirms his telegram of August 12th. In that telegram I am directed to:

Consult with Minister of Great Britain and cooperate as far as conducive to security and welfare of United States citizens. If not already done make demands covering same points as British demands.

It would seem, however, from the enclosure that considerable divergence exists between the policy directed to be followed in your telegram of the nineteenth September and that pursued by the British Minister. You therein say:

Clemency after conviction could only be considered upon the proposal of the Chinese Government after commissioner's report.

The Yamen reports that the British Minister said:

That seven of the head criminals therein had been executed and in addition thereto six others had been condemned to death, but that with reference to there being some leniency could be shown, that although judgment had been pronounced on them their sentences would be mitigated and it was not necessary to execute large numbers.

Messrs Hixson and Newell have been informed by me that Chinese law must take its course and the question of clemency can be considered only after they have made their report—but the British Minister has distinctly consented, if he is correctly reported, to the exercise of clemency by the Viceroy. From conversations I have recently had with the British Minister I would not be surprised if shortly withdrew his

commission. If he does I will ask your instructions what our commission should do.

In reply to the Yamen's paper I have sent a communication of which a copy is enclosed. As it would have served no good purpose to explain to the Yamen that any difference existed between H.B.M's Minister and myself, I have been as general as possible in my answers to these communications. Denby.

Enclosure 1 in No 2393.
(Translated by Chas. Denby, Secretary of Legation.) 10
The Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby.

No 38. October 6th, 1895.

Your Excellency,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 1st instant wherein you state that you have received a telegram from the American Consul at Foochow, now at Kucheng, reporting that the local officials display apathy in making arrests and in conducting trials, causing alarm among peaceful people. You state also that there are indications that the massacre at Hua Shan was an offshoot of a contemplated rebellion and that we should be interested, therefore, in aiding the commission in bringing the perpetrators to justice, that there were two or three hundred people engaged in the massacre and that only forty had been arrested, that the local officials seem to shelter them from arrest, which induced the outlaws to openly boast of future hostile intentions. You request us to order that the case be dealt with in good faith in the hope that it may be speedily closed.

Some time ago His Excellency Sir. N. R. O'Connor, the British Minister, came to the Yamen and discussed the Kucheng case. He said that seven of the head criminals therein had been executed and in addition thereto six others had been condemned to death, but that with reference to these some leniency could be shown, that although judgment had been pronounced on them their sentences could be mitigated and that it was not necessary to execute large numbers. He requested us to telegraph the Viceroy of Fukien on the subject.

This we at once did, and we are now in receipt of a telegram from his setting forth the following report from Hsu Taotai.

The deposition of Liu Hsiang Hsiung and other criminals, six in all, were yesterday submitted to the Consuls but they were unwilling to endorse them nor would they come to assist at the examination. They said that of the two hundred rioters at Hua Shan only a few over forty had been arrested, and they submitted a memorandum setting forth the names of fifty people, and they insisted that orders be issued to make stringent search for them throughout the neighborhood. According to the testimony of the outlaws heretofore examined not more than one hundred men went to Hua Shan and thirty or forty only were within and outside of the foreign houses. The Consuls were present when these people were examined and they did not dissent to their testimony. None of the important culprits have slipped through the net. As to the large number of names on the Consul's memorandum the fact is that on the occasion of the outbreak the outlaws attacked and at once dispersed. What means could the Consuls have of knowing the names of the participants. It is evident that the native Christians are acting as informers on those against whom they bear enmity. If in their manner extraneous matters are to be dragged into the case not only must the settlement be deferred but the incitement of a rebellion of another kind is to be apprehended.

In considering this matter, this Yamen enquires why the Chinese Government should wish to show leniency towards malefactors of their class for whom the law itself has no indulgence? All the outlaws who were at the scene of the crime must be seized and none allowed to escape. Upon mere suspicion, however, and semblance of guilt reckless and indiscriminating action cannot be taken. There should neither be leniency nor injustice, in order that full warning may be given to the vicious and the stupid and that the peace of the upright may be assured, If no discrimination is made between the true and the false and orders are abruptly given to repair to the villages and make relentless search it is really to be feared that there will be no avoiding causing alarm, as Your Excellency says, among the peaceful people there.

We make this communication for Your Excellency's information and we request you to instruct your Consul that he must cordially cooperate with Hsu Taotai and give no heed to the partisan statements of the native Christians who point out for arrest members of other sects in order to gratify their hate. In this way it

is to be hoped that the case may be speedily closed.

**Enclosure 2 in No 2393.
Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.**

No 38. October 9th, 1895.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th instant relating to the pending investigation at Kucheng.

After reciting the contents of my communication of the 1st instant and stating the substance of an interview with H.B.M's Minister, and quoting a report from Hsu Taotai, you ask me to instruct my Consul to cooperate with Hus Taotai etc.

Until I receive a report from the American commissioners I will be unable to instruct them on the subject mentioned. I have no doubt that as far as consistent with their duty they will cooperate with Hsu Taotai.

The Times, (London), 9 October 1895.

EDITORIAL.

It is to be hoped that the series of thoughtful and well-informed articles on the Chinese question by our Special Correspondent¹¹; the sixth of which appears in our columns to-day, will lead Englishmen to consider more attentively than they have done hitherto the great problems which seem to be maturing in the East. Our reputation as diplomatists of more than Machiavellian watchfulness and astuteness is prodigious with foreign journalists of a certain type, and serves occasionally as a pretext for treating us in a way which would be regarded as unhandsome if applied to others. It is noteworthy, however, that this exalted opinion of our statecraft prevails most strongly amongst those who know us least. Here at home we have a much humbler idea of our own performances, and, while we are satisfied that on the whole our interests abroad are pretty well looked after, we acknowledge with regret that now and then we are caught napping.

The Times, (London), 9 October 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE ANTI-FOREIGN MOVEMENT IN CHINA.

To the Editor of The Times, Sir,—The following extract from the *Peking and Tientsin Times* of August 17 may perhaps prove interesting:—

The *Peking Gazette* of August 7 publishes the following edict:—

Weng Tung-ho¹², (Tutor to the Emperor) and Li Hung-tso (Tutor to the late Emperor), are appointed members of the Tsung-li Yamen.—Rescript.

These two appointments to the Chinese Foreign Office at Peking are quite in harmony with the wave of anti-foreign feeling now sweeping South China. That the Chinese Government, at this critical stage of its relations with foreign Powers and while its weakness is becoming more and more apparent, should place in control of its foreign policy—for controlling voice they certainly will have—two Ministers who, above all others, have always been, and are now, sworn enemies to foreigners and all their work; acknowledged leaders of opposition to progress and reform on Western or any other models; champions of 'China for the Chinese' as they were in the halcyon days of the antediluvians, and the proud frustrators of many plans in past years for the regeneration of their country—that this should be done proves either that two distinguished converts have been made from ancient to modern methods, or, what is far more likely, that two new brooms have been added to the devoted band engaged in sweeping back waves of the sea of progress. These are the two worthies who deserve most

11 Chirol, Valentine, *The Far Eastern Question*, (London, Macmillan, 1896). Online <http://ia600304.us.archive.org/27/items/fareasternquesti00chir/fareasternquesti00chir.pdf> This pdf contains the articles that appeared in *the Times* (London) in September and October 1896. For an account of Chirol's life and writings see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ignatius_Valentine_Chirol

12 "Leader of the Southern or Chinese party at the Court, as opposed to the Northern or Manchu, composed mainly of the Empress Dowager...and the Imperial court. Clements, Paul H., *The Boxer Rebellion: A Political and Diplomatic Review*, (Phd, Columbia University, New York, 1915, p 52. Bland, J.o.O.P., and Backhouse, *China Under the Empress Dowager*, (Philadelphia, Lippincott Co, 1910), pp 233-234. Weng held the rank of Imperial Chinese Grand Secretary, Member of the Council of State, etc.

of the blame for making and keeping china what she now is—a mass of structureless pulp. They have always opposed, tooth and nail, expansion of foreign trade, proper organization of the army and navy, railways, concessions of any sort to foreigners, and foreign missionary and medical work. The secret of their power lies in their personal influence with the Emperor. Weng is tutor to his Majesty the reigning Emperor Li Hung-tao had the same intimate relations with the late emperor Tung chih. The two men have made common cause against change. They have not had these new honours thrust upon them for they have long been masters of the situation in Peking, and do what they choose; they they formed the power behind the throne—the weakling upon it is a puppet in their hands. It is certain that they have deliberately placed themselves in the Tsung-li-Yamen in order to control foreign policy with a firmer hand. Their sinister influence will soon be felt. We know that they are thwarting earnest efforts of foreign Ministers to apply a lasting remedy to anti-foreign outbreaks, and will do anything to alienate foreign Governments and their diplomatic representatives in Peking who make themselves obnoxious to the Yamen by demanding justice. They are of the same political ilk as the infamous Chou Hang of Hunan, and though not so rabid against foreigners, yet they are well known in Peking as “honest haters” who have poisoned the mind of the Emperor and Court against everything foreign.

Possibly the foregoing may help to make plain the manner in which the Chinese Government has read the extent to which it has profited by the lessons of the late war.

October 6. Alerte.

The Times, (London), 9 October 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE PUNISHMENT OF LIU PING CHANG.

To the Editor of *The Times*, Sir,—No one who reads *The Times* will expect Dr. Douglas to say a good word for China, but even in *role* of censor of China and things Chinese no one would have anticipated his falling foul of Lord Salisbury. But this is what he has done when he seeks to belittle the success of his lordship in obtaining the degradation of the late Viceroy of Szu-chuan. In a letter to *The Times* on the 2nd inst. he tells us that the reparation which our Minister in Peking has obtained for the missionary outrages in that province is something like an insult to our intelligence. For he says that Liu Ping Chang, the Viceroy whose punishment we have extorted from the Chinese Government had already, and for another reason, been divested of his rank and honours, and that consequently his degradation had cost them little.¹³

Now, were it not presumptuous in me to question a professor of Chinese, I would ask Dr. Douglas if he really means to say that there is no difference between the punishment which Sir Nicholas O’Conor has induced the Chinese Government to inflict on the peccant Viceroy and that which he tells us had been meted out to him by the Chinese themselves this year.

It would be monstrous to imagine that a Professor of Chinese, who reads the *Peking Gazette* as easily as we less gifted mortals read our hornbook, does not know that in these two cases the sentence passed on the Viceroy was not the same. But should not justice to Sir Nicholas O’Conor and our Foreign Office have required, even had it destroyed the effect of the blow he intended for the Chinese, Dr. Douglas to tell us that the sentence passed on Liu Ping Chang last year only called him back to Peking and set a black mark against his name in the book of the Recording Angel who sits at the Chinese Home Office; not a mark which in one short month the same Recording Angel might erase, or even change from black to red? But this is not the sentence which, thanks to the British ultimatum, has been passed on a him. That is a sentence which no revision can efface; one that leaves no *locus penitentia* for the erring Viceroy. For by it, like the officer from whom the epaulets have been torn away and the facings of his uniform cut off, Liu Ping Chang is sent back to the ranks, and for ever. Shorn of his honours, no longer a patrician, he becomes a plebeian. Nor rests the effect of the sweeping sentence there. It follows him beyond the grave. There is no place for him the Hall of Worthies, the Valhalla of the Chinese, and no son of his will wear the honours it is customary to confer on the children of mandarins of his exalted station; for punishing the children to the iniquities of the father, the sentence will make them pariahs. Now in justice to the Foreign Office, if not to the Chinese, all these things ought to have been told us Dr. Douglas. But he has no heart for telling us anything that would do the Chinese

13 See above, *The Times*, (London), 2 October 1895.

honor; he would rather suggest that they had tricked us out of the reparation that was our due.

With Dr. Douglas the study of Chinese is no tone of the humanities that are said to soften manners. He attacks China and all things China and all things Chinese, not always with knowledge, and sometimes with an asperity which in a gentleman of his position as a British official approaches on unseemliness.

But I write, not to criticize Dr. Douglas, but to show the real nature of the reparation Lord Salisbury has obtained, and the service he has rendered to the security of European life in China. Striking at one of the highest mandarins in the Empire, he has brought him down from his "pride of place," and thereby done more than if he demanded and obtained a hocatomb (sic) of those victims of the baser sort which China, prodigal of blood, is always ready to sacrifice at our demand.

Let the same policy be carried at Ku-cheng in Fo-kien, and foreign life in China will be safe for 20 years, and perhaps for ever. We have merchants and missionaries in Japan; but there we have no outrages, nor should we have any in China, were the people left alone and got goaded on to commit them by the corrupt and incompetent official classes.

This time our Government have avoided the fatal mistake they committed about three or four years ago, when blood and flame ran from place to place along the Yang-tsze from Tanyang to I-Chang.

Nor, as then, has there been any talk of money, though that may come later on. Then there was haggling and haggling for dollars in the true shopkeeper spirit, not only by us, but by France, who, indeed, was the first to set the unfortunate example, thereby playing into the hands of those whose acknowledged plan of campaign was—let us harry the missions, burn and pillage the haunt of the foreigners. True, say they, we shall have to pay for it, but what of that? In time they will tire of always having to rebuild their houses, pocket their money, and retire to their hated country.

Yours sincerely,(S. S. O.)

1895, October 10.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 10, 1895, No 2395, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In my despatch no 2393 of the 8th instant I enclosed a communication from the Tsungli Yamen in which were embodied certain statements alleged to have been made by H.B.M's Minister relating to clemency to the Kucheng rioters.

Sir Nicholas O'Conor denies that he used the language attributed to him and has furnished me with a statement of what he did say, of which a copy is enclosed.

I make the correction in justice to my colleague. I have etc. Charles Denby

Enclosure in No 2395.

Yamen's despatch of 6th October.

The Yamen's statement in page 2 is a travesty of what I said.

I did not pronounce an opinion as to the relative guilt of some or others of the 13 arrested and condemned, but I told the Yamen in general terms that Her Majesty's Government did not desire a wholesale butchery or the execution of any mere tools, but what they did want was the capital punishment of the prominent leaders and most guilty and that the sentence of death be passed on all the principals in accordance with Chinese law, the mitigation of their punishment to be granted later on.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. Baring Baring Gould, Church Missionary Society, London to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 10 October 1895.

Expressing concern at And Wolfe sending copies of letters to Brit Minister in Beijing without first seeking clearance from the Committee.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 10 October 1895.

RECENT EVENTS.

The British and American consuls report that everything has been done to obtain an inquiry into the Kucheng massacre of the missionaries, short of using force.

1895, October 11.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 11, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Vice-Consul Churchill, Foochow.

11.05 a.m. English Consul now en route Foochow to see Viceroy Monday. Think advisable you arrange to join in interview. Hixson.

The Times, (London), 11 October 1895.

CHINA.

SHANGHAI, OCTO. 10. Chou Han's infamous Hu-nan prints¹⁴ are being again distributed throughout the central provinces.—*Our Correspondent.*

PARIS, OCT. 10. The Catholic mission agency at Lyons has received letters which report aggressions against the Europeans and Christians in the central provinces of China. The mission stations at Nanchang had been destroyed, some of the converts being killed and others wounded. The Russian Consul, in the absence of the French Consul, was appealed to, and he insisted on a telegram's being sent to the local authorities ordering stringent measures for the restoration of order. The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Northern Hupei had, nevertheless, reported that the disturbances were still going on. In Northern Shen-si, moreover, the Muhomedans were in revolt.—*Our Own Correspondent.*

The Singapore Free Press, 11 October 1895.

We have had our little naval demonstration in China as an earnest of our demand that due reparation be made for the Sze-Chuen Outrages. There was an ultimatum. It had to be met or—! As a result we have been assured by China that our terms are accepted; and that the peccant Viceroy, LIU, is degraded now and henceforth, for ever and ever. That sounds all very well, but people up China way are beginning to ask how much those assurances are worth. The official in question seems to be doomed to no more than a quiet retirement,—until Britain shall have forgotten all about it. If, as may be taken for granted, LIU goes into private life with the covert sympathy of Chinese officialdom generally, that surcease from office may easily be made comfortable for him, or more than that. A sinecure or two; emoluments without duties, a secret pension or allowances; and LIU may lead a life of ease with a modified dignity, and the consciousness that he has been made to suffer before all men for exercising those rights of dealing with the outer barbarians in a manner that China only ostensibly abandons when brought up against such diplomatic conventionalities as treaty agreements, and the like. A correspondent of a Hongkong contemporary points out various weak spots in the so-called degradation of LIU, and declares that all that has been conceded, or asked for, as a deterrent in LIU's case, is valueless. Had he been deported to Hongkong, Singapore or India, to live under surveillance, at China's expense, the penalty would carry with it every evidence of a wholesome reality. It is also held that unless the fact of LIU's degradation, and that this is carried out as a result of a British ultimatum, be clearly set forth in the *Peking Gazette*, as also in a Royal proclamation efficiently promulgated throughout the Empire, the lesson will fail to exert its proper influence amongst the provincial officials and populations.

But LIU's degradation, whatever that may amount to, is but the prelude to the final demands that must be made in the more recent instance of the Kucheng massacre of English people. On all hands it is agreed that the investigations have been farcical to a degree inasmuch as they have but yielded a string of opportunities, carefully taken advantage of for the Taotai and his official underlings to display in many ingenious ways insult, contempt and ridicule over the enquiry, and for the foreigners engaged thereon. There has been dawdling enough over the business already, and if Britain desires to maintain her political influence with China it is not be ill-paced moderation or procrastination that the object will be obtained. China will come to heel quickly enough if the whip be cracked to good purpose, and at once.

14 Part Ten. Anti-Christian and Anti-Foreign Cartoons from Hunan Province.

1895, October 12.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 12, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

9.00 a.m. Denby, Peking. Situation unchanged since my last wire. British Consul went Foochow yesterday to see Viceroy. Hixson.

The Times, (London), 12 October 1895.

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.
PUNISHMENT OF LIU PING CHANG.**

To the Editor of The Times, Sir,—“S.S.O.” considers that I am a hard censor of the Chinese and their ways, but this is only because he probably compares my utterances with the undue deference and almost adulation with which Chinese statesmen have been treated during the last 20 or 30 years. If I have appeared hard, my fault has been that I was one of the first to speak out and to expose the Chinese sham—a course which has since been followed by most of those who have written with authority on what is now called, “the mass of structureless pulp” known as China.

“S.S.O.” asks me whether I “really mean to say that there is no difference between the punishment which Sir N. O’Conor has induced the Chinese Government to inflict on the peccant-Viceroy and that which he tells us had been meted out to him by the Chinese themselves last year.” On this “S.S.O.” must allow me to remark that I never said there was not. All I said was that the Chinese had so far met our demands at a very small cost. And I based this remark on the facts that in the early part of last year Liu Ping Chang, after having been memorialized against by a censor, was reported upon by a high commissioner especially appointed to investigate the charges brought; that by this official—the Governor of the province of Hupeh—he was declared to be “weak and incompetent”; that on this finding he was “degraded from his present rank, but allowed to retain his post”; and that in November last he was “ordered to give up his post,” though he was still allowed to act temporarily. Does “S.S.O.” maintain that the re-degradation of the an ex-Viceroy with such a record as this is comparable for a moment with the degradation of a Viceroy of position?

How slight has been the effect of this blow, from which “S.S.O.,” in his somewhat rhetorical forecasting, expects such far-reaching consequences, may be judged from the news that within the last few days Chang Chih Tung, the Viceroy of Nanking, has refused to receive the British Admiral, and that in Fo-kien every impediment is being thrown in the way of the settlement of the claims arising out of the Ku-cheng massacre, “S.S.O.” advises that “the same policy)as that applied to Liu) should be carried out Ku-cheng in Fo-kien, “and you, Sir, bettering his instruction, recommend that it should also be adopted at Nanking, I heartily hope that your advice will be followed, and I shall be much interested to see what sort of reception such an ultimatum will receive at the hands of the Tsung-li-Yamen.

What “S.S.O.” means by saying that I have “Fallen foul of Lord Salisbury” in this matter I cannot imagine. If I may venture to say so, I consider Lord Salisbury’s action both wise and statesmanlike. About that I said not a word. It was his surrender of the Chinese that I criticized, and on that point, so far as I know, neither Lord Salisbury nor Sir N. O’Conor has expressed an opinion.

October 9. I am, Sir, yours obediently, Robert K. Douglas.

1895, October 14.

The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 14 October 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY IN DIFFICULTIES.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN CONSULS APPEAL FOR GUNBOATS.

A NAVAL DEMONSTRATION AT FOOCHOW.

WILL THERE BE ANOTHER ULTIMATUM?

(Special to China Mail.)

Foochow, Sunday, Oct. 5.—The British and United States Consuls have wired to Admiral Buller and Admiral Carpenter for warships to Foochow to demonstrate the intention of the Powers to insist on a more satisfactory conduct of the Enquiry at Kucheng and for adequate reparations for the Hwasang massacres.

Two British warships have just arrived.

Mr. E. L. B. Allen, the British Vice-Consul, and Lieut. Evans, of the U.S. Navy, left Kucheng for Foochow to-day. They are probably bringing despatches for their respective Governments.

(We understand that orders were given several days ago, for the *Archer* and *Undaunted* to proceed to Foochow, and we believe that these are the two vessels whose arrival our Correspondent advises. Other vessels are likely to be sent from the north. ED. C.M.)

1895, October 15.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O’Conor Peking to Mansfield Foochow.***

Cypher Despatched Peking, early. Oct 15, 1895.

No. 16. is it time you have left Kutien?

Yamen have again officially agreed to capital punishment on all leaders, sentence of death on all principals and those concerned question of clemency to be considered later and that any prisoners still at large convicted by evidence produced during enquiry shall be arrested. O’Conor.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 15, 1895, Telegram, Denby to Olney. Confirmed No. 2400.

Peking, October 15, 1895,

October eleventh. Seventeen criminals will be executed Kutien. Yamen agrees all leaders will be executed, all participants sentenced, all implicated to be tried. Commission will probably be adjourned. Imperial decree issued referring subordinates Szechuan officials to board for punishment. Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 15, 1895, No 2399, Telegram, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to forward to you an abstract of a report bearing date September 13th made by H.B.M’s Consul to H.B.M’s Minister from Kucheng...¹⁵ (see following.)

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 15, 1895, No 2400, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to confirm my telegram to you as follows:

Olney, Washington, October fifteenth. . Seventeen criminals will be executed Kutien. Yamen agrees all leaders will be executed, all participants sentenced, all implicated to be tried. Commission will probably be adjourned. Imperial decree issued referring subordinates Szechuan officials to board for punishment. Denby.

In further explanation I have to say that the Viceroy has affirmed the sentence of death to be inflicted on seventeen criminals, making twenty three executions in all. On consultation with H.B.M’s Minister I agreed that three points should be presented to the Yamen: first, that all the leaders engaged in the massacre should be executed; second, that all participants in the massacre should be sentenced; third, that every person whom the proof taken before the Commission showed to have been implicated in the massacre should be tried.

These points were verbally agreed to by the Yamen, and will no doubt be communicated to me in writing.

It will be noticed that I am following as closely as I can your instructions relating to the exercise of clemency. My judgment concurred with those instructions. As the massacre was premeditated and planned beforehand, I have never wavered in the opinion that Chinese law should take its course and all persons who were present at the massacre should be tried and sentenced. It would not do to allow the Chinese to believe that crimes against foreigners were to be punished less vigorously than crimes committed against natives.

As to how many persons should be executed was under your instructions a question to be left for future determination.

It is not yet definitely known how many criminals were actually present at the massacre. It has been variously stated as being sixty, one hundred, and two hundred. The second clause of the agreement above stated secures the sentencing of all participants and has been purposely left silent as to the execution of the sentences.

15 See Part Five: Official Reports, for full text.

The third clause provides for the trial of all the persons implicated. The idea of H.B.M's Minister is that the Commission may shortly withdraw and leave these subsequent trials to be conducted before a Chinese tribunal.

As I am practically directed to act in accord with him, and as no American was killed, I will instruct Messrs Hixson and Newell to discontinue proceedings when the British Commission withdraws.

In view of the fact that we have been so energetic and pressing in standing by the nation whose citizens were murdered I do not think we should be expected to continue the investigation after that nation has abandoned it.

The third branch of the above telegram relates to a decree which appeared in yesterday's Gazette, of which a translation will be forwarded to you. By its terms ten of the subordinate officials in Szechuan are ordered to appear before the Board of Civil Office for trial.

This decree is not unsatisfactory as far as it goes, but in the case of Chow Taotai it does not go far enough. He is the official who is charged with having issued the proclamation the twentieth of May which stated: "At the present time we have obtained clear proof that foreigners deceive and kidnap small children."

The rigorous punishment of this man has been continuously demanded by the British Minister and myself, and it was clearly and distinctly promised by the Yamen.

I shall demand that the promise be fulfilled and that Chow be as severely punished as Chinese law will permit.

I have wired to Consul Hixson to send me some details as to the number of persons arrested, tried and sentenced, which will be transmitted to you. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 15, 1895, No 2401, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In your despatch No 1134 of the third ultimo you enclose a copy of a note addressed to you by the Chinese Minister embodying a telegram from the Tsungli Yamen greatly complaining of my conduct with reference to the investigation of the Kutien riots.

In your despatch No 1136 of the same date you enclose a translation of a cablegram from the Tsungli Yamen to the Chinese Minister referring to the same matter.

Among other like things the Yamen says:

Minister Denby's correspondence is incriminatory in tone and not unlike that of the British Minister.

I shall not undertake to defend myself against this accusation, because my correspondence is all before you and taking into account your instructions, I do not at all fear that you will find that I have made any representation that was not warranted by them, and the circumstances.

I beg to say, however, that as I have been bitterly attacked by certain persons in China and elsewhere for inaction, it is somewhat consoling to know that as early as August 12th the Yamen complained of my having shown too much vigor.

In this connection I refer to my despatch No 2400 of this date which shows that the insistence of the British Minister and myself—who fought this battle alone and unassisted—has resulted in a satisfactory issue. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 15, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.

9.00 a.m. Denby, Peking. 43 convicted, of whom 7 executed; balance in Viceroy's hands several weeks awaiting action.

139 under arrest, including convicted. Many not incriminated now being released on security.

Over hundred present at Huashan still at large.

One if not more ringleaders at large. Hixson.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 15 October 1895.

THE MISSIONARY MASSACRES.

EIGHTEEN OF THE CONVICTED PRISONERS TO BE EXECUTED.

Hong Kong, October 15—Information received here from Kucheng appears to justify the belief that the deadlock between the Chinese authorities and the commission which has been investigating the massacre of missionaries there has been ended.

The British consul has had an interview with the viceroy of Fu-Kien, which has resulted in an agreement that eighteen more of the convicted prisoners are to be executed and that the remainder of the prisoners in custody are to be tried by the present commission, which is empowered to impose the sentence of death.

The satisfactory result of the negotiations is considered to be due to the ultimatum which the British admiral, Buller, is reported to have delivered to the viceroy of Nankin.

1895, October 16.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 16, 1895, No 2402, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose, herewith, a copy of a telegram received today from Consul Hixson giving a summary of the number of participants in the Kutien massacre who have been arrested and convicted and who are still at large. From this it appears that forty three convictions have been secured, seven executions have taken place, one hundred and thirty nine are under arrest and one hundred and more participants in the outrage are still at large. I have etc. Charles Denby.

**Enclosure in No 2402.
Mr. Hixson to Mr. Denby.**

Telegram. October 15, 1895. Received 10. A2..m. October 16, 1895.

Denby Peking.

43 convicted of whom 7 executed; balance in Viceroy's hands several weeks, awaiting action. One hundred and thirty nine under arrest including convicted. Many not incriminated are now being released on security. One hundred present at Hwashan still at large; one if not more ringleaders at large. Hixson.

The Times, (London), 16 October 1895.

EDITORIAL

From two sources we hear this morning the affair of the Ku-cheng Commission is at last making progress. After drifting into a condition which at one time seemed to threaten a deadlock, the investigation has been suddenly crowned with what seems to be success. A Reuter telegram from Hong-Kong [below] and an official dispatch to the State Department from the United States Minister in Peking alike state that a large number of the prisoners convicted of the murder of the missionaries are to be executed. Chinese obstruction had threatened to prevent anything of the kind; but in an interview with the Viceroy of Fo-kien, the province in which Ku-cheng is situated, the British Consul has succeeded in compelling an agreement, to the effect that seventeen or eighteen of the criminals are to be punished as they so richly deserve. As in the case of the degradation of the Viceroy of Szu-chuan, this act of justice—which we learn from Peking is authorized by the opportune arrival of the British admiral. As Lord Salisbury says in Mr. Punch's excellent cartoon, Ultimatum is a very good dog. His growl has also secured, if the American telegram is correct, the issue of a proclamation handing over, not the peasant criminals, but the officials engaged in the Szu-chuan riots of last spring, to that extremely active body the Board of Punishments. As far as it goes this is satisfactory. It is the officials, far more than the poor instruments, who ought to be made to smart for these offences against order and civilization.

The circumstances of the Ku-cheng massacres, the character of the people, and the nature of the difficulties to be surmounted are admirably brought before us this morning in the very interesting notes furnished by a Correspondent who was present throughout the inquiry.¹⁶ All the more graphic by reason of its extreme plainness of style, this letter tells the story of the Commission from the beginning, the later portion of it being reserved for future publication. The difficulties of the Commission began on the evening of the first day; even the Chinese coolie thought it is duty to obstruct, while, of course, the prefect pretended to be without instructions. The manner in which this worthy changed his tone, on the receipt of a message from a higher quarter, throws much light on the question whether we shall ever be able to get much out of the Chinese except by force. The Chinese system of justice is grimly displayed in such a question as that put to the Commission, very soon after their arrival, by the deputy mandarin. "How many lives do you want?" was his first inquiry and he doubtless had as much difficulty in understanding the Commission's answer as they had in endeavouring to bring him round to the European point of view. It is satisfactory to gather from our Correspondent's letter that the authorities had not laid their hands on the wrong criminals. Several made damaging admissions; the rest, all but one, appear to have been inculcated by their accomplices or by the

16 Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry. *North China Herald*, 20 September 1895. Same report in *The Times*, (London) 16 October 1895: (original written 6 September 1895.)

finding of the dead people's clothes or trinkets in their possession.

The Times, (London), 16 October 1895.

THE KU-CHENG MASSACRES.

HONG-KONG, OCT. 15. According to information received here from Ku-cheng there is reason to believe that the deadlock to which the commission of inquiry into the recent massacres had come, owing to the obstructive proceedings of the Chinese authorities, is at an end. Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul with the commission, had an interview yesterday with the Viceroy at Fo-kien, which resulted in an agreement that 18 more convicted murderers should be executed, and that the remainder of those in custody should be tried by the present commission, which will have power to sentence to death. This satisfactory result is considered to be due to the arrival on the spot of the British Admiral. —*Reuter.*

WASHINGTON, OCT 15. Mr. Denby, the United States Minister to China, has sent the following telegram to the State Department under date Peking, Oc 11.—

Seventeen criminals will be executed at Ku-cheng. The Tsung-li-Yamen agrees that all the leaders of the riots shall be executed, that all the participants shall be sentenced, and that all those implicated shall be brought to trial. The Commission will probably be adjourned. An Imperial decree has been issued referring the cases of the officials implicated in the Szu-chuan massacres¹⁷ to the Board of Punishments.—*Reuter.*

The New York Times, 16 October 1895.

KU-CHENG CRIMES AVENGED.

Seventeen of the Convicted men Are Condemned to be Killed.

OTHERS ARE TO BE PUT IN PRISON.

Minister Denby Announces that an Imperial Decree Refers Sze-Chuan Officials to a Punishing Board.

HONGKONG, Oct. 15.—Advices from Ku-Cheng state that the deadlock which has existed in connection with the Commission of Inquiry into the outrages upon the foreign missions is ended.

British Consul Mansfield had an interview with the Viceroy at Fu-Kien, with the result that the latter has agreed that seventeen more of the men accused of murdering the missionaries shall be executed, and that the remaining prisoners shall be speedily tried by the commission, which shall have the power to impose the death penalty.

The solution of the difficulty is ascribed to an ultimatum which, it is reported, was sent to the Viceroy by Admiral Buller, commanding the British fleet, five of the vessels of which are now at Foo-Choo.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 15.—The Secretary of State has received a belated telegram from Minister Denby, dated Peking, Oct. 11, substantially as follows:

Seventeen criminals will be executed at Ku-Cheng. The Yamen agrees that all leaders shall be executed, all participants imprisoned, and all implicated tried. The Commission of Inquiry will probably be adjourned. An Imperial decree has been issued, referring the implicated Sze-Chuan officials to a board for punishment.

A commission consisting of American and British officials has been investigating the massacre at Ku-Cheng, where ten British subjects were killed, and one American, Miss Mabel Hartford of Dover, N.H., wounded. The riots, which resulted in wholesale murders, occurred in August last, and both Great Britain and the United States took prompt measures for investigation and redress.

The Sze-Chuan officials mentioned in the Denby cablegram as having been referred to a board of punishment are accused by American and British missionaries of being responsible for the riots at Cheng-Tu and its vicinity. These riots occurred in June and were much more extensive than that at Ku-Cheng.

17 Note the continuing overlap of the Sichuan and Fujian episodes.

1895, October 17.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O’Conor Peking to Mansfield Foochow.***

Cypher Despatched Peking, 12.30 p.m. Oct 17, 1895.

My telegram No. 16 and your tel. No. 17. Viceroy reports arrangements with you as follows:— one released prisoner to be separately dealt with; 17 persons to be summarily decapitated; remaining criminals after further examination to be sentenced to banishment or imprisonment according to guilt; and criminals still at liberty to be arrested. Is this accurate? N. R. O’Conor.

The Times, (London), 17 October 1895

See Part 6, Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.¹⁸

The Sydney Morning Herald, 17 October 1895.

**THE KU-CHENG MISSIONARIES.
RESULT OF THE BRITISH ULTIMATUM.
FURTHER EXECUTIONS.**

LONDON, Oct. 15.—The ultimatum of the British Commander-in-Chief on the China station (Vice-Admiral A. Buller, C.B.) led to the ordering of the immediate execution of eight persons concerned in the recent massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng, and the issue of an Imperial edict that in future the local authorities and consuls may direct the execution of persons implicated without reference to the Viceroy.

The West Australian, (Perth), 17 October 1895.

**THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.
RESULT OF THE BRITISH ULTIMATUM.
ADDITIONAL EXECUTIONS.**

LONDON, October 16.—The ultimatum presented to the Chinese Government by the British Admiral on the China station has led to the execution of eight men concerned in the Kucheng massacre, in addition to those who have already suffered that fate. It has also been promised that the local authorities, acting in conjunction with the foreign Consuls, shall for the future execute persons found guilty of being concerned in the massacre, without the cases being referred to the Viceroy of the Province.

The Hamilton News-Press, (Marion County, Alabama). 17 October 1895.

A dispatch from Shanghai says that the Viceroy of Foo Chow is preventing the enforcement at Kucheng of orders promulgated from Peking. Foreign consuls report that in consequence of the action of this official, it is perfectly useless to proceed with the inquiry into the recent outrages. British Vice-Consul Allen has left Kucheng in disgust.

18 See Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry: Report 2, 21 August to 22 August.

1895, October 18.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 18 October 1895.

My Dear Mr Baring Gould

Things are perfectly quiet here at Foochow. The people all over the city and neighbourhood are civil and friendly and we have as good opportunities as we ever have had for preaching and teaching in the city and surrounding Valley and neighbourhood. It was only this very week that I had an invitation to open a Station in a large place about 4 miles from Foochow. I accepted the invitation and was most cordially received and listened to with much respect and attention. The presence of the English man of war in the Foochow harbour has caused some agitation amongst the people of Lieng Kong and other outside cities because the suppose the intention of the English is to take possession of Foochow on a/c of the Ku Cheng murders. But there is no cause at all for alarm, and as we can now see, our friends need have no anxiety.

We are perfectly safe here at Foochow. Our chapels and preaching halls are crowded with attentive listeners when we open the places for preaching ... (unclear marginal addition)

There is certainly at the present time a very wholesome dread, on the part of the people generally of the Government however slow they be, & of the British Lion. It was quite time to make some sign that England was not asleep or regardless of the lives of her children that were murdered at Hwa Sang. The Chinese have come to the conclusion since that England did not care and that she could be . . . of mollified by a few thousand dollars for the lives of her subjects. This is the only way the Chinese account for the extraordinary conduct of the Viceroy and his subordinates in connexion with the Ku Cheng Massacre of British Subjects. The conduct of the Chinese officials all through the ... has been disgraceful. They have done everything they could to impede the Commission of Enquiry in their work. They have secretly released some of the murderers and have refused to re-arrest them. They have endeavoured to screen some of the guilty leaders and have refused to execute some who have been found guilty of murder. These high officials evidently think they can, with impunity, disregard the demands of England. They do not seem to comprehend the gravity of the situation. It is hard to believe that these mandarins from the way they are going on care an atom for the power of England or realize what they may be bringing upon themselves or on their country. But their conduct in connexion with the Commission is characteristic. They have now placed the murder of our dear friends in the category of a street row in which both parties were to blame, and in which one party happened to get the worst of it. They have most industriously reported all over the country that the our martyred friends had attacked the meetings of the Vegetarians who in return attacked the missionaries and killed a few of them. No justice can be expected from such officials as this Viceroy and his subordinates. When under the very eyes of the Consuls at Ku Cheng they issued a most criminal proclamation against the Christians ... and in favour of the Vegetarians, and when the nature of this proclamation was discussed by the Commission these officials apologized and promised to remedy the evil they had done by issuing another, the draughting of which they submitted to Consuls for their approval, which they ... As they left the presence of the Consuls they threw aside the draught (draft) approved by the Commission and issued again the obnoxious one with only a few unimportant characters altered. It is absolutely sickening to note their duplicity and dishonest dealing all through the melancholy business. We who know them of course are not surprised but it is difficult to convey to people at him the depth of their cunning and deceit and the facility with which they can lie!

The feeling against the native Christians is great but I trust the Lord who is mighty will cause even the wrath of man to praise Him, and enable the Christians to hold their way despite the hate and the fury of their persecution. I know you will all earnestly pray that they may be kept faithful. I am sanguine when this Ku Cheng business is settled, if settled satisfactorily, that the persecution of the Christians will cease and that we shall all be able once more to resume our various duties all over the country. The feeling all over the foreign community here, and the whole of China, is strong, I regret to say, against the employment of lady missionaries outside the treaty ports, and I believe a strong representation will be made to Government by Officials of all sorts on the subject. I hope the CMS will not be influenced by such pressure is brought on them to cease sending ladies missionaries to Fukien. A mission without a large staff of devoted lady

missionaries, I have no hesitation in saying, after 34 years of experience, is a mission destitute of the most potent agencies for the conversion of China. The vast majority of Chinese women, half the population of China, can be reached only by lady missionaries. Even our Christian congregations on account of the ignorance of the wives and daughters of the men, are sorely lacking too often in devotion. The presence of lady missionaries is the only answer for this state of things, and I can bear testimony with deep thankfulness to God for the improvements seen everywhere in our Christian congregations which have had the privilege of the presence and teaching of these lady missionaries.

If there is one objection which I am sure will be urged by the officials here against them, and that is practice of going about in Chinese costumes, and it would be wise on the part of the two Societies, to at least advise their ladies agents to dispense with the practice. It is not really worth all the talk which it gives occasion for among all parties, especially when a lady in her own English dress will be just as useful. Some of us say more useful and certainly without exciting evil remark or giving occasion to evil disposed persons to raise reports which may result in riots or something worse. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the other provinces of China to say whether the practice is beneficial or otherwise, but from my experience of this province I can say without a moment's hesitation that it is harmful in more ways than one, I think it is a delicate matter and speak about just now because it was the practice of those devoted martyr sisters at Ku Cheng, and no one admired their devotion more than I have, but no sentiment of this sort prevent one in pointing out what may possibly result in future trouble, I am persuaded as I said it will be made a cause of offense by officials and others in the reports to Government. For myself if ladies will still persist in the practice I shall honour and respect them all the same though I shall feel they are mistaken in their view of the matter.¹⁹ And hope no argument or . . . of any sort will cause our Society or the Committee to cease sending in lady missionaries to this mission. Yours very sincerely, John R Wolfe.

The Times, (London), 18 October 1895

See Part 6, Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.²⁰

Graham Guardian. (Safford, Ariz.), 18 October 1895.

A CHINESE TRIAL.

The Mode of Trying Those Engaged in the Massacre of Missionaries in China.

When the court is ready the accused man is brought in handcuffed. He is invariably filthy in appearance, and has the wild and ghastly look of a starved man, which he really is.

The prisoner opens the proceedings by swearing he was nowhere near the scene of the massacre, and then the torture begins. The man is first compelled to kneel with bare knees upon a coil of chain. His head is dragged back and his pigtail fastened to a rack high above his head. The pole is then thrust across his legs and two soldiers stand on each end, crushing the wretched knees into the coil of chain. The British Consul could not stand this method of extracting testimony, and insisted that it be stopped. This was done as far as proceedings in the courtroom were concerned, but for an hour afterwards the shrieks of the tormented prisoners could be heard coming from an adjacent room, where the torture was continued.

When the magistrate wanted to hear the confession of the tortured man, the prisoner was brought back into the courtroom. If he held back his confession, a threat to resume torture was usually sufficient to cause him to tell all he knew. Besides the torture described, the prisoners were beaten with bamboo sticks until their yells were horrible to hear. One prisoner appeared in the courtroom unable to kneel because his knees had been broken by chain links and his thighs had been lacerated by strokes of the bamboo rods. In the midst of such misery, cakes, fruit, tea and wines were served and partaken of by the native officers, who could not understand why the foreigners present pushed their delicacies aside, refusing to touch them.

The correspondent declares that the power sought to demand justice without torture, reaching a mandarin

19 See "Notes on Chinese Etiquette" pp 1-46 in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Missionary Press, 1895). Note Part XI, pp 9-10 *Hints for Ladies*.

20 See Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry: Report 4, 27 August.

as promptly as a man who works in a field. The whole business, he says, lies at the door of corrupt officers.²¹

21 The author or source of this article is not known. There were no reporters present at the trial in Kucheng and the conclusion must be that it was written by one of the British or American members of the commission of investigation or, more likely, it is an imaginative recreation based on experience of Chinese trials elsewhere.

1895, October 19.

Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser. 19 October 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY DISSOLVED.

CONSUL MANSFIELD RETURNS TO FOOCHOW.

CHINA REFUSES TO ACT UNLESS FORCED BY ULTIMATUM.

Foochow, Saturday, Oct. 12,—Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul, and the Rev. Mr. Banister, who were members of the Commission sitting at Kucheng to enquire into the massacre at Hwasang, have returned to Foochow.

Mr. Mansfield will interview Pien Pao Chuen, the Viceroy of Fokien, on Monday next, and will try to effect a settlement of the points of dispute that have arisen during the progress of the enquiry.

Hsu Taotai, who has been the principal factor in delaying the work of the Commission since ordered there in accordance with instructions from Peking, is reported to have said that China will refused to act further in the way of enforcing reparation for the massacre unless she is compelled to do by Great Britain, and that China awaits a British ultimatum.

1895, October 20.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 20, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

3.31 a.m. Denby, Peking. British Consul returned: says he agreed suggestion of Viceroy that fourteen more be executed Monday; that three leaders be sent Wednesday Foochow for trial; that all remaining receive various degrees of punishment or banishment; that arrests be continued; that future trials take place Foochow. Regard carrying out this as both surrender and concession to Viceroy.

We not consulted before,—still uncommitted. Shall we concur?

Just received letter date despatch from Viceroy making no mention of agreement, but asserting rest of foregoing stipulations as his own decisions in case.

Taotai announced future arrested will be tried by Chinese Deputies alone in villages, and if found guilty be retried in Foochow before Consuls. British party evidently intend early return to Foochow.

Above unfortunate complications would seem to render our further efforts here worse than futile. Shall we return to Foochow or not? Hixson, Newell.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 20, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

11.50 p.m. Denby, Peking. British Consul suddenly says going return Foochow Thursday under orders O'Connor, received over a week ago, thus transferring whole case Foochow. No other explanation made for his strange action in failing to consult us concerning policy and changed base of operations. We wait instructions. Hixson, Newell.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 20, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul General Jernigan, Shanghai.***

11.50 a.m. Jernigan, Shanghai. British Consul returned: says he agreed suggestion of Viceroy that fourteen more be executed tomorrow; that three leaders be sent Wednesday Foochow for trial; that all remaining receive various degrees of punishment or banishment; that arrests be continued; that future trials take place Foochow. Regard carrying out this as both surrender and concession to Viceroy.

We not consulted before,—still uncommitted. Shall we concur?

Just received letter date despatch from Viceroy making no mention of agreement, but asserting rest of foregoing stipulations as his own decisions in case.

British Consul suddenly says going return Foochow Thursday under orders O'Connor, received over a week ago, thus transferring whole case Foochow. No other explanation made for his strange action in failing to consult us concerning policy and changed base of operations.

Situation so changed that further efforts here on our part seem futile. Shall we return Foochow?

Above wired Denby. Hixson.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 20, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Vice-Consul Churchill, Foochow.***

11.50 p.m. Send Churchill's houseboat" if not needed, will return. Hold mail. Newell.

1895, October 21.

*Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 21, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.*

8.44 a.m. Denby, Peking. Fourteen beheaded this morning at 8.43. Hixson.

*Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 21, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul General Jernigan, Shanghai.*

8.44 a.m. Jernigan, Shanghai. Fourteen beheaded this morning at 8.43. Hixson.

1895, October 23.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194
O'Conor Peking to Mansfield Suikow.***

Cypher Despatched Peking, early. Oct 23, 1895.

No. 18. Your telegram No. 18.

United States Minister has instructed Consul to leave when you do.

It is understood of course that the three leaders sent to Foochow will be executed and those still at large arrested and tried.

Under these circumstances see no reason why Enquiry should not be closed. O'Conor.

***FRUS. Consulate of the United States, Foochow. Hixson, US Consul, Suichow and
Commander J. S. Newell, USN, Suichow October 23, 1895, Telegram to Minister
Denby, Peking.***

5.25 a.m. Suichow, October 23d, 1895.

Denby, Peking. Part of report quoted inclosure your No 97 is willfully misleading remainder false as shown by documentary proof. It destroys all faith in pretence of author to deal honestly with matter

Have full records trial proceedings preparing to leave here with British Consul to few days.
[Apparently reference to Rev. W. Banister's notes in Part Four.]

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 21, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul General Jernigan, Shanghai.***

3.25 a.m. Jernigan, Shanghai. With consent of Minister am preparing with British Consul to leave Kutien in few days.

Have full records of trial proceedings. Hixson.

1895, October 24.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, Fukien, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 24 October 1895.

I don't agree with Archdeacon resending women to Fujian.²²

22 Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd was appointed as Corresponding Secretary of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in Fujian (Fukien) Province in place of Rev. Robert W Stewart.

1895, October 25.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 25, 1895, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose a copy of a telegram dated October 20th sent to me by Consul Hixson relating to matters at Kut'ien [Gutian, Kucheng] ; also a copy of the telegram of the Consul to me of October 21st; also a copy of my telegram to the Consul of October 22nd; also a copy of a telegram of the Consul to me of October 23d.

The "report" mentioned in the last telegram was one that was sent to me by the Tsungli Yamen, and if necessary further attention will be paid to it after I have received Mr. Hixson's report.

In explanation of my telegram of the 21st instant I have to say that I did not deem it necessary that the American members of the commission should remain at Kut'ien after the English members had left.

The injuries complained of had been chiefly done to British subjects and if the British Government were satisfied the Commission should discontinue the investigation it did not seem incumbent on our Government to continue it.

I could not, however, concur in all that the British Consul had done as Mr. Hixson had strenuous objections thereto. Awaiting his report I directed him to leave question of concurrence open, and to attempt no final settlement until instructions were received from you.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant. Charles Denby.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2407.

Suichow, October 20th, 1895.

Denby, Peking.

British Consul returned, says he agreed upon suggestion of Viceroy that 14 men be executed Monday, that 3 leaders be sent Wednesday Foochow for trial, that all remaining receive various degrees of imprisonment or banishment, that arrests be continued, and that future trials take place Foochow. Regard carrying out of this as both surrender and concession to Viceroy. We not consulted before, still uncommitted. Shall we concur? Just received later date despatch from Viceroy making no mention of agreement but asserting rest of foregoing stipulations as his own decision of case, Taotai announces future arrested will be tried by Chinese deputies alone in villages and if found guilty to retired in Foochow before Consuls. British party evidently intend early return to Foochow. Unfortunate complications would seem to render our efforts here worse than useless. Shall we return to Foochow or not? Hixson.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2407.

Peking, October 21st, 1895.

Hixson, Suichow.

Return to Foochow if British commission leaves. Leave question of concurrence open. Government will await your report before passing on question of final settlement. Denby.

Enclosure 3 in No. 2407.

Suichow, October 21st, 1895.

Denby, Peking.

British Consul suddenly says return Foochow Thursday under Mr. O'Conor's orders [British Minister, Peking] received over week ago transferring whole case Foochow. No other explanation made for his strange action in failing to consult us concerning policy and changed base of operations we await instructions. Hixson, Newell.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 25, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.

6.31 a.m. Denby, Peking. Have left Kutien. Hixson.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 25, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul General Jernigan, Shanghai.

6.31 a.m. Jernigan, Shanghai. Have left Kutien. Hixson.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, October 25, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Vice-Consul Churchill, Foochow.***

6.10 p.m. Leaving Shuikou at daylight in morning. Hixson.

***CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society,
London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 25 October 1895.***

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe

Herewith I forward a copy of a letter which I am sending this mail to Mr. Banister and Mr. Star. It will put you in possession of the facts which prompted our telegrams ... and 22nd.

With respect to the proposal to found a CMS Hospital in Foochow, exception has been taken to the scheme. We are told that the proposal was brought up two years ago in the Conference and was strongly negated by it. We are informed that already four American Missionary Hospitals exist in the city and suburbs, including the Community Hospital, viz. Dr. Kinnear's; Miss Woodhull's; Dr... (for women) ... Mission), and Dr. Carleton's in the city and Dr. Danniels. We are told further that Dr ... the resident in Foochow felt so strongly on the subject that he ... any attempt to open a CMS Hospital was made in or near Foochow. Will you kindly give us full information with respect to the above. We earnestly trust we may have some deliverance from the Conference on the subject. It is obviously impossible for us to urge this matter upon our Committee if the above facts are correct.

Ever very sincerely yours, B Baring-Gould, Secretary CMS.

***The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne), (Special Kucheng Edition),
Vol XXII, No. 22, October 1895, pp 369-372.***

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND. Emily Stevens was a daughter of William Stevens, a schoolmaster at Richmond during the 1880's and 1890's. He ran a private school at Oak Lodge, Bridge Street. Emily died 14th September 1931 and was buried in St. Luke's Cemetery, Richmond. The Stevens/Searle monument has the initials C.E.Z.M.S. after Emily's name. Her father died 1st August 1903 aged 80 years and is also buried in St. Luke's Cemetery, Richmond, Tasmania. Although buried in an Anglican cemetery, Stevens was a member of the local Congregational Church. [Information from Alex Green Campania, Tasmania, Jan 2004.]

FOUR YEARS IN FOOCHOW: MISS EMILIE STEVENS'S NARRATIVE.

My home is in Tasmania, and in 1890 I was led to offer for Mission work in China. Having been accepted by the Australian Branch of the Z.M.S., I was sent out by the Foreign Mission Branch of the YWCA, Hobart, in August 1891. Having stayed in Melbourne a fortnight to attend the Rev. G. C. Grubb's Mission at St Mary's Caulfield, I went on to Sydney, and sailed in the s.s. "Guthrie."

Among my fellow passengers were several C.I.M. missionaries, including Mr. and Mrs. Jose, the Misses Garland, Miss Coleman and Miss Harrison, besides Miss Mary Gordon, one of the Ku Cheng martyrs.

On reaching Hong Kong the rest of the party transshipped for Shanghai, and I was left alone on the "Guthrie" for four days. Then I took passage for Foochow in the coasting steamer "Haiphong," which called at Swatow and Amoy, thus enabling me to make acquaintance with the missionaries stationed there, and to see some of their work. Arriving at Pagoda Anchorage, a small steam launch took me in two hours to Foochow, where I was met by two ladies of our mission, Miss Strong and Miss Leslie, and was taken to "The Olives," our Z.M.S. receiving home, where I have resided ever since. At that time there were only two ladies there, Miss Mead, who was engaged in house-to-house visitation in Foochow city, and Miss Strong who was assisting Mrs. Lloyd in the Biblewomen's Training School.

The other members of our English Mission in Foochow were Archdeacon Wolfe, the Rev. L. Lloyd (who was our corresponding Secretary and in charge of the Theological College which had been built by the Rev. R.W. Stewart after his expulsion from Foochow in 1877), Miss Bushell and Miss Lambert who had the Christian Girls' Boarding School, and the Rev. T. McClelland who was studying the language.

As I look back on the four years I see wonderful changes in the work; every part has grown. Archdeacon Wolfe is still at his post, working in Foochow city and in his large district of Hok-Chiang, assisted by his daughters. In this latter place whole villages are renouncing their idols, embracing Christianity, and pleading

hard for more teachers, who alas! Are not yet forthcoming. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few." Mr Lloyd has gone home on furlough; and the Rev. W. Banister has taken his place at the College, and has also the Christian Boys' School and the Heathen Boys' School under his charge. Mrs. Banister has the Biblewomen's School and the Heathen Women's School. Miss Bushell's school for Christian Girls is full to overflowing. Our Z.M.S. work has opened out, too. In Foochow we have a heathen Girls' Boarding School in Mrs. A'Hok's house, which has been rented by our Society. It is conducted by Miss Lee, who has about 50 pupils. We have an excellent Women's Hospital, which was recently built with money collected for that purpose by Mrs Stewart, and where we have two lady nurses, Miss Chambers and Miss Barr. Miss Leslie is extending the work in the city; and in addition to the day school, which we have had for five or six years, she is opening a class for heathen women. There had been no work done by our Societies among the many villages scattered all over the island of Nantai, till in 1892 I began itinerating there. I have always been warmly welcomed and kindly treated, but there are still numbers of villages untouched for want of more workers. I had not been many months in Foochow when Miss M. A. Gordon arrived from Hankow, as the Home Society wished her to work in Fuh Kien; so after a few days rest in Foochow she proceeded to Ku Cheng, and on passing her two examinations was appointed to the large district of "Dong-Gio," where she laboured most faithfully until her sudden call Home on August 1st.

Many new ladies came out from England during these four years, and were scattered over the province, and in 1893 I went down to the wharf to welcome a large party, among whom were Miss Nellie and Miss Topsy Saunders, and Lena the nurse, with Mildred, Kathleen, Herbert and Evan Stewart. The two former were also met by Miss Wolfe who took them home, and the others returned with me to The Olives, to await Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, who were on a Mission tour in Canada.

On their arrival about five weeks later they proceeded with the Misses Saunders to Ku Cheng to take up the work which Mr. Banister was leaving. At the Chinese New Year, 1894, at Mr. and Mrs. Stewart's invitation, I went myself to Ku Cheng for rest and to see the work. I was present at a large baptismal service, when Mr. Stewart received about 80 converts into the church. It took place in the evening and was most impressive. I shall never forget his earnest manner as he spoke to each one separately. I also attended their Annual Native Conference, to which numbers came from the large surrounding districts of Ku Cheng and Ping Nang.

On the Sunday afternoon several of us went to the Leper Asylum, where, in the neat little church, Mr. Stewart preached to the poor sufferers, just a simple little service, asking and answering questions on the portion read, and then singing hymns and praying. I was much touched by the bright earnest prayer of one poor man, whose face was so marred that it had lost all resemblance to the human face, and yet of Heaven was there. Mr. Banister had built this Asylum and had gathered in these outcasts. During my stay at Ku Cheng, Miss Elsie Marshall arrived. This was her first visit. She had been studying the language at Fuhning until Mr. Stewart's return, and at once commenced itinerating in a large district. Just at this time also Miss Flora Stewart was very busy working up for her examination, after which she, too, was assigned a large district. Others were there (as it was Conference time), and had much to tell of the way the Lord was blessing them.

At last the time came for me to return to my work, and on the journey down Miss Nisbet and I had to travel part of the way by boat. On awaking in the morning we discovered that four children of the family who resided on board had small-pox, and we had to be shut up with them for nearly 24 hours in a very small space! But we remembered that we had asked the Lord to arrange all about these little things for us, and we just trusted Him to keep us, and so He did, for we did not take this horrible disease. I next went for four months to our Women's Hospital, as our two nurses, just fresh out, could not speak the language. The work had to be started, and the sick women attended to, and so I acted as interpreter until in a short time these ladies could manage alone. This Hospital is now most flourishing, and many are the dear women who are led to the Saviour there. In November, 1894, Mr. Mrs. Stewart, with their wee baby, came down to Conference, but returned at once, as the Vegetarians had already commended their disturbances. Then again in March the ladies had to fly from Ku Cheng, but at Sui-kau received a message from Mr. Stewart to return, as danger was over. Lena and the children came on to The Olives, and in another week's time, one evening on my return from visiting in the villages, I found that Mrs. Stewart had arrived with baby, the Misses Saunders and Miss Wade; and the next day Miss Weller, Miss Gordon and Miss Marshall also arrived, having had once

more to fly. They remained about a week, and then went to our Sanatorium on the Kuliang Hills, until Mr. Stewart came down to the CMS business meeting. The, as all was quiet once more, he took most of them back,—only Miss Weller and Miss Wade staying behind. Then on Thursday, August 1st, suddenly and unexpectedly, the terrible massacre took place, and the news reached us on Friday night, Aug. 2nd. We were nearly all at Kuliang, as work is impossible during the hottest part of the summer; and although we only heard that five ladies were killed and some wounded, it seemed almost to stun us; but our trust was in God; we could recognize no second causes; we knew that he must have permitted this to further some great end, which at present is hidden from view. We went down thinking to receive the uninjured in Foochow, but alas, on the way the whole truth was told us—that Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Lena, Herbert and six ladies were dead, and that all the others were wounded. It is impossible even to attempt to write of our grief and sorrow at this awful news; and yet we knew that no even a sparrow could fall without our Father' so we just "left it all" with Him. The sufferers were taken to the hospital, and carefully attended to by Dr. Rennie; but within the week the dear Baby died of her injuries, and Mildred continued in a precarious condition. On Tuesday, August 6th, at 5.30 a.m., we attended the funeral, and as I gazed on that row of coffins, and the little one containing the ashes of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, and heard the solemn words of that beautiful service, I did at last begin to realise that they had gone to be with Lord whom they had loved so well, and served so faithfully—that theirs was "peace, perfect peace" for evermore, and that to us the call was still to labour on. Now we can only just pray that many others will be roused to take up the work which they have laid down. Our one petition ever since has been that for every life laid down ten more might come forward.

My health having broken down during the past year, I was ordered home on sick leave, and within a month from this terrible tragedy I was on my way to the Australian Colonies. With God's blessing I hope soon to be fully restored, and to go back to the work which I love so well.

The New York Times, 25 October 1895.

CALLOUS INSENSIBILITY OF CHINESE

From the Saturday Review, undated.

The callous insensibility of the Chinese character is revealed by a little touch that could not be surpassed by the most dramatic imagination. After describing how "one was in the court who could not walk from a beating; another who could not kneel—his knees all broken, bleeding from the chain links crushed into them, and his thighs all lacerated from the bamboo; he could barely move with agony," the correspondent goes on: "In the midst of such terrible misery, cakes and tea, apples, and even wine, were handed around for the mandarins and foreigners to refresh themselves; and the natives could not understand why some of the English, their eyes and their ears filled with the sights and sounds of misery and agony, pushed these niceties aside, refusing to eat.

1895, October 26.

The New York Times, 26 October 1895.

TWENTY-TWO KU-CHENG KILLED.

**Four of the Leaders Already Sentenced Have to be
Retried in Consequence of a Tao-Tai's Stratagem.**

LONDON, Oct. 25.—The Standard will tomorrow publish a dispatch from Shanghai saying that twenty-two more men implicated in the Ku-Cheng massacre have been convicted. Four of the leaders, who have already been sentenced to death, will be retried in consequence of a stratagem of the notorious Tao-Tai Hsu.

1895, October 29.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 29, 1895, No. 2410, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that I have received a visit from Rev. John Wherry, an American Missionary and Rev. Timothy Richard, an English Missionary, who informed me that they were members of “the Special Deputation to Represent the Protestant Religion before the Chinese Government.”

They propose to present to the Emperor through the Tsungli Yamen memorials from Protestant Missionaries in China setting forth the benefits which will accrue from the practice of kind treatment towards Christians, the necessity for the suppression of vile books, pictures and pamphlets, and the advantages of a closer intercourse between the local officials at points remote from the treaty ports and resident missionaries.

The aim of this Legation has always been to carry out the general principles above stated touching toleration and the suppression of vile publications.

The question of the right of missionaries to have personal interviews with the local officials has not been taken up by ministers who represent Protestant countries, though to some extent the right has been accorded to Catholic Bishops.

It is known to you that the Treaties generally provided that all intercourse between foreigners and the officials shall take place through the Consuls. See for example Art. 28 of the United States Treaty of 1858 as follows: “If citizens of the United States have special occasion to address any communication to the Chinese local officers of Government they shall submit the same to their Consul or other officer to determine if the language be proper and respectful, and the matter just and right, in which event he shall transmit the same to the appropriate authorities for their consideration and action in the premises.”

As Consuls are rarely located in the interior, necessarily many missionaries are at vast distances from their official representatives. Communication thus becomes very difficult, and missionaries in the interior are day by day more inclined to address in the first instance their Legation—a process which throws an immense amount of labor on the Legation, and sometimes causes embarrassment.

The question whether the presentation to the local officials on the spot by the missionaries of differences which frequently arise is worthy of consideration.

The terms on which such right may be conferred should be carefully guarded and any action taken should not infringe on the official functions of the Consuls.

I have consented in conjunction with H.B.M.’s Minister to request the Tsungli Yamen to grant the gentlemen named an interview but before taking any action on the question of freer intercourse between the local officials and the missionaries I shall await your instructions.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

1895, October 30.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 30, 1895, No 2411, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that I received yesterday from the Consul at Canton a telegram stating that organized bandits arriving from Hongkong and Formosa threatened Canton. I immediately sent to the Tsungli Yamen a communication of which a copy is enclosed, asking that proper steps be taken to secure the protection of foreigners.

I also wired the contents of the telegram to Admiral Carpenter and suggested that he should send a ship to Canton.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

The Times, (London), 30 October 1895

See Part 6, Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.²³

23 See Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry: Report 6, September 2-28..

1895, October 31.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 31, 1895, No 2414, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In my despatch No 2411 of yesterday's date, I had the honor to report the receipt of a telegram from the United States Consul at Canton stating that a descent of bandits on that city was to be feared and I enclosed a copy of the note which I addressed to the Yamen on the subject.

That Mr. Seymour's apprehension was not groundless is manifest from a telegram from United States Consul General Jernigan of the 30th instant, as follows: "Seymour wires inform you that five hundred banditti arrived Thursday from Hongkong to pillage Canton. Seventy arrested and defeated."

I received last night from the Yamen an answer to my note in which they state that they have telegraphed to the Viceroy of the two Kuangs²⁴ to take steps to prevent trouble, and they express thanks for my concern in the matter.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

Enclosure in No. 2414:

The Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office) to Mr. Denby, October 30, 1895.

Your Excellency: We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your note of recent date, stating that you had received from the United States Consul at Canton a telegram reporting that bands of outlaws from Hongkong and Formosa were coming to Canton with the intention of pillage and you hoped that we would telegraph the Viceroy of the two Kuangs to take measures for the protection of that locality.

We have informed the said Viceroy by telegraph of this matter and urged him to take prompt measures to prevent any outbreak before it can be organized. When he replies we will write you again and we now thank Your Excellency for your friendly concerns in this matter.

24 The Viceroy administered Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces.

1895, November 1.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, November 1st, 1895, No 2415, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In your despatch No 1152 of September 21st last you discuss at some length the question of the duties of the investigating Commission at Kut'ien and Chengtu.

You say in conclusion that

“their essential function is to investigate and report to their Government and that under no circumstances are they to participate in the judicial and executive functions of the officers of the provinces who guilty connection with the outrages investigated may be the most important outcome of the inquiry.”

By reference to my despatch No 2377 of the first ultimo you will find my instructions to the Szechuan commission, which I think correctly represent your views. In those instructions I use the following language:

“You are not clothed with either judicial or diplomatic functions. Your particular and more important duty will be to investigate the conduct of the officials and make a report in which the Government of the United States can predicate any demand it may choose to make.”

I take it for granted, therefore, that as far as the Chengtu commission is concerned I need offer no further explanation.

You say concerning the proceedings at Kucheng:

“It certainly was not the intention of this Government that its commissioners should go to Kucheng as participants in a local proceeding involving judicial or quasi judicial functions.”

In the Department's telegram of August 12th no specific instructions were given as to the duties of the Commission. I was directed to

“consult with Minister of Great Britain and cooperate so far as conducive to security and welfare of United States citizens. If not already done make demands covering same points as British demand, especially as to punishment of delinquent high provincial officials.”

The idea of the British Minister and myself, and the crying demand of the foreigners in China, were that the criminals who had committed the murders at Kut'ien should be condignly punished. I consented that Mr. Hixson should go to Kut'ien to be present at the investigation, to watch the proceedings and to urge that prompt measures be taken to bring the guilty to punishment. All this he had the right to do under clause 2, Section 11.1 of the Chefoo Convention. See Chronicle and Directory for China and Japan for 1895, p 35.

I do not understand that Messrs Hixson and Newell exercised judicial functions, though they were undoubtedly quite determined in their demands that due process of law should be followed.

When it appeared that they were asked to consider a question of clemency I immediately referred the matter to you. After receiving your instructions, on the 20th September I wired to Mr. Hixson as follows”

“Department wires you should discover and report guilty officials. You have no judicial or diplomatic functions. Clemency to be considered only after conviction and report of commissioners on proposal of China. Authority to you to grant clemency would narrow issue to informal administration thereby defeating broader purpose of our Government.”

In this connection I refer to my despatch No 2379 of the first ultimo, wherein some of the telegrams which passed between Mr. Hixson and myself are set out.

I beg to say that prior to receiving your telegram which is embodied in my telegram to Mr. Hixson of the 20th September above cited I wired to Mr. Hixson September 20th as follows.:

“Hixson, Suichow. My judgment is trials should proceed until all accused are tried. After judgments rendered the question of clemency should be considered. Will ask Department to instruct as to your recommending commutations.”

On the 23d September I wired to Mr. Hixson as follows:

“You have only to let Chinese law take its course. If law awards death or other penalty let it be inflicted. Do not discuss clemency. That is for your Government when you report facts.”

I have not yet received Mr. Hixson's report of his actions and doings at Kucheng.

I venture to hope that when all the facts are before you will be satisfied that your views touching the

conduct of both commissions have been substantially complied with.
I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

1895, November 2.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe Foochow, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow, 2 November 1895.

My dear Banister

Since our conversation on Friday about this CMS telegram forbidding brothers to take part in the Commission I have been thinking the matter over again, and I feel quite sure the Committee would not send out such an order without having some good reason for doing so. I think therefore we are bound to obey whatever our own personal feelings may be on the subject. I fully see and appreciate all the difficulties the new Consul may have in getting at the truth without a competent interpreter, but my advice would be now that the real criminals have been tried and are about to be executed that at this stage we withdraw from taking any further part in the matter. Of course it will be easier down here for the Consul to get on with the examinations with his own staff than it would have been at Ku Cheng, and you can get out of it now without any blame from the Consul, by throwing the responsibility upon the telegram from home. The Consul will see this at once, as they too are under authority and would be bound to obey orders from their superiors whatever their own feelings may be in favour of a contrary course.

This of course is only my view of the case, if you wish to act upon your own responsibility you can do so. I do not know what the other brethren might say, but I feel the Committee order should be obeyed, however important I may think your help would be to the Consul in getting at the truth.

I gave the two cheques from Bennett to Mr. Banister yesterday. The amount I got for poor Stewarts for School . . . return home this time was \$510.00. I understood he had paid you \$20 as his Subscription towards the new Wing of the Conference Hall. Is that the case? I am sorry I was out when you called last evening
Yours very truly, John R Wolfe.

The San Francisco Call, 2 November 1895.

Grewwome Execution of Seven of the Participants in the Kucheng Massacre.

The execution of the first batch of seven criminals convicted of complicity in the Kucheng massacre is said to have been a very grewwome affair. Up the previous day it had not been known that the executions would take place, but on the evening of September 10 instructions came from Peking, and the following morning the men were taken to the execution ground. Only one head was completely severed at the first blow, the other six prisoners being merely hacked about the neck and left to die.

1895, November 4.

The Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby, 4 November 1895.

Note.

Your Excellency:—We have received your note of some days ago stating that you had received from the American Consul at Canton a telegram reporting that organized bandits were coming from Hongkong and Formosa with the intention of pillaging at Canton, and you requested that telegraphic orders be sent to the Viceroy to protect foreigners.

This Yamen at once telegraphed this information to the Viceroy at Canton and also wrote a note in reply to Your Excellency.

We are now in receipt of a telegram from the Viceroy reporting that bandits from beyond Hongkong to Canton, that some scores of them had already been taken and that two hundred and more stand of arms had been discovered. Orders have been given for the effective protection of foreigners and chapels in all places.

We have also received a telegram from the Minister Superintendent of Northern Trade saying that consul Read, and the other members of the Commission sent to Szechuan by the American Government, left Tientsin, under the escort of an officer, on the 6th October, that their journey had been uneventful and that, on the 19th October, they arrived at Pingting Chou, in Shansi, where they were put under the care of the authorities of that province, and that a letter of thanks had been received from Mr. Read and his companions.

We as in duty bound, make this communication for Your Excellency's information, and avail of the occasion to present our compliments.

1895, November 5.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 5 November 1895.

Relationship with English Presbyterian Mission in Fujian Province and other issues.

Foochow, November 5th, 1895

My dear Mr. Baring Gould

I was not able to send you the information you requested in reference to the subject of Mr. Campbell Brown's letter addressed to Mr. Baylis. Ist, because I had not the time by the mail that went out the day after I received your letter, and 2dly, my visits to my district has occupied all my time till now. I returned a couple of days ago, and thankful I am to say that I had a most pleasant and encouraging time of it in Hok Chiang, and the people everywhere were exceedingly quiet and civil. I had not an unkind word addressed to me in any part of the district during all the time was away. I am glad Mr. Campbell Brown's letter to you breathes such a spirit of liberality and kindness and goodwill towards C.M.S. work and workers but somehow or other the climate and atmosphere in China do not appear always at least, to have this kindly influence on people's minds, or correspondence that is shown in the extract which you have sent me from Mr. Brown's letter. I would have liked it much better if in Mr. Brown's communication with some of us on this subject, he had shown a mind free from prejudice and had manifested confidence in brethren of the C.M.S, which he says he admires so much.

The particulars of the case to which Mr. Brown refers are as follows; about 8 or 9 years ago the Fukien Sub Conference decided in consequence of the refusal of the P.C. [Provincial Council] to send Missionaries (foreign missionaries) to superintend the work that had been commenced more than 20 years ago in the Hing Hwa district, Yung Chien (we call this place Ing Chung) and the other places mentioned in Mr. B.'s letter, to abandon these districts, and hand over our property there, either to the American Episcopal Methodist Mission, or the English Presbyterian at Amoy, and with the hope that the converts (some hundreds in number) belonging to our Church and Mission would join one or other of the Protestant Communions. By arrangement with the A.M.E.M. we sold our principal church in Ing Chung to them. The English Presbyterian Mission took possession of another of our rented places of worship at Pi Hu or Pi Po and we notified to our people in all these places that we had abandoned work in these districts, and exhorted and advised them to join one or other of the Communions above mentioned. Some did actually join one or other of these Missions, and we absolutely withdrew from these districts and left them, as we thought, permanently.

I personally visited Hing Hwa with the object of handing over our work there to the Methodists, and bringing back with me the C.M.S. agents at work there to Foochow. Though I did not personally, at that time, visit Gung Chug etc, I sent orders to our agents there to retire and return to Foochow, which they did in a short time.

The great majority of our converts in Yung Chung and the other places mentioned by Mr. Brown, and the entire body of our converts at Hing Hwa, absolutely refused to join any of the other Communions and determined to carry on the work in connexion with the Church of England at their own expense and actually followed some of the agents on their way returning to Foochow and possibly brought them back to their stations and supported them there. We were not responsible for their refusal to join the other churches. We were compelled however, after some considerable time, to take up the Hing Wha (not the Yung Chung district) work again but only on the condition that the converts would still continue to support themselves, whilst the C.M.S. provided them with a foreign missionary to superintend and guide them. We took no steps then to re-occupy the region mentioned in Mr. Brown's letter. On the contrary, we persistently refused to do this, though the converts from this region ever year presented petitions to our provincial council, begging us to visit them for the purpose of baptizing them and administering to them the Lord's Supper, and whenever the Bishop visited Hing Hwa or Kok Chiang several of them followed him from Station to Station begging for confirmation at his hands.

Still we refused to acknowledge them lest they should think that we might be induced to re-occupy that region (Ing Chung) again. This state of things continued for years. On the last occasion of the Bishop's

Visitation at Hing Hwa for confirmation, accompanied by Mr. Lloyd, several of these old Christians followed him begging to be confirmed. The Bishop now felt he could no longer refuse and he confirmed several of them at Hing Hwa.

We did not even now contemplate re-occupying Ing Chung nor any part of that region nor did we hold out the slightest hope of doing so to these Christians. At length, seeing there was no hope of persuading these people to join one of the other Protestant Missions working in these neighbourhoods, Mr. Lloyd it was, I believe, as he had charge of the Hing Hwa district at that time, communicated with the P.C. asking for advice on the subject as to whether under the circumstances the region in question should be reoccupied by us or not.

The communication was made, as far as I am aware, entirely on Mr. Lloyd's own responsibility. The answer received from Salisbury Square was to the effect, that we should consult with the Methodist Episcopal Missionaries who were working there, and hear what they had to say on the subject of our reoccupying the ... district. That was done, and the answer from their Bishop in Conference to us was to the following effect; that under the circumstances, "They would neither invite us to re-occupy the place nor would they object, but leave it entirely to our own godly wisdom to decide." The subject was then submitted by Mr. Shaw, who by this time took charge of Hing Hwa, to the Bishop and Archdeacon, and it was felt by them and by all, that under the circumstances these Christians could not be left any longer without some sort of superintendence, and that as Mr. Shaw now resided at Hing Hwa, "our godly wisdom" led us to give them the Superintendence which they asked for, and so far re-occupy the old mission. Accordingly Mr. Shaw and the native clergyman at Sieng Fu have visited during this year, from time to time, and opened a few village schools amongst them which were partly supported by money collected by the late Rev. Mr. W Stewart. This the whole history of the case. All this has been explained to Mr. and Mrs. Brown, but instead of manifesting that beautiful unprejudiced spirit and love for the C.M.S. workers which seems to come out in his letter to Mr. Baylis, unworthy suspicions, underhand dealing, and insincere professions have been flung at the Archdeacon in connexion with the subject by dear Mrs. Brown, and of course therefore by Mr. Brown, who writes so charmingly to Mr. Baylis.

Those we have ostensibly withdrawn from the region in question we have, especially the Archdeacon, so the Browns say, privately encouraged the Christians to hold out and not to join the Presbyterians, and that they know for certain that Archdeacon Wolfe had been supplying them all these years surreptitiously with funds to enable them to hold out and resist all the efforts made to win them over to the Presbyterians. Of course I cannot fathom the mystery which enables Mr. and Mrs. Brown to know for certain a thing which never existed, either in thought or in fact, for it is absolutely certain that Archdeacon Wolfe has never given the people in question a single cent either surreptitiously or otherwise, either for the purpose alleged or for any other purpose since the moment it was decided that we should withdraw from that region and district.

All this was told our dear friends, but indeed Mrs. Brown knew better than her informants, and would not believe but that the Archdeacon had all along some dark designs for the destruction of Presbyterianism, I suppose, in that region. This is the uncharitableness which I complain of, and which seems so inconsistent with the charitable and liberal spirit expressed in Mr. Brown's letter to Mr. Baylis.

You have now all . . . charge of the district now. This unfortunate, as Banister is the only man who can best take charge of Kucheng. Collins would never do for Kucheng. He cannot settle down to any organizing work and this is just what Kucheng needs. I shall deeply regret if Banister will still persist in not going there. It will do much injury to our work everywhere if Kucheng is left unoccupied for any time, as the Chinese will see that their plan has admirably succeeded in frightening the missionaries away and the same plan will be carried out in other places, and the Chinese Authorities will care little how many poor miserable coolie heads may go provided they gain their ends of keeping Missionaries away. It is highly important therefore that Kucheng be occupied at once. There can be no danger in the city though it is advisable to let no ladies go into the remote villages of Kucheng just yet. I think unless there is some serious reason against it, Banister might be allowed to help the new Consul, at least privately, in the examination of the other Criminals that may be caught and brought down here, though I don't believe the officials will exert themselves to arrest any others. All these reports of the Consul's conduct are grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. I was the only person who met him on the morning in question, and though he did not return at once he did what was necessary in a much shorter time by going to the house on the hill than he could

have done by returning to his office. The letter written by Mr. Smyth, an American, and a most excited individual, was truly an atrocious one, and altogether misrepresented the case. Our own dear Brother Phillips too lost his head and too violently spoke against the Consul. After all his not returning till evening is a very small mistake if a mistake at all, to hand such a load of false and cruel charges against H.M. Consul who has ever shown himself an able and firm official, and ever willing to help the Mission in all that was fair and just.

No doubt you will see my letter on the subject in the Shanghai Daily News. I send you the Foochow 'Echo' with a letter from me which the Shanghai paper refused to publish. Mr. Smyth has been threatened with a lawsuit, I believe, for his scandalous letter and the Community have threatened to expel him from the Foochow Club. He had some private spite against the Consul which accounts for the bitterness of his letter, and speech on other occasions.

I am dear Mr. Baring Gould, Yours very faithfully and sincerely, John R Wolfe.

Mr. Phillips is going home at once after Conference. I hope his visit will do him good in every way and that his love for his own Church will grow anew while he is in England.

1895, November 6.

The San Francisco Call, 6 November 1895.

TRUTHS ABOUT CHINA.

Margherita Arlina Hamm Tells What She Knows of the Missionaries.

Margherita Arlina Hamm²⁵ of New York was honored last week by the Writers' Club of London with the office of honorary vice-president, in company with Mrs. Humphry Ward, Marie Correlli and Lady Colin Campbell, for her labors as a war correspondent in the late Korean-Japanese-Chinese war. Miss Hamm made many wonderful trips through China and understands the people and the language probably better than any other American woman. She has been greatly interested in the recent riots in Ku-Cheng, as she visited that city while exploring the southern provinces, and made some careful analyzation of the laws, habits and doings of the people. The position of the missionaries she considers very dangerous. She said anent the late riots and massacres:

The massacre at Kuchow is one of those frightful events which can only (*occur?*) in China. Ku-Cheng is a pretty city, within 100 miles from Foo-Choo, and has long been a favorite station for the Americans, English and other missionary societies. They have done good work there and are said to have several hundred converts. On several occasions they have been threatened by the mob, as missionaries in that land often are, but nothing particularly bad or cruel has occurred in that locality for many years. In the immediate neighborhood, however, there have been many outrages from time to time.

I am familiar with hat part of China, said Miss Hamm, and had a good opportunity to study these people of Fokien province. Those around Amoy are very quiet and peaceable, but those in the neighborhood of Foochow have long been noted for their turbulency and cruelty. It is only a few years ago that they started a riot on account of an objectionable Salt Commissioner, in which they seized the official's only son, who had just graduated with the highest honors in the imperial examinations, nailed him to a door alive, quartered him and plastered him with salt from his father's storehouse. In another district, at the same time, they buried a number of men alive up to their necks, and then painted their heads with molasses to attract the flies and ants, which ate the miserable wretches to death.

Strangely enough, women have had more success in converting these people than men. So much so that the missionary body in that district is more feminine than masculine. Of the different leading societies the Americans have about twenty male missionaries and twenty-five females. The English have about twenty male and fifty female. The largest body is the Church of England Zenana Mission, which has in the neighborhood of about forty devout and industrious young English women there at work. No less than four of these, who have been several years labouring in that neighborhood, have paid the penalty. Two others—the Misses Saunders, if I remember right—were bright and pretty Australian girls, who had only been there a short time trying to spread to gospel among the heathen. Sometimes I fancy it is wrong to send our women out there. While the Chinese are peaceable and orderly as a rule, the Chinese mob once excited is the vilest and most bloodthirsty thing in the world. The terrible fate which these women have suffered—dishonor and torture and death—is what is liable to all women missionaries in that land.

What is needed in the present case is a demonstration by the great powers that will compel the Chinese Government to make a rigid example of every human being who took part in the massacre at Ku-cheng. The only thing there is to do is to behead every person who took part in the outrage. Criminal law in China is very simple. Every minor offense can be expiated by a fine, or a bribe, or both. Every larger offense is punishable with death. No other course has the slightest effect upon the popular imagination. Deeper than all this, and one of the queerest things in the world, is the extraordinary fact that the Chinese people use the riot as the political agency of great potency.

In their system of government, to use American terms, the Governor of a State is responsible for all

25 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margherita_Arlina_Hamm

that happens in that State, the Mayor of a city for all in the city, the Alderman of a ward for all in his ward, and the captain of an election district for all in his district.

If a serious riot breaks out in his district the captain is degraded, disgraced or beheaded; break out in a ward, the Alderman; if in the city, the Mayor, and if in a State, the Governor. This being the law, whenever any official becomes too tyrannical or corrupt the people got up a riot. This is done cold-bloodedly, and nearly every detail is arranged beforehand. Very often the houses that are to be burned are marked one week in advance, and a similar programme is put on foot in regard to the people to be killed.

The present riot probably is of this class in addition to its being anti-Christian and anti-foreign in character. This having been a larger riot than usual, and having been directed against foreigners, who are 100 times more important than a Chinese subject, it is fair to assume that Ku-Cheng is suffering from the malgovernment of a Tai-Tai, a Tao-Tai, a Hai-Fang-Fing or a Fan-Tai, these four officials corresponding to a district commander-in-chief, a prefect, a county judge and county treasurer.

Such is the civilization which these heroic women are endeavouring to reform and Christianize. They have a larger task than had the disciples 2000 years ago, and like the disciples they are suffering the stripes, the tortures and the ignominious death which were awarded the founders of our faith.' New York Recorder.

1895, November 12.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 12 November 1895.

The execution of the so-called leaders in connexion with the Ku Cheng massacre has taken place here at Foochow on Thursday last and so far all is finished here. We do not know of course what the English Government will do further. The Minister [Sir Nicholas O'Conor] has left Peking on his way to Russia to his new appointment and H.M. Consul is leaving Foochow for England in a week from the present time. All new hands are coming into office. It seems to us here rather contradictory that the Minister and Consul are not kept here till this affair of the Ku Cheng difficulty is all settled and finished but I suppose the Government have good reasons for their action. So we must be content and wait. The Chinese have promised to exterminate the so-called Vegetarians from Kucheng. This is evidently now a very easy matter if the officials are really sincere in their profession, but this is not expected of them ... But after all said about the Vegetarians their power was really nothing and the pressure of a few hundred Soldiers was sufficient to enable the wretched police to scour the country and arrest the leaders of this miserable lot. It only shows that all this trouble could have been put down long since if only the officials wished it to be put down. But they did not wish it and one would wish to know now the reason why ... I am convinced from all that has happened that this was the object that the officials and gentry had in view and that this Vegetarian movement was made the means of carrying out their designs. The idea of it being a rebellion seems to me too ridiculous to be entertained...

Mr Banister is now willing to take up KuCheng if the Committee will ask him to do so. I thank God for the change in Bro Banister's mind, and I hope the Committee will ask him to do this. He is the man best suited for the Ku Cheng district, and I cannot but feel that his objections and fears are more imaginary than real. He has laid all these before you and so I need not mention them. Mr. Martin has arrived and we glad to see him... Yours very sincerely, John R. Wolfe.

1895, November 14.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, November 14th, 1895, No 2431, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In your despatch No 1168, of the 2nd ultimo, you make a quotation from the despatch sent by Admiral Carpenter to the Navy Department, wherein he urges that all missionaries in the interior of China be directed to come to the Treaty Ports until such time as the condition of the country will permit their returning in safety.

You state that you leave it to my knowledge of affairs as they at present exist to decide whether it would be advisable to issue some notification to American citizens to refrain from going to or residing in sections of the country far removed from the treaty ports.

I beg to say that, though frequently appealed to, I have hitherto refused to advise the American missionaries, who are the only Americans residing in the interior, either to go or stay. This line of conduct resulted during the war in the peaceful residence of the missionaries at their homes in Peking while every foreign lady, except the Americans and the Catholic sisters of charity, went to a treaty port. It is true that my own conduct in remaining at my post and in not ordering any marines to the capital constitutes some grounds of assurance of safety to my fellow citizens.

It must be remembered, however, that American missionaries are located all over this vast empire, at distances from Peking ranging from three thousand miles to one hundred or less. We have consuls only on the seaboard and the Yangtze. It is not possible for the Minister here to know what causes, if any, are at work in remote localities which might result in riots. His advice, however well intended and however maturely considered, might be erroneous and in that case the English press and the missionaries would unite in assailing him with the utmost bitterness.

The responsibility of advising the missionaries whether to remain in the interior or to abandon their homes and their work is immense. Advice to go might result in an exodus of hundreds of men, women and children under the most distressing circumstances. Advice to stay might result in loss of life and property.

Apart, however, from any disagreeable results either to the missionaries or the minister, it is well to consider more broadly whether the Government of the United States ought in any event to advise its citizens to abandon and quit their homes in localities where, under the treaties, they are permitted to reside. I can imagine a case in which the minister had knowledge of an impending riot in a given locality which his efforts could not prevent and the missionaries had no knowledge of the danger. He would certainly advise his countrymen of the facts and he might suggest the propriety of their seeking safety in flight. Such a case could scarcely occur because the missionaries almost always would know the condition of affairs better than the minister. They should be left, therefore, to determine for themselves what to do.

For the Government of the United States to advise its citizens to leave the interior of China on account of the fear of riots would be a confession of weakness. The Chinese would readily learn that a little scare would produce an exodus of the foreigners and missionary work in the interior would soon become impossible.

The solution of this troublesome question of residence in the interior will be found in the building of railroads by foreigners. These pioneers of civilization will open up China to foreign residence. The strange anomaly of allowing men and women to settle in the interior for religious purposes with the right of pursuing various occupations such as practicing medicine, teaching, manufacturing in industrial schools, while vigorously denying these privileges to the ordinary merchant and professional man, will disappear when the first great railroad in China is completed.

I see no pressing necessity now existing for me to give any advice to my countrymen on the question of continued residence in the interior.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

The Otago Witness (New Zealand), 14 November 1895.

MISSIONARIES TO CHINA

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—Your correspondent “Calliope” in a late issue of your paper makes some extraordinary statements with regard to missionaries, unsupported by any proof except the opinion of a trader in China. Had “Calliope” studied the subject before writing it might have saved him from making statement he would find it difficult to prove. Let me review a few of his remarks. He objects to missions to the heathen. Does he forget that our Great Example gave the command to go and teach *all* nations, and when persecuted in one city to flee to another? He speaks in a very scornful way to missionaries, as causing bloodshed and lazily living at the expense of others. “Calliope” evidently is not a reader of telegrams and newspapers or he would have known the vegetarian revolt is a political one and aims at the expulsion of *all* foreigners. And now allow me to tell a little about the noble band he writes so cruelly of who perished at Kucheng. Mr. Stewart, the great grandson of an earl, was a gold medalist of Trinity College, Dublin. A man of great talent and indomitable energy, he passed his examination for the bar, but was drawn to the mission field. When principal of the Divinity School at Fuh-Chow, his own and Mrs. Stewart’s family contributed the funds to erect college buildings, and it was his influence that called forth that noble band of ladies who worked in Fuh-Kien, many of whom have been and are *honorary* workers, while others are specially supported by friends. In the Newcastle Chronicle of August 13 there is a letter from Dr. W. P. Mears, Teignmouth Artillery Camp, from which I will give a few quotations.

I have travelled alone hundreds of miles in Fuh-Kiang, and invariably met with courtesy and hospitality from the people wherever *missionary influence* was felt. Twenty-five years ago no European could safely venture far from Foo-Choo.

This fact is proved by the large meetings of all nationalities held at Shanghai and Hong Kong to consider the Kucheng murders. Nothing was said against missionaries, but resolutions of sympathy with the survivors were passed and urging that European protection be extended to all foreigners. These foreign merchants knew that missionary work was having the effect of opening up the interior for traders. As to the fruits of their missionary labours, Mr. Stewart had 2000 converts round him, and the vegetarians would not have dared to attack him there, but took advantage of the missionaries being at the sanitorium, four hours’ journey from Kucheng. I could multiply instances of the beneficial work of missionaries, but I cannot trespass further on your space, except to say that “Calliope” would, perhaps, prefer being wrecked on a cannibal island rather than on one where the natives were mission converts. I am, etc., AN OLD COLONIST.

Invercargill, November 11.

1895, November 21.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, November 21st, 1895, No 2437, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you, as being a matter of some interest, that a Reform Club has lately been started among the Censors and Hanlin²⁶ at Peking.

The credit of the initiation of this movement belongs to the Rev. Gilbert Reid. In his capacity of Missionary to the Upper Classes he has interested some of the literati in the scheme. Regulations for the government of the Club have been printed and distributed and ten thousand taels have been raised for expenses. Of this sum Chang Chi-tung gave one half.

The plan includes a daily paper, a reading room to be supplied with papers and books bearing on science, politics and progress, a library, lecture room, etc.

Mr. Reid has been invited to assist the Club and has consented to do so. Other foreigners will no doubt interest themselves in a movement which is entirely novel in China and promises good results.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

CMS East Asia Mission, Dr John Rigg, England, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 21 November 1895.

6 Walton's Parade, Preston

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

As I expect shortly to return to China I wish to ask your Committee to revise the relationship of your missionaries in the Kien Ning Prefecture to Archdeacon Wolfe.

While yielding hearty respect and affection to Archdeacon Wolfe and recognizing him as the 'father' of the Fuh-Kien Mission which owes a very great deal to his energy and pertinacity in past years, yet recent experience has deeply impressed me with the fact that personal dealings with him are seriously complicated by his strong personal bias, forgetfulness and unbusinesslike methods. Therefore I ask that in every possible detail we Kien Ning missionaries may be subject to the guidance and judgment of the Foochow Sub-Conference rather than to the control of the Archdeacon personally. I am sure that such an arrangement will make for the peace of mind of everyone, including the Archdeacon, and also will further the prosperity of this work.

I also wish to draw your attention to the fact that reference of matters to the Foochow Sub-Conference has of recent years, been much impeded by the May meeting of that Conference having been suspended and now from November to November the only way of getting any matter considered by the brethren is by circular letter, a course which I believe has proved unsatisfactory.

I wish also to suggest that with regard to the minute of Committee of Correspondence dated March 2 1895, communications to her Majesty's Consul be forwarded to Archdeacon Wolfe and by him or in his absence by the next senior missionary in Foochow be submitted to the Foochow Local Committee and under their direction forwarded to the Consul (preferably by the Secretary of that Committee) and that the Secretary of the Committee send a copy of the communication to the missionary in whose behalf the Committee have acted. Such a course would not only minimize friction with the Archdeacon but would also provide for the action of the Foochow Local Committee in matters of urgency in the frequent absence of Archdeacon Wolfe from Foochow in his districts of Hok-Chiang, etc.—it being understood that the Committee so act in the Archdeacon's absence. In conclusion I would again ask you to believe that in making these proposals I am actuated by a desire to further the progress of the work and the peace of the Mission. Believe me, Yours Sincerely, John Rigg.

26 A college for training official record keepers and maintaining the Imperial Library where all official documents were deposited.

CMS East Asia Mission, Minutes of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Fuhkien Sub-Conference was held at Foochow on the 21st and 22nd November 1895.

Present: The Rt Rev Bishop Burdon (in the Chair)

Ven. Archdeacon Wolfe; Revds. W Banister; J Martin; C Shaw; H S Phillips; H M Eyton-Jones; W Light; T McClelland; L H Star.

1. McClelland elected Secretary.
2. Star and Light, having passed language exams, admitted members of Conference.
3. Kucheng Massacre. 'The members of the Fuhkien Church Missionary Society at this their first meeting of Conference since the melancholy occurrence of the massacre of the dear friends and fellow-missionaries at Kucheng desire to place on record their deep sense of the great and mournful loss which they and this FuhKien Mission have sustained by the cruel murder of the Revd. R. W. Stewart and Mrs. Stewart and the other devoted ladies who were martyred with them while resting during their summer vacation at HuaSang ... etc etc.
4. Complaint from English Presbyterian Mission that some of the CMS converts at Ing Chung had left Pres with encouragement from CMS in Foochow. CMS delegates Shaw to arrive at an agreement with Eng Pres. Actual help was subsidy for schools.
5. Martin to take charge Kucheng.
6. Light and Star to take Lo Nguong and Ning Taik working under supervision of Banister.
7. Lloyd to work in Foochow, English chaplain and business-manger.
8. Rev. T E Bland to Boys Boarding School, Foochow.
9. Dublin University Fukien Mission Scheme. Memorandum approved. Fuh-Ning except Ning Taik) exclusive to TCD. CMS regulations to apply. Archdeacon Wolfe recorded his dissent.
10. Banister to replace Stewart in managing private donations to schools.
11. Phillips to take furlough.
12. McClelland. Wife ill, they will return to England.
13. "The question of what should be done with the furniture belonging to the late Rev. R. W. Stewart now in the CMS house at Kucheng was discussed and the following resolution passed: "That the Revds. W Banister and J Martin value the furniture belonging to the late Rev. R. W. Stewart and that the Society be asked to pay to his Estate the amount they agree upon, the furniture to remain in the CMS House at Kucheng for the use of the Missionary for the time being living there, who shall not be granted any furniture allowance."
14. Annie Wolfe taken on as missionary in local connexion.

1895, November 23.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 23 November 1895.

1. Remarks re Sub-Conference
2. Report of Kucheng(Gutian) Commission of Enquiry. Initial purpose to keep Parent Committee informed. Written with full consent of Mansfield. Copy sent to CMS; North China Daily News; the Times, London. (Times printed in full). Need to guide ignorant public in UK. Generally viewed as 'official' report.
3. Banister's personal situation. Accepts PC decision not to send Banister to Kucheng. With one exception (Wolfe) Sub-Conference agreed that Martin should go to Kucheng. Martin is not Stewart but is sincere and godly. Archdeacon wants to concentrate on Hok Chiang and Foochow. Did not want Light and Star as recommended by Sub-Conference.

1895, November 26.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, November 26th, 1895, No 2440, Denby to Olney.

Subject: Deputies of Protestant Missions visit the Yamen.

Synopsis: Deputies of Protestant Missions discuss with Ministers of the Yamen the relations of Christian converts and Christian missionaries to the Chinese people.

Sir:—In my despatch No 2410 of the 29th ultimo, I informed you of the proposed visit to the Yamen of Messrs Wherry and Richard, members of a special deputation to represent the Protestant Religion before the Chinese Government.

On the 14th instant these gentlemen were presented by me to the Chinese Ministers and given an opportunity to set forth their views on the important question of bringing about harmony between the populace of China and the adherents of foreign faiths. Their main point was the desirability of freer intercourse between missionaries and the Chinese officials, while the Yamen ministers were inclined to trace the existing anti-Christian feeling to a disposition on the part of Chinese converts to avail of foreign protection to bully their fellow citizens.²⁷

On the 22nd these gentlemen were asked by the Yamen to call again and renew the discussion. Dr. Lowry took the place of Dr. Wherry who had returned to America. They, accompanied by the Secretary of the Legation, were received with great courtesy but no definite conclusion of any kind was arrived at. They were not informed whether a memorial prepared by them would be submitted to the Emperor. They did, however, receive a cordial invitation to call on the Yamen informally whenever they pleased, which from such a body is a noticeable concession.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, November 26th, 1895, No 2441, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your despatch No 1172 of October 10th last wherein you comment on my despatch No 2325 of August 27th.

In that despatch I stated that I wired Admiral Carpenter the 26th August as follows:

If sending commander [Cdr John S. Newell, USS Detroit] depends on my request must say I see no necessity for sending another officer.²⁸

The morning of the 27th August I was informed that Commander Newell had already gone to Kucheng.

On the same day I wired to the Admiral as follows:

As Commander Newell has gone to Kutien I recommend that he be allowed to stay.

Commander Newell did remain as a member of the Commission until its final adjournment.

I regret that in the great rush of work here I omitted to notify you that your wish as to the appointment of a Naval Commander on the Commission had been carried out.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

The Straits Times (Singapore), 26 November 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

Early this month, five of the ringleaders in the massacre of missionaries at Kucheng were beheaded at Foochow. Eyewitnesses describe the scene as imposing. Three sides of an oblong were fortified by troops, estimated to number 1,200 to 1,500. At the end of the oblong was a large tent in which sat the Prefect, accommodation also being provided for the Consuls and other members of the Commission of Investigation and their friends.

27 See Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister. *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1896, pp 479-483 and footnote.

28 Ensign Waldo Evans of USS Detroit accompanied Consul Hixson to Gutian. It is not clear whether Evans returned to the ship when his captain, Commander Newell, arrived in Gutian.

1895, November 28.

The Times, (London), 28 November 1895.

See Part 6, Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.²⁹

29 See Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry: Report 6, September 2-28.

1895, November 29.

Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194

British Legation Peking to Mansfield Foochow.

Despatched Peking, 29 November, 1895.

No 13. Sir, I am directed by H. M. P. S. of S. for For, Affs. [Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] to acquaint you that he has received from you a copy of yr despatch of the 23rd August last to Sir N. R. O'Connor reporting your arrival at Kutien and the progress of the enquiry into the massacre at Huashan.

I am pleased to be the medium of conveying to you his approval of your proceedings as therein reported. I am, etc. (no signature).

1895, December 1.

CMS East Asia Mission, Petition from Chinese Christians in Foochow re Fukien Bishopric. Foochow. 1 December 1895.

Nominating Wolfe as first Bishop of Fukien. .

1895, December 2.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 2 December 1895.

Proposes end to 'dual control' of CMS/CEZMS lady missionaries.

1895, December 6.

The Poverty Bay Herald, (New Zealand) 7 December 1895.

The Kucheng Massacre.

THE OFFENDERS PUNISHED.

Sudney, Dec. 6.—Latest Eastern files show that the massacre of missionaries at Kucheng has been fully avenged. The last prisoner found guilty has been executed. Altogether twenty-six men have been beheaded, and six others sentenced to exile for life. Twenty-seven were condemned to ten years' imprisonment, and four are to be chained to a stone for three years.

1895, December 13.

FRUS, Department of State, Washington, December 13th, 1895, No 2449, (Telegram), Olney to Denby.

Ask Hixson and Newell for immediate preparation joint report. Olney.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, December 13th, 1895, No 2449, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose a copy of a telegram received from the Consul at Foochow relating to the dilatory and evasive conduct of the Viceroy in the treatment of questions affecting Americans in his province. I enclose, also, a copy of my despatch confirming the above telegram. I have addressed to the Tsungli Yamen a communication wherein I demand that the Viceroy be ordered to take suitable action on all the points mentioned by the Consul. Denby.

**Enclosure 1 in No. 2449.
Copy of Telegram Received.**

Foochow, December 9th, 1895.

Denby, Peking.

Missionaries kept in Foochow because conditions dangerous. They anxious to return to work, which is suffering much from absence. I can get no satisfaction. The Viceroy has seen no Consul since my return to Foochow. He declined repeatedly to see me on account of illness which was a subterfuge. I tried writing. It was no use. His replies were platitudes and cowardly evasions of every issue. He fears to see me because he could not then evade. I know he intends a continuance of such tactics indefinitely if not coerced, using foreign board and subordinates as mere buffers to dodge action on any matter. Hungwei mission property walls destroyed. No action taken. Property is being damaged at Hochiang and persecutions are rife there. Magistrate Huang publicly denounced religion and bamboozed converts. Populace thus encouraged threaten massacre. Viceroy says it is unnecessary to send deputy there. He leaves Huang to settle his own case when he should be peremptorily removed. There are other mission cases at Hinghua and minor ones elsewhere receiving no attention. Representations all useless unless they embrace formal demands. No progress is made in the Huashan case. No arrests have been made since Consuls left Ku-tien. The vegetarians are reorganizing and are getting recruits in some places. The issues involved in the case are persistently evaded. Categorical despatches all answered with meaningless platitudes or referred to Hus, as last resort of evasion. All my time now occupied in this useless correspondence and in conferences with irresponsible and unreliable subordinates. Hence ensues delay in other matters. The Viceroy even declines to compel Hsu to keep agreements he made before we left Ku-tien. I request you to demand Viceroy to receive Captain Craig and my self, that you authorize me to formally demand the Viceroy to take action in cases, and that straight answers be given my despatches about Ku-tien, and other matters. If you are unable to grant such request about demands then I request to be relieved of further responsibility to represent any matter to the Viceroy and to devote time absolutely to pushing Huashan report, also request you to demand immediate change personnel foreign board here, abolition as concerns consuls since nuisance to us all and dangerous obstruction to action in emergency. Am following instructions but my limited powers are futile. This polite squirming Viceroy regards no Peking or other authority without ultimatum and warships, etc. Hixson.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2449.

Legation of the United States, Peking, December 12th, 1895.

J Courtney Hixson, Esquire,

United States Consul, Foochow.

Sir:—I append hereto a translation of your cipher telegram of the 9th instant; also a copy of my telegram to you of the 11th instant.

I have presented to the Tsungli Yamen seriatim the complaints made by you of the conduct of the Viceroy and have demanded that he be ordered to comply with your demands.

You state in the close of your telegram that the Viceroy “regards no Peking or other authority without

ultimatum and warships, etc.” If the Viceroy really entertains such views it may well be that we will ultimately have to resort to ultimatum, backed—as they must be—by resort to force. It is prudent, however, to endeavor to secure justice from the Imperial Government before taking warlike measures, especially as I cannot without the authority of my Government, institute reprisals.

It is likely that this “ultimate reason” will not be recurred to, if ever, until your report has been received and considered. I trust that you will find means to enable the missionaries to return to their fields of usefulness. As I have specifically demanded that you will be received by the Viceroy—when you can make all desirable demands—it becomes unnecessary to consider your alternative request “to be relieved of further responsibility to represent any matter to the Viceroy.” I have, besides, no power to relieve you of any responsibility which of right belongs to your office.

I have not thought it necessary to formally demand that Capt. Craig should be received by the Viceroy. There will, probably, be no objection on the part of the Viceroy to receive him when he receives you.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

CMS East Asia Mission, Miss Minnie Boileau, Church Missionary Society, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 13 December 1895.

1. In Hok- Chiang.
2. Ladies working in Hok Chiang briefly but not inland.
3. Nine new ladies expected in February.
4. Everything seems very quiet.
5. Female Education Society (Miss Ryle—cousin) working in Hong Kong.
6. Bishop Burdon very aged.
7. Visited Huasang graves in Foochow.

TheTimes, (London), 13 December 1895.

See Part 6, Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry.³⁰

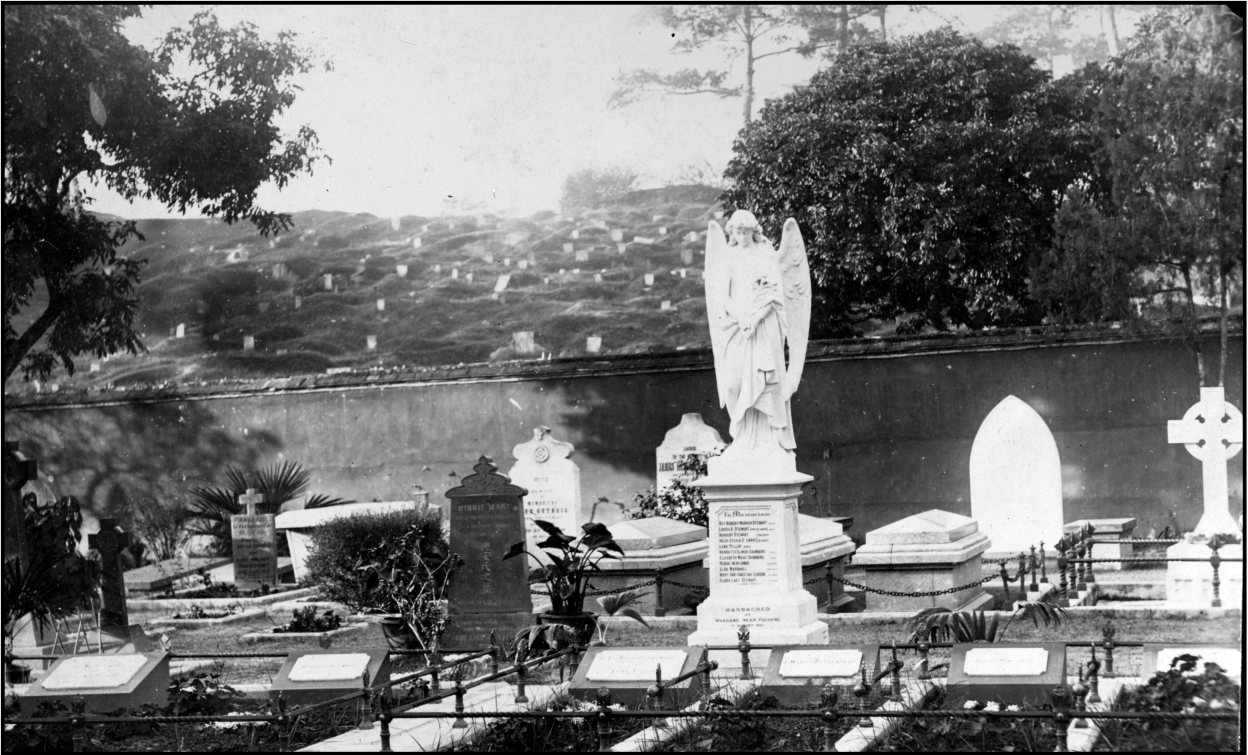
30 See Part Six: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister & the Huashan Commission of Enquiry: Report 7, 12 October 1895.

1895, December 25.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. John Martin, Ku Cheng, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 23 December 1895.

Consul approved a short exploratory visit to Kucheng. Local Chinese Church Council to meet mid-February.

GRAVES OF KUCHENG MARTYRS, BRITISH (INTERNATIONAL) CEMETERY, 1896



Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France

Another view of the Graves of the Huashan Martyrs, British Cemetery, Foochow



Ralph G Gold Papers, Yale University Divinity School Library.

1895, December 26.

The Times, (London) 26 December 1895

RECENT OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

(From an Occasional Correspondent.)

HAN-KAU, OCT. 9. Many attempts have been made of late to explain the cause or causes of the recent outrages in China. I should like to state in a few words my own opinion on the subject. Having lived in China for 40 years, and having travelled extensively over nine of the provinces, my opinion may be taken as based upon observation and well as reflection. Cobweb theories, however finely woven, are of no use at this time. We have to deal with stern facts, and our true policy is to face them manfully, and to base our action on a full recognition of their existence and potency.

My opinion may be stated in a few words. It must be admitted that the foreigner has forced himself upon the Chinese. We are not here because the Chinese invited us to come or wish us to remain. We have, it is true, our treaty rights; but every one of them has been obtained at the point of a bayonet. Our presence in Peking, our presence at the coast ports, our presence in the interior, our presence in the valley of the Yang-tsze, our autonomous settlements, our extra-territorial jurisdiction—all these things are now, and have been from the beginning, an abomination to the Chinese Government. The governing classes have never changed in their hatred of the foreign element, or in their desire to banish it from the land. They would, if they could, bring things back to their pristine state, and confine both us and our commerce to one spot.

The idea of casting out the foreigner, sooner or later, has been fondly cherished by the officials and scholars all these 50 and more years. The idea may have been allowed to sleep off and on; but they have never relinquished it, and of late they have been greatly moved by it. The question before them for some time seems to have been how to realize this idea; and the plan which has commended itself to their judgment appears to be this—“Let all the missionaries, in the first instance, be frightened back into the open ports; if that succeeds, let an effort be made to drive all the foreigners, whether merchants or missionaries, to the coast ports.” This is intended for the immediate future. It does not exhaust the programme.

This idea, which I father on the governing classes, needed a congenial home in order to take root and develop, and that home it has found in Hu-nan. The Hu-nan the hatred of the foreigner is a provincial characteristic. The gentry and scholars of Hu-nan look upon their province as the palladium of the empire, and the ultimate expulsion of the hated barbarian has never ceased to be a fixed article in their creed. It is only in a province such as Hu-nan, and in the midst of conditions such as Hu-nan presents, that the idea could strike so deep a root and attain to so vigorous and gigantic a growth. The Hu-nan scholars have been engaged for many years in propagating the anti-foreign creed, with the view of preparing the minds of the people for the decisive moment. Believing that the time for action had come, they made, in 1889-1890, a special effort to poison the minds of the people. The Hu-nan publications, in which the foreigners are charged with the foulest and most cruel practices, were scattered up and down this river by the agents of the infamous Chou Han.³¹ This poison found its way into the homes of all classes of society, and was greedily devoured by all conditions of people. They way having been thus prepared, and the propitious hour having arrived, the blow was struck, and the riots of 1891, in the Yang-tsze Valley, followed. There was no accident about it. The whole thing was deliberately planned and carried on with a definite purpose. Behind the people were the Hu-nan emissaries, and behind the Hu-nan emissaries stood the real power which worked in both and through both. Such was my opinion then, and such is my opinion now.

In the Szu-chuan riots we have a similar development of events. Since 1891 the Hu-nan publications have been scattered over all the provinces, and the minds of the people have been prepared everywhere for action. Chou Han's books and tracts are everywhere, and their abominable libels are believed by every one. The most popular of his publications is a book entitled “Death to the Devils' Religion,” brought to light by me in 1891. It is written in the Mandarin dialect, and can be easily read by any one who can read at all. Of the Hu-nan publications I do not know one more violent, more foul, more blasphemous, or more inflammatory than this. It is printed in all the provinces and given away gratuitously by tens of thousands of copies. Several provincial editions have just fallen into my hands, and among them a Szu-chuan edition. This was printed in

31 See Part 10: Anti-Christian & Anti-Foreign Cartoons from Hunan Province.

1890 for the first time, and has been circulating in the province ever since, poisoning the minds of the people, and preparing them for the sudden uprising of May last. In the Szu-chuan riots of this year, as in the riots of the Yang-tsze Valley of 1891, you have the mob in front, behind the mob you have the Hu-nan emissaries, and behind the Hu-nan emissaries you have the officials. The Szu-chuan riots have been traced to the direct influence of Liu Ping-Chang, the Viceroy, who has been known for years to be an intense hater of all foreigners and the very embodiment of the official idea which has for its aim the casting out of all foreigners. It is absurd to suppose that the Viceroy stood alone. It is not at all likely that he would have willfully signaled his supersession by putting a rope round his own neck. Had he not believed that his doings would be pleasing to another and a greater than himself he would never have allowed the Cheng-tu riots to break out.

Such is my theory with regard to these outrages in China. It is the one theory that will explain all the facts with which we have to deal. It alone will account for the fact that the anti-foreign crusade has been carried out in Hu-nan for so many years—and carried on with the knowledge, the connivance, and the active co-operation of the provincial authorities. It alone will account for the inactivity of the officials almost everywhere and always till the work of destruction is actually done, and their slowness to punish when all is over. It alone will account for the fact that it has been impossible, up to the present time, to get the principal instigators of the riots arrested, or the real authors and disseminators of the anti-foreign publications punished. It alone will account for the fact that, during the recent war with Japan, the officials in Szu-chuan and Fo-kien, as well as in all the other provinces, showed themselves perfectly able to protect the missionaries and their property. When the war broke out, most of us feared that there might be uprisings and persecutions in the interior. But Peking sent forth its orders, to the effect that the foreign missionary must be protected, and, as a result, the missionaries and their converts enjoyed perfect peace during the progress of the war. The peace we enjoyed simply astonished us. It has also convinced us that the authorities can protect us whenever and wherever they are inclined to do so.

It is vain to ascribe the riots to the hatred of the foreigner among the masses of the Chinese people. The people are usually peaceable and harmless, save when moved to hostility by their superiors. They do not cherish any particular affection for us; but they are not averse to friendly intercourse with us. If left to themselves they would gladly enter into any relation with us that promised to them certain obvious benefits. They are, however, very much under the control of the gentry and scholars, and become most cruel and revengeful when once their suspicions are excited and their passions roused. The anti-foreign placards are always issued by the scholars, with the full cognizance of the magistrates.

It is vain to ascribe the riots to a deep-rooted detestation of the missionary. The masses of the people do not hate the missionary, and the longer he lives among them the more friendly they become. The missionaries represent the highest mental and moral culture of the West, and the people know it. They also try in every possible way to help the poor and the suffering, and the people appreciate it. If the officials and scholars would only let us alone, we should have no difficulty at all with the people. They crowd our chapels every day and enjoy our preaching. They purchase our books and read them. There is not a country in the world in which missionary work can be carried on with more ease and safety than China. Everything depends on the officials. When they are friendly, the people are quiet; when they are inimical, the people are turbulent. Even the presence of ladies in the interior has nothing to do with these riots. Not a lady was molested in Szu-chuan; indeed, we know of instances in which they were protected by heathen friends. The presence of the ladies had nothing to do with the Ku-cheng massacre. Neither has the foreign dress anything to do with these riots. This is a mere question of personal taste and convenience. The Chinese know that we are foreigners, and they have not the least objection to our being just what we are in dress and manners. As long as the foreigner conducts himself as a Christian gentleman, it matters not one whit what dress he may put on or what food he may eat.

As to the hatred of the foreigner among the literary and official classes the case is different. Their hatred is not a thing of yesterday. It existed long before the first Protestant missionary set his foot on the soil of the Celestial land. The hatred of the foreigner—be he missionary or be he layman—among the literary and official classes is a deeply-rooted and fondly-cherished sentiment. The following Chinese maxim, translated by pere Pramare, gives the official sentiment with regard to the foreigner and the principle which should guide the Chinese in their intercourse with him:—

The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as the Chinese. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great laws of reason it would lead to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this well, and therefore ruled barbarians by misrule. Hence to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them.

In the early days of foreign intercourse with the Chinese that was a practical rule strictly observed. It is still held theoretically and applied as far as circumstances will allow.

As to the Ho-lao Hui theory, I can only say that I have never been able to attach any importance to it. It does not account for the facts. That the sect does exist I know. That some of its members have been active of late I also know. They may have had something to do with striking the match which has set so many places in a blaze during these four or five years. But what about the combustibles which they have found everywhere so near at hand and so ready to take fire? Without the preparation which has gone before, what serious mischief could they have perpetrated in this and other provinces? Let it not be forgotten that this preparation has been going on for years under the very eyes of the officials, and with their approbation.

I am not now discussing the merits or demerits, the reasonableness or unreasonableness, of the Chinese position in regard to foreign intercourse. But I want to state their position and point out that the European standpoint is just the opposite of theirs, and that the one or the other must yield. The real question which the foreign Powers have to consider at the present time is this, shall we maintain our position or China or shall we bow to the Chinese idea and clear out? "China exclusively for the Chinese"—that is the idea, the official idea, the realization of which is the grand aim of the anti-foreign movement which has given us so much trouble in recent years. It is not an anti-missionary movement; neither is it a sudden uprising of the people against all foreigners. It is anti-missionary, but it is anti-missionary because it is first and above all anti-foreign. The people are moved, but they are not moved by an inward impulse. The whole movement, is, in my opinion, to be traced to a Government policy, and it is with the Government and its policy that the Great Powers are called upon now to deal.

There is one lesson which the Chinese Government ought to be taught at once—namely, that however fondly they may cherish their idea, they must not and shall not use the methods which they have been using of late in their attempts to realize it; they must be made to see and feel that all this is barbarism pure and simple. China wishes civilized nations to look upon her as a member of the family and to grant her the privileges of international law. It is high time that China should be told that by these inhuman and savage deals she is showing herself to be unworthy of a place among civilized Governments, and forfeiting every right of appeal to the law which regulates civilized nations in their mutual intercourse.

P.S.—The Hu-nan crusade is still going on, and apparently with new vigour. These last two days a large number of the publications have been brought to me by a native friend. They have all come straight from Chang-sha, the capital of Hu-nan, and have all been struck from new blocks. Some of them are old works, and some are quite new; but all are utterly vile and inflammatory. Chou Han is still the head of the movement. Why has not this man been degraded (he is an official of Taotai rank), and banished to some place where he would be powerless to do mischief? He has done infinite mischief in stirring up the worst passions of the people against foreigners. If all the truth were known it would be found, I have not the least doubt, that the influence of Chou Han has much to do with the Ku-cheng massacre. I have just been reading one of his tracts, and my only surprise is that this vile literature has not wrought more mischief than it has. The marvel is, not that the outrages have been so many, but that they have been so few. In Chou Han, however, the official idea is incarnated, and hence the difficulty of touching him. Nevertheless, this man must be dealt with, and the Hu-nan literature must be stopped, if the foreigner is to dwell in peace in this land.

1896

1896, January 15.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, Telegram, January 15th, 1896. H W Churchill, Vice-Consul to Department of State, Washington DC.

Mr. Vice-Consul Churchill assumes charge of this consulate during the illness of Mr. Consul Hixson.

1896. January 18.

Hawera and Normanby Star, New Zealand, 18 January 1896.

Poverty Bay Herald, New Zealand, 22 January 1896.

The Executions at Kucheng.

A correspondent of a London paper, in a letter dated from Foochow, gives the following description of the execution of seven men condemned to death for the Kucheng massacre:—"The foreign commissioners, with the exception of Commander Newell and Mr Banister, left their quarters early, and reached the magistrate's yamen at 6.15 a.m. They at once took seats just outside the great gate. The Taotai and Prefect were sitting at a table in the centre, while a double row of soldiers lined the way to the gate at the street, 100 yards off. As the commissioners took their seats a drum was beaten, and a salute fired. Then each of the seven condemned men was brought from his cell and conducted rapidly up the officials, before whom he knelt for a moment, and was tumbled into a cage, and a bamboo stuck down his back, to which was fastened a piece of paper on which the sentence was written. When this part of the ceremony was over the prefect and magistrate donned scarlet robes and scarlet hoods, and the line of march was taken up to the execution ground near the river, just outside the city gate. At a given signal the condemned knelt with their backs to the official stand, and the five executioners began their bloody work. When the heads were off, the whole vast concourse of people sent up a great shout, clapped their hands, and departed. The heads are now hung in open baskets in conspicuous places about the city.

1896. January 23

The Sydney Morning Herald, 23 January 1896.

MISSIONARIES FOR CHINA.

MELBOURNE, Wednesday,—By the Sydney express this evening two young ladies, Miss A. Nisbet and Miss E. P. Kingsmill, both from Tasmania, left to take up the work of the missionaries who were massacred at Ku-cheng in August last. A farewell meeting was held at the Young Women's Christian Association last night. There was a large attendance, including many Chinese.

1896, January 25.

Examiner, (Launceston), 25 January 1896

TASMANIAN LADY MISSIONARIES

Miss E. P. Kingsmill



The two young ladies—Miss A. Nisbet and Miss E. P. Kingemill—who left Melbourne on Wednesday to take up work at Ku-Cheng in place of those who were massacred on August 1 last are from Tasmania. Miss Nisbet returns to the mission field after 12 months' furlough. Miss Kingsmill is going out for the first time, and after she lands at Foochow she will labour at her own charges, while the other young lady will be supported by the Tasmanian branch of the Young Women's Christian Association. On the previous evening (states the Argus) a farewell meeting was held at the Young Women's Christian Association's rooms in

Spring street and the hall was well filled, the front seats being occupied by Chinese. Both ladies gave addresses, that of Miss Nisbet dealing with personal recollections of those with whom she had worked during the 5 1/2 years' she was in Ku-Cheng.

She spoke very feelingly of the Rev. R. W. Stewart and Mrs. Stewart and the others who had suffered martyrdom in the cause of Christianity. The chairman, the Ven. Archdeacon Langley, said that the going forth of these volunteers was the church's answer to all the criticism which had appeared since the disaster. Among those at the railway station to bid God-speed to the outgoing missionaries were the Rev. H. B. Macartney, Rev. Moy Ling³², Mr Cheok Hock (sic-Hong) Cheong, and Mrs Saunders, the mother of the "sister martyrs."

³²

Rev. James Moy Ling, one of two Chinese ordained ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria.

1896. January 28

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, January 28, 1896. No. 2471, Denby to Olney

Sir:—In my despatch No 2410 of October 29 last I informed you that I had consented to procure for Rev. John Wherry and Rev. Timothy Richard, members “of the Special Deputation to Represent the Protestant Religion before the Chinese Government” an interview with the Tsungli Yamen.

In my despatch No 2440 of November 26 last I informed you that these gentlemen had been received by the Yamen and had discussed certain questions touching Christianity.

Recently Rev. Timothy Richard and Rev. K. K. Lowry, DD—who had taken the place of Dr. Wherry—called on me for the purpose of thanking me for my assistance and also to request me to present to the Yamen the following points;

That a real stop be put to the circulation of all clandestine anti-Christian literature according to Chinese law.

That real liberty be granted to mandarins and people alike to become Christians if they choose.

That real cultivation of friendship between Chinese and foreign countries be shown by a more friendly intercourse between the mandarins and gentry on the one hand, and the missionaries on the other.

As these points have practically been presented by me many times there seemed to be no objection to forwarding them together with a printed memorial to the Throne prepared by the gentlemen above named.

A copy of my communication to the Yamen is enclosed.

Out of an abundance of caution I beg to say that I do not understand that the second clause implied a demand that Christians be appointed to office. That absolute and complete toleration in China, and the utter abolition of any religious test for holding office, would be desirable, I do not doubt—but I do not see my way clear to making such a demand officially on the Chinese Government at this time. Officials are now required to perform divers religious services, which a professing Christian could not conscientiously perform.

To eliminate such services from the duties of officials would be a serious change in the constitution and statutes of China.

While there may be no objection to recommending such a principle in a friendly and unofficial way, it is questionable whether a demand for such action comes within the proper purview of international intercourse.

At all events in my opinion the present time is not propitious for making an official demand that native Christians be appointed to office.

As a native Christian has already been appointed Minister to France, it is to be expected that others will be appointed to office from time to time, and it is prudent not to raise the question in such a form as to provoke antagonism.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

Enclosure

Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.

No 3. Peking January 27 1896.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies,

I have the honor to inform you that Revs. Timothy Richard and H. H. Lowry, members of the “Special Deputation to Represent the Protestant Religion before the Chinese Government” have requested me to transmit to you the enclosed printed copies of a memorial to the Throne.

In this paper the three points following are prominently brought forward:

That a real stop be put to the circulation of all slanderous anti-Christian literature according to Chinese law.

That real liberty be granted to mandarins and people alike to become Christians if they choose.

That real cultivation of friendship between Chinese and foreign countries be shown by a more friendly intercourse between the mandarins and gentry on the one hand, and the missionaries on the other.

These propositions seem to be entirely reasonable and in accord with the Treaties.

I have, therefore, most earnestly to request you to give to them your sanction and to put them in practical

execution.

An edict to that effect, if issued immediately, would produce a good effect.

I am authorized to say that H.B. M's Charge d'Affaires thoroughly agrees with me in this question, and joins in the request above stated.

1896, January 29.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, Telegram, January 29th, 1896. H W Churchill, Vice-Consul to Olney, Washington DC.

Olney Washington. Please transfer me Chefoo if it made Consulate equal or higher rank Foochow. Hixson.

1896, January 30

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, Telegram, 12.39 a.m., January 30th, 1896. H W Churchill, Vice-Consul to Olney, Washington DC.

Olney, Washington, Hixson had typhoid fever since December twelfth. Still in bed. Churchill.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol XXVII, January 1896, pp 7-15

"An Australian in China."

By Rev. J. C. Gibson,

[English Presbyterian Mission, Swatow.]

"TRAVELLERS' tales" have long been proverbial. But there are two kinds of travellers. One is patient and painstaking in observation, cautious and reserved in expression. These do not always write books, but when they do knowledge is increased. The other class is rapid and shallow, hasty in observation and rash in utterance. They usually write a book. Where facts fail them imagination supplies the lack. The "general reader" good humoured soul, pronounces it "bright and entertaining," but "the judicious grieve." A reviewer in the Age (Melbourne) of August 10th, has placed in the latter category a narrative of travel entitled, "An Australian in China," by G. E. Morrison, M. B. C. M. The book is described as "entertaining," and the entertainment is the old one of the traveller trotting out the missionary, to whose hospitality and aid he has owed his success, and making game of him.

Much is made of this feature of the book, which is incorrectly described under the heading, "Some Facts about Missionaries." The author sailed up the Yang-tse river as far as Chung-king, and thence made his way to the frontier of Burma. He knew no Chinese, and had no interpreter, but comes back to offer an opinion on the nature and value of missions to the Chinese! Now the humour of this situation lies on the surface. The traveller who has reached Chung-king, going westward, has practically left the sphere of Chinese missions behind him. There are missionaries in Western Sz-chwan and Kwei-chow, but their work is mainly pioneering. All the longer established missions, in which there has been time to test methods and show results, are left far away to the east, north-east and south-east. The case is like that of a traveller who should take steamer from London to Inverness, thence walk through Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, cross to the Orkney Islands, and presently publish, on the basis of his observations, a book on the Industries of Great Britain! To complete the parallel he must speak neither Gaelic nor English, and he must have no interpreter!

On the basis of such observations this traveler "has formed a low opinion" of the prospects of missionaries in China, relying on a calculation that "their harvest may be described as amounting to a fraction more than two Chinamen per missionary per annum."

Calculations of this kind are of no value from any point of view. They belong to the dark ages of the end of last century, when men did not know what missions are. But now the man of average education is expected to know better. Curiously the outside amateur seems always to think of the missionary as engaged in "making converts." The truth is that most missionaries are engaged, for the most part, not so much in "making converts" as in training and organizing bodies of converts already made. The universal testimony of missionaries is that converts are made by the native Christians.

One man gives himself to healing the sick, and the doctor who sees his 50 or 100 patients daily, nearly all uninstructed heathen, has little time for "making converts." Another gives nine-tenths of his time to school work, or to the training of preachers; another gives a large proportion of it to translation or other literary work. This must be done in order to give the people the Scriptures, so that the converts may have an intelligent knowledge of the religion which they profess. So also text-books for school and college use are provided. All this is needed not only for the immediate wants of the converts, but also to reach readers outside of mission circles. We have now hundreds of books of all sorts and sizes, and in various languages of China:—Translations of Scripture, commentaries, treatises on theology, on mental philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geometry, algebra, law, anatomy, physiology, materia medica, midwifery, Chinese and foreign history and geography, essays on religious topics, treatises on native religions, on the methods of Western civilization, newspapers and periodicals, both religious and general, etc., etc. These have a large circulation, and find thousands of readers.

Is this voluminous Christian literature, much of it of excellent quality, not to be reckoned as part of the missionaries' "harvest?" Again, consider the time and labour spent in negotiating for sites or buildings, or planning and building churches, schools, hospitals, dwelling-houses and all the brick and mortar requirement of a successful and permanent work. Is all that to be left out of the account? Moreover, as the result of what

has been done there is over large parts of China a friendlier feeling to the missionaries and a better understanding of their aims than before. This exists among the people to a far larger extent than is generally known, notwithstanding the calculated hostility of the literary and official class, the champions of privilege and caste, who are the natural foes of light and individual liberty.

Now apart from all questions about "converts" all this represents a "harvest" of enormous amount and of quite unspeakable value.

Missionaries give, no doubt, a good deal of time to open-air preaching and to individual dealing, seeking in these and other ways to "make converts." But every wise missionary, if the supposition be allowed, will say that his converts are made by the native Christians. Progress at first is always slow, for the very reason that there are as yet no native Christians. But as soon as a few are gathered they begin by word and example to bring in others, and it is usually as much as the missionary can do to keep pace with the examination and training of the enquirers brought to him by the native Christians. To suppose that there is any direct causal ratio between the number of the missionaries and the number of "converts," is to mistake the whole situation. Whether Dr. Morrison's figures are real or imaginary does not appear, and it really does not matter. He gets the number of missionaries, then gets, one knows not how, a number which he takes to be the number of converts per annum. Then he divides the one by the other and demonstrates! He might just as well take the height of the barometer and divide by the latitude! The result has no significance. By taking all the missionaries, and only the registered "converts," i.e., only communicants, by mixing old and new missions, evangelistic, educational and medical, all in one, he succeeds in combining all the faults by which the figures of rash statisticians can be vitiated.

He includes missions only newly begun, and missionaries of whom many are only learning to speak. On the other hand, he omits multitudes of people who are under instruction, who are eager to be baptized, but whose acceptance is delayed by the prudence of the missionaries. To all intents and purposes many of these are, in the common acceptance of the term, "Christians" already, and might well be reckoned as "converts." Thus by a double error his ratio comes out vitiated in every possible way. Science is never advanced by misinterpreted figures worked through a meaningless calculation.

Something like the truth may be got by taking a representative case. Take the actual case of a missionary who came out twenty years ago. A year and a half passed before his first baptism of a "convert." This time was spent chiefly in learning the language. Thereafter the annual numbers baptized by him ran as follows:— First year 24, next 42, then 54, then 38, then 38, or an average over the first five active years of 39 per annum. This is an average case, and larger figures might often be found. In most parts of the older mission fields in China it would be easy for the missionaries, if regardless of quality, to add to their membership at the rate of hundreds per missionary per annum. A comparatively low rate of increase in membership only shows that the missionaries act with great caution in not admitting any to baptism except those who have given good evidence of sincerity. Most missionaries probably refuse more than they baptize every year.

Again take the actual figures as follows:—

Number of Communicants in Protestant Missions in China.

1807	work was begun.				
1843	there were 6 communicants.				
1853	350	Increase	344	in 10 years, or	34 per annum,
1865	2000		1650	in 12 years, or	140 per annum.
1876	13035		11035	in 11 years, or	1003 per annum.
1886	28000		14965	in 10 years, or	1496 per annum.
1889	37287		9287	in 3 years, or	3076 per annum.

Taking the later years from 1876 to 1889, for which we have the best statistics, and which are the best test of present conditions, we find that in these 13 years the increase of communicants has been 24,252. But as these are communicants only we may multiply by three to get the increase in number of the Christian community. This is a very moderate estimate indeed. We thus get an addition to the number of "converts" of 72,756 in 13 years. To follow for a moment Dr. Morrison's idea of "harvest per missionary," but correcting his handling of the figures, let us ascertain the number of missionaries during this period. At its beginning in

1876 there were 473, and in 1889 there were 1296. Of these, however, 172 in the first figure, and 391 in the second, were missionaries' wives. They usually do valuable work in the teaching of the Christian women and their children. But home duties usually prevent their doing much evangelistic work for the direct making of "converts." Also, as already pointed out, many men are giving their time to medical, educational and literary work, all which, though of the utmost value, has only an indirect influence in the addition of converts. For all this figures cannot be given, and we may roughly solve the difficulty in a moderate way by omitting from the calculation the number of missionaries' wives. We thus get in round numbers 300 missionaries at the beginning of the period, and 500 at the end of it. This gives an average of 550, whose "harvest" the 72,758 added converts are. From this we must further deduct, say, one-sixth for missionaries invalided or on furlough, and, say, another sixth for those who were only learning the language and do not yet tell on the statistics. These deductions are made on a rough but moderate estimate. Finally, we get 72,756 in 13 years, or 5596 (per annum to be divided among 365 (550 less two-sixths) missionaries, giving an average annual "harvest" of 15 converts each per annum. With all the obstacles taken into account this does not seem at all a despicable result, especially when one considers the boundless influence for good that may be exercised for years to come by many of these fifteen.

But it is needless to repeat that all of this estimating ratios is to our mind perfectly futile. Only, when it is undertaken, it should be done with some attempt to get accurate figures and to handle them in a scientific manner.

Not content with mis-stating the numbers, Dr. Morrison freely depreciates the quality of these converts. He says they are "outcasts subsidised to forsake their family altars," "doubtful converts," etc. The reviewer gives as his own contribution the statement that many Chinamen live "in affluence on the free rations supplied, and which (sic) are commonly known as 'Jesus' rice.'" These gentlemen must share the responsibility of these slanders between them. With every desire to be courteous one is forced to say that it is a base thing for any man to write down as outcasts and abjects thousands of his fellow-Christians, who are, in God's sight, as good as he. We have not forgotten the Chinese Deacon who, when Mr. Wylie was done to death in Manchuria, interposed his own body to receive the deadly blows that were falling heavily on the dying missionary. If he were a British soldier we should claim for him the Victoria "Cross of Valour," but as he is only a Chinese Christian let us write him down "a subsidised outcast." Moreover, we have known not a few Chinese men and women, who, if the need had arisen, would have done the same as he did. We see them giving out of their poverty (in several well-known missions at the rate of a month's earnings each per annum) for the support of the Church to which they belong. We see many of them suffering loss and shame, and bearing it bravely for the Christ whose disciples they are. What right has any reviewer or traveller to insult such men and women with baseless talk about "subsidies" and "free rations"? Will either of these gentlemen name any mission which they know to be attracting "converts" by giving "free rations," and will he specify the number of recipients and the amount of the "rations"? If not, will they apologize for this slander? And will they explain away the statement made by Dr. Morrison that in a country eaten up with avarice he found three missionaries, who in three years were only able to find six persons willing to accept "free rations"? On this question of the quality of the converts one may quote the opinion of Mr. A. Michie, of Tientsin, as that of an impartial observer. He is one of our most candid friends and keenest critics, who has taken some pains to inform himself, and we can read his criticisms with profit. He says, "Christians of the truest type, men ready to become martyrs, which is easy, and who live "helpful and honest" lives, which is as hard as the ascent from Avernus, crown the labours of the missionaries."

The reviewer, relying on Dr. Morrison's "facts," then offers some conjectures as to the reasons for the alleged failure of missions in China. The first reason alleged is the large number of "sects," and the consequent perplexity of the Chinaman in trying to decide which is the best. This is a popular delusion, but it is a delusion. There are missionaries of all Churches in China, but they work together for a common cause. In 1890 a representative conference, including members of all these missions, met in Shanghai, and for ten days discussed a large variety of questions of policy and methods of work. There were differences of opinion, but it is safe to say that the cleavages were not along denominational lines. There are permanent committees on Scripture translation and other subjects, in which Baptists and Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, Lutherans and Methodists, all work together in harmony, and are quite forgetful of

their differences. As to the Chinese hearer of our preaching he is usually unaware of their being any difference. When he comes close enough to distinguish he describes the various missions as American, British or German. Doctrinal differences elude his observation. So much is this the case that the chief difficulty in this line of things is that one finds it hard to make him realize, when necessary, that there is a difference between Catholic and Protestant missions.

The reviewer makes another effort to explain the alleged failure of missions in China by attributing it to a lack of adaptation of the missionaries' teaching to native ideas. But if the missionaries offer "free rations" to all who will accept them this can hardly be. Nothing could be better adapted to "native ideas." He alleges that Christianity was introduced into the world in old days by adapting it to Gentile creeds. This too we must deny upon contemporary testimony. Demetrius of Ephesus thought very differently. The Jews of Thessalonica declared that the Christian teachers had "turned the world upside down," while Tacitus described them as the "enemies of the human race." The alleged "adaptation" is not in evidence. But it is said that the missionaries excite enmity and contempt by going now "on the opposite tack." The old "tack" was so offensive that missionaries were slaughtered all over Western Asia and Europe, and the new "tack," we are told, is still more offensive. Truly the world is hard to please! But again, let us have the facts. Does this traveller, or does his reviewer, really know whether the missionaries "adapt" their teaching or not? The reviewer may be a sinologue, but the traveller has told us that he knows no Chinese. Has either ever heard a missionary sermon or conversation in Chinese, or read a missionary tract in Chinese? If not how do they know? It is to be feared that they have gone into the witness-box to repeat empty hearsay, the current cant of anti-missionary criticism, being themselves scandalously ignorant of the subject on which they profess to offer expert evidence. The fact is that missionaries do adapt their teaching, in its form, to Chinese thought and feeling. The language alone would compel them to do so. Constant association with native preachers, whom they unconsciously imitate, leads to the same result. The question has been raised among missionaries, as matter for serious self-questioning, whether they have not gone too far in "adaptation." It is to be feared that there are many native Christians who have heard so little of the defects of Confucius that they still quote his words as an end of all strife. And from Buddhism have been borrowed so many of the current phrases of religious thought that it is to be feared that Christian teaching sometimes seems to gather a Buddhist colouring from the language in which it is couched.

But, they say, the missionaries tell the Chinese that "idolaters and all liars, their part shall be in the lake that burneth with brimstone and fire." The words are an inaccurate quotation from Rev. XX. 8, and if all that is meant is that we have allowed the words to stand in the Chinese versions of the New Testament, as they are in the Greek text, we must, no doubt, plead guilty. It has not been thought right in translating Scripture to carry adaptation so far as to omit or alter parts of the original text. But if it is alleged that missionaries single out this text as one specially useful in preaching to the Chinese, again the statement is a baseless one. It is suggested that this is the text relied on in dealing with ancestor worship, but in a pretty long experience we have never heard it so used. Nor is it true that "the Chinaman who accepts Christianity is also asked to believe that his father and other ancestors have perished eternally." The missionary does not presume to make any statement about the eternal destiny of the ancestors of his hearers. But the illustration is most unhappily chosen for its purpose. For if he did teach that their ancestors have perished, then indeed he might claim to have adapted his teaching to their thought. It is the Chinaman who has not accepted Christianity who believes, universally and inevitably, that his father and other ancestors have perished, whether eternally or not will depend on the number of the descendants and their care for or neglect of the offerings to the dead. A well-known Chinese dictionary defines "demon" or "devil" in this way: "Devil that is, what men become." Not bad men, but all men. The ancestral offerings are designed to alleviate the sufferings of these poor ghosts, who are thought of as in prison. It is hoped that the offerings will so far mitigate their sufferings that they may not find their way back under pressure of need to prey upon the living. Hence the mark is widely missed in the statement, "The keystone of Chinese religion is respect for parents, and this filial feeling has grown into ancestor worship." It would be much more nearly correct to say, "The keystone of Chinese religion is fear of devils, and this selfish feeling has grown into ancestor worship."

Such religion as the Chinese have produces no fruit of moral living in this life, and throws no ray of light into the life to come. The missionary comes to them, not as the ruthless destroyer of cherished ideals, but as

the first revealer of an immortal hope. We know the difficulties of our task better than our critics. We do not needlessly add to them by rousing antipathies without cause. The "enmity and angry contempt " sometimes met with are not directed against the missionary as such. They are the expression of a race hatred against the foreigner. They are less keenly felt against missionaries than against any other class of foreigners. Often have we seen the suspicion and dislike of a Chinese crowd towards the foreigner melt away when they discovered that they had to do not with the mysterious foreigner with whom they can have no communication, but with one speaking their own language. The missionaries go where no other foreigner could go with safety, and have innumerable friends among the Chinese people. They form the one element by which hostility is lessened, and by which a better understanding is brought about. Have our critics ever reflected on the significance of the missionary settlements now planted all over China, and on the softening effect of daily intercourse with educated and gentle men and women who come among them with absolutely no security for a day's life but that of the good feeling which by patience and kindness they may be able to create? The existence of the missions is a constant proof of the exercise of a very high degree of prudence and gentleness.

Men take on themselves a very grave responsibility who venture, over the fresh graves of the martyred Stewarts and others, to supply their murderers with the excuse that they were only the victims of their own meddlesomeness and folly. Sneers at missionaries are always welcome to a certain class of minds. One wonders whether they realize that every such sneer helps to endanger the lives of men and women and children in many a mission station. The Chinese are not blind to these things, and they know well that the missionary will have only a half-hearted backing from some of his countrymen when things come to the worst.

We note one more amusing feature of Dr. Morrison's criticisms, because it is typical; Formerly it was the fashion to say of missionaries, "See how they live in ease in the treaty ports and do nothing!" Now it is, "See the folly of these missionaries! Why will they persist in living up country at the risk of their lives? Why can't they come and live in safety at the ports like other people?" And then it is suggested that they do this from a perverse desire for martyrdom, just as before the only motive conceivable to our critics was the love of bread and butter. Well! "We piped unto you, and ye did not dance, we wailed, and ye did not weep"! But wisdom is justified of all her children. Missions must justify themselves. It is no great wonder that they do not always appeal to the casual traveller. But the orders stand, "Go ye and make disciples", and the patient lives and the earnest work of Christian men and women will, in the long result, attest the wisdom of the Master's command and the foresight of those who choose to cast in their lot with Him.

1896. February 3.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, February 3rd, 1896. No. 2474, Denby to Olney.

Sir: In my despatch No 2437 of November 21st last, I informed you of the creation at Peking of a "Reform Club."³³



I have to inform you that the Emperor has ordered it to be closed.

The suppression of this club and of its news-paper—which appeared every other day—was directly due to accusations made against them by Yang Chung-yi, a lately appointed Censor. He comes from Kiangsu, of the same district as the Imperial tutor Weng Tung-ho, and is said to be related to him as well as Li Hung-chang (picture), by marriage. These two officials have been charged with complicity in the scheme to suppress the Club, but I do not believe Li had anything to do with it.

The accusations against the Club were manifold,

It was charged that it was a combination to raise money, that it coerced officials to give money for fear of criticism.

The Viceroy Chang Chi-tung and Wang Wen-shao had given five thousand taels each, and all the other Viceroys were to be approached for contributions.

The Club was charged with being revolutionary and with being the intended germ of a parliament.

The officers of the Club were mostly Chinese, which was an offense against the Manchus.

It was proposed that the members should be handed over to the Board of Punishments to fix a penalty—but this has not yet been done.

The Editors, printers, and some leaders were at the Club the twenty-second ultimo, when word was brought that an Imperial Commissioner was coming to confiscate their property and seal up the place.

Immediately everything portable was carried off, and the place deserted. Red strips of paper were pasted across the main door, together with a proclamation and the young Club came to an untimely end. Opinions differ as to whether the Club is finished forever, but I have no doubt that it will not reappear for a long time. It offended the Imperial idea of conservancy. A sufficient argument against it was that such an institution was never created before. Innovations are held to be dangerous, and are dreaded by the highest advisers of the Emperors.

There were several prominent young officials in the movement to establish and carry on the Club.

At first Messrs. Richard, Pethick and Reid, foreigners living here, were engaged in assisting the Club, but latterly foreign assistance was dispensed with.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

33 "The young Chinese reformers in Peking have organized a Reform Club. Some of them read and speak English, others French, others German and still others Russian, and we are providing ourselves with all the leading periodicals of these various countries that we may read and study them. We have rented a building, prepared rooms, and propose to have a club where we can assemble whenever we have leisure, for conversation, discussion, reading, lectures or whatever will best contribute to the ends we have in view." The key promoter of the Reform Club was Kang Yu-wei. Headland, Isaac Taylor, *Court Life in China: The Capital, Its Officials and People*, (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1909), p 133-134.

1896. February 6.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, February 6th, 1896. Enclosure 2 in No 2475,

Circular

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Peking, February 6th, 1896.

To the Consuls of the United States in China.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to inform you that His Excellency Mr. A. Gerard, Minister of France, has recently procured from the Tsungli Yamen, by virtue of the French Treaty of 1858, an order directing the local authorities in all the Provinces of the Empire to expunge from the various editions and compilations of the Chinese Code all claims placing restrictions on the propagation of the Christian religion.

You are directed to bring this Circular to the attention of the American Missions in your Consular Districts.

It gives me pleasure to add that the Minister of France is entitled to the gratitude of the Christian world for his action in this important matter.

I am, Sirs, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, January 31st, 1896. H W Churchill, Vice-Consul to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose herewith a certificate signed by Dr. T. Rennie concerning Consul Hixson's health.

Although Consul Hixson has been, and is now, a very sick man, still he fought bravely against his disease and earnestly endeavored to complete his report on the Huashan massacre, but his efforts were in vain. After his physician had ordered him not to do any work he had official papers brought to his bedside for his signature.

If he does not have a relapse he may be able to attend to his duties in a month, and then it will require only a few days to finish his report.

I have, etc., H W Churchill, Vice-Consul in Charge.

INCLOSURE: A certificate from Dr. T. Rennie.

1896. February 6.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, February 22nd, 1896. Hixson to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir;—I have the honor to request leave of absence with permission to visit the United States for two months.

This request is on account of my health. For more than two months I have been ill with a very severe attack of typhoid fever. The climate of Foochow is bad, and particularly so in the summer. It would be dangerous for me to undertake to remain here during the fearful heat of summer, exposed an enfeebled physique to contagious diseases as well as to the general wear and tear of official work which on account of tea invoices, is more exacting and confining during summer months than at any other period of the year.

My physician Dr. T. Rennie, permitted me to sit up some on the 14th instant, the first time since my illness, and I am now sitting up throughout each day, but under the strict medical injunction not to leave my room at all and not to engage in any work. He thinks I will be able to resume my consular duties at the end of a fortnight, if I am then free from all symptoms of a relapse.

I will be very grateful to the Department for at once cabling me at my expense if my application is granted, thus enabling me to leave here and reach home before the summer heats sets in. Waiting for an answer by mail would necessitate my remaining here until the middle of the summer.

Long before this despatch reaches the Department I hope to have the Kutien report completed and forwarded. However, it is my purpose, within a few days after reaching the United States, to visit Washington, when I will be at the service of the Department in regard to the Kutien case or any other matter concerning this Consulate.

I have. Etc (sg) J Courtney Hixson, Consul.

NOTE:

APPROVED. Consul Hixson has been dangerously ill for several weeks, which has necessarily delayed his report... Jernigan, Consul-General.

1896. March 2.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, March 2nd, 1896. Churchill to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 16. Of October 23, 1895, calling my attention to certain alleged irregularities in my despatch No. 29 of August 27th, 1895, in which was enclosed accounts for telegrams amounting to \$633.67, and to paragraphs 428/9 of the Consular Regulations relating to same.

I have earnestly read the above mentioned paragraphs, and fail to see wherein I deviated from the instructions therein contained. Paragraph 428 reads as follows:

The use of the telegraph at the expense of the Government is restricted to cases of urgency, and to those in which some injury to the public interest would result from delay...

On the 3rd of August this Consulate received news that a number of missionaries had been murdered at Huashan; rumor differed as to the actual number killed, but left no doubt that several were dead and that the survivors were in great danger. Consul Hixson, who was then in charge, thinking this a “case of urgency, and some injury to the public interest would result from delay”, telegraphed to the Consul General at Shanghai in reply to a wire from him requesting “particulars of trouble” and later, in reply to similar requests, wired further particulars as far as they could be ascertained. After Consul Hixson’s departure for Kutien the Consul General, or more than one occasion, wired for new developments, and I replied to the best of my ability.

In your despatch under reply you further state that the account for these telegrams “should have been sent direct to the Department with copy of such telegram or text thereof.” This was done as you will see by referring to my despatch of August 27th in which were the following

INCLOSURES:

NO. 1. Miscellaneous Expense Account (for Telegrams.)

No. 2. Voucher for Telegrams.

No. 3. Full Text of Telegrams as Sent.

The only document relating to this account and sent to the Auditor for State and Other Departments was the Voucher for loss by exchange upon the account which not being mentioned in paragraph 429 of the Consular Regulations as being among the documents which should go direct to the Department, I enclosed to the Auditor as usual.

You go on to state also that “Judging from the charges the rates paid would appear to be excessive and the length of the messages unusual,” and ask for an explanation. The rates paid were the regular rates charged by the telegraph companies at this port, and every one, private individuals, firms, public companies, and Government officials, is obliged to pay the same. If there is any further question of rate, I must refer you to the Managers of those telegraph companies. As to the length of the messages, these were mostly sent in reply to telegrams requesting full particulars, and were made as short as was possible as such a moment.

The rate of exchange use din reducing the Foochow “chop dollar” to U.S. gold on this occasions was the same as in all other cases, Viz: .512%

I have etc. (sgd) H. W. Churchill, Vice-Consul in Charge.

1896. March 9.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, March 9, 1896. No. 2490, Denby to Olney.

Sir: In my despatches Nos 2410 and 2471 of October 29th last and January 28th respectively I have made mention of the presentation to the Emperor of the presentation to the Emperor of China of a memorial from the Protestant Missionaries in China.

In the interests of civilization and tranquility I assisted this movement by transmitting this memorial to the Tsungli Yamen, by the introduction of the two representatives thereof to the Yamen personally, and by written despatches asking that attention should be given to the contents thereof.

I enclose herewith a clipping from the Peking and Tientsin Times containing a translation of this memorial.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, Charles Denby.

(A note was attached to Mr. Rockhill in the State Department.

Mr. Rockhill. Mr. Denby does not seem to have followed the Depts general rule as to not presenting and not endorsing petitions—but the circumstances were exceptional, and the interest of this govt in the petitioners as a class has lately been conspicuously manifested. A.A.A.)

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MEMORIAL TO THE CHINESE EMPEROR ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

We, the undersigned Protestant Missionaries, on account of foolish and wicked people slandering our religion and destroying our churches, respectfully present a memorial to His Majesty the Emperor of China. In the hope, that the root of Missionary riots may be removed and that an end for ever may be put to missionary troubles.

It is well known in all nations that government and religion are mutually dependent on one another. Where suitable relations exist between these two, troubles are unknown, but where such do not exist the government is in constant danger; for if one party appeals to force and the other to conscience, division is inevitable and anarchy may follow.

In former dynasties of China, the emperors of the T'ang-Sung, Yuen and Ming, having learnt that the object of Christianity was to do good, issued Edicts, granting land and temples for the teaching of the doctrines, just the same as to the other religions of China. In the beginning of the present dynasty too the Emperor Kang-hi not only gave to Christianity, as he gave to other religions, but was particularly kind to Christians. In Yung Ching's reign the government changed its former policy and forbad the propagation of Christianity. After that missionaries ceased to come. In later years Treaties with foreign nations have been made and missionaries have been authorized to come again. But, unexpectedly, in 1870 was a terrible uprising when over 20 missionaries were massacred in Tientsin. [See Part One.]

In 1891 along the Yangtze (sic) Valley chapels were burned and Missionaries murdered. This year in Szechuen trouble has sprung up again. Although there were plenty of government soldiers close at hand there was not one to go forth with his weapons to stop the mob. The officers sat down quietly and let the mob do whatever they liked, forbad no one and seized not a single culprit, and over a hundred Christian teachers were in imminent peril of their lives for many weeks after.

Before the Szechuen riots were settled there sprung up the Fukien riots. Here the Missionaries had lived long in peace when suddenly without any provocation 11 were cruelly murdered and 5 others wounded so that we are troubled beyond measure. [See Part Two.]³⁴

Inquiring into the cause of these things we find on reading the Imperial Edict of 1891 and the memorials both in Peking and from the provinces that they rightly agree in attributing it to the circulation of false and evil reports against Christians and although four years are passed since then we have not heard that any of the slanderers have been punished according to law, nor have we heard that the books which slander and

34 The Huashan Massacre was not preceded by the distribution of the anti-Christian books referred to in succeeding paragraphs. Anti-Christian books did play a part in the June 1895 riots in Sichuan Province.

deceive the people have been forbidden so the cause of the evil is still left to take root in the people's mind. In this way how can riots not arise again? {See Part Eight]

Seeing this state of things and being unable to endure it any longer your memorialists according to our custom in the West unite in begging Your Majesty's favour to command the Tsungli Yamen (The Foreign Office) in conference with the Missionaries to speedily devise means to protect the Christians. If this is done then not only will missionary problems be averted in the future but China's other troubles will also be considerably lessened both at home and abroad.

We consider China an illustrious nation, and long ago she knew that to have right understanding with religion was of the first importance; therefore for a thousand years—from the Tang dynasty to the present time—as Confucianism Buddhism, Taoism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity arose in China they were all alike protected and just regulations were made by which the people lived together in perfect peace.

But in these days the Christians, in spite of Imperial Edicts and proclamations are never allowed to live in peace.

We believe this comes to pass because of the republication of such books as the *King Shih Wen Su Pien*, *Hai Kwoh T'u Yue*, etc., which contain slanders against the church and scandalous reports about Christians in order to excite the masses. These are repeated over and over again in order to excite the readers while the good deeds done by the Christians are altogether ignored or misrepresented as having some very bad motives, so that the readers may regard them as an Upas tree to be kept at safe distance.

Of late, moreover, these books have been republished in a cheap form and widely sold throughout the whole Empire, and as these charges are contained in a collection of most important Official Papers, not only the common people, but even many of the high Mandarins and Scholars cannot but believe they must be true. Many other mischievous authors therefore copy these charges into their books and thus the minds of the people are everywhere greatly stirred up to anger against Christians, and serious riots have occurred in provinces resulting in loss of life and destruction of property.

But the highest mandarins must know these slanders to be false.

Those who wish to know the real aim of the Christian Church will find it in the New Testament, which contains the teaching of our Saviour Jesus Christ and of his immediate disciples. Generally speaking: it teaches that God is the ruler of all nations and father of all men; men should regard each other as brothers; it teaches obedience to lawful governments; filial and fraternal duties; and that all should endeavour to follow the Saviour Jesus Christ and carry out the will of Heaven by removing the sin and suffering of all nations, but replacing war with peace, wickedness with goodness, ignorance with knowledge, poverty with plenty, and by leading men also to seek the eternal joys of heaven. This we know is a larger aim than any one government, eastern or western, has before it; therefore it cannot be easily or soon accomplished. But all Christians are persuaded that such is the will of Heaven therefore they believe it will be accomplished some day, and that, independently of any particular nationality. So in regard to all national and international affairs, they endeavour by every means to promote peace, and teach that in disputes there should be a settlement by arbitration instead of war.³⁵ They set apart one day in seven to teach all men the will of Heaven, to show men how their hearts may be renewed, so that they may love all men of all races as brothers. The Missionaries show their care for the ignorant by establishing colleges and schools, where everything that is taught for the good of man is systematically taught. They also aim to remove all evil practices not only of one country but of all nations and to help all especially the weaker ones. The regulations of the church are indeed so strict that no drunkard, liar, gambler or licentious person is admitted; if at times bad people may have found their way into the church, it is her practice to expel such, whenever they are discovered to be so, till they repent and reform.

Nor are the aims of the Christian Church empty aims. It has a history of nearly 2,000 years which may be examined. Christianity has been of incalculable service to *European* and *American* nations, improving the material, moral and social conditions of their peoples. Many of the most illustrious statesmen of the West are often also the most earnest about the spread of the Christian religion.

In Africa peace and enlightenment of the people had completely failed till Christians took the matter up.

35 These platitudes can be compared with the demands of foreigners, including missionaries, for 'condign' punishment of Chinese officials and for punitive military expeditions in the wake of the 1895 anti-missionary episodes including the complete destruction of the city of Gutian and its inhabitants.

In the South Seas and Pacific Islands the people were barbarous cannibals till Christians went there and civilized them.

In Asia the unparalleled progress of the Indian Empire, during the last century, is due to the influences of a Christian Nation.

In Japan the English language and Western sciences are very largely taught by the missionaries.

In China also the missionaries have translated western sacred books, history, science and arts into the Chinese language; and the Chinese sacred books, and history into Western languages. They have engaged in famine relief in Shantung, Shansi and Manchuria. Although several died in doing this work, there were others ever ready to take their places.

Some Missionaries are engaged in showing how the causes of famines, floods, poverty and weakness may be removed, and how there need not only be no more suffering from these things but each province of China may be enriched annually to the extent of many millions of Taels and China made many times stronger than she has ever been before. Knowing all the forces which made all other nations prosper, they would gladly have saved China from her present humiliation, and are still prepared to save her from further humiliation whenever China wishes it. This is what the Missionaries are doing in China.

Generally speaking government and religion are mutually helpful. Wherever true Christianity has flourished the nation has prospered. Wherever true Christianity has not been allowed to prosper that country has not prospered.

But missionaries are in no respect the agents of any government, but they are trusted, respected and protected by their governments because they are always engaged in doing good. In Christian worship prayer is regularly offered for Your Imperial Majesty, for the officers of the government and for the prosperity of the Chinese nation, precisely as is done for other nations and peoples. We desire the good people of China to join us in carrying out the will of Heaven and ridding all nations of their sufferings as soon as possible; but if they cannot be persuaded to join, none are coerced to follow. In all history, from the beginning of the world till now, there never were such gigantic philanthropic efforts in behalf of all nations as are made by the Christian church of to day. If China co-operated in it she would soon be made again one of the greatest powers in the world. Those oppose men doing good are either very ignorant or very bad. Surely great China will not oppose goodness!

If Christians practiced the evil deeds they are accused of in these Anti-Christian books how could so many great nations believe and honour Christianity, and how could noble statesmen do the same? How could it transform so many barbarian nations, so that now they are not behind any on the face of the earth? The grave charges in these anti-Christian books must therefore be calumnies invented by wicked men to deceive the ignorant, or by men themselves ignorant of the history of the world. But whatever the motives of the calumniators may be, nothing but harm can come from the spread of such calumnies—harm both to the government and people.

If China does not consider it most urgent to devise means to protect the good and punish the evil, nations will come and protect their own people and it is difficult to say where that will end.

Nevertheless no missionary desires that the discussion of the relative merits of different religions be stopped; on the contrary they greatly rejoice in it, and consider that when it is carefully carried on, the good in these religions will be more valued than ever and the worthless will be thrown away. But groundless charges are forbidden alike by the laws of China and the West. China forbids all other calumnies. How is it that only those against Christians are allowed to be circulated with impunity? What we fear is that this will result in more riots and injury to life, ending in international troubles. This would greatly grieve us, therefore we are anxious to put away the cause of danger, so that all nations may live in peace and good will.

Our Missionaries carry on their work whether preaching, healing, or teaching, in a perfectly open manner and do not fear the strictest investigation, but on the contrary invited it. Should there, however, still be anything not understood, it can be easily explained to anyone anxious to know. According to the custom of the west, rulers constantly invite the leading religious teachers to their presence to preach and teach Christianity with its bearing on the welfare of nations as well as on individuals. Nor is this the custom of the west alone. From the Tang dynasty to the present the Emperors of China also invited Christian teachers into their presence to explain their religion. It is only in late years that the practice has been discontinued.

And should the great ministers in Peking, or the Viceroys or Governors or any officials or gentry

anywhere in the Empire have anything that they do not understand let them follow China's former custom and the rule of all other nations and freely meet the missionaries and inquire of them then all doubts will be at once removed. Only good and no harm can come out of this.

But so long as there is no free intercourse and clear understanding there will be riots; and as long as there are riots there will be danger to China from foreign nations coming to defend their own people. Not to have intercourse is clearly to get harm and no good.

We therefore pray Your Majesty to graciously issue an Edict for publications throughout the Empire commanding three things, viz.,—

1.—The real expurgation of the passages slandering Christians from the Hai Kwoh T'u Tsze, King ShihWen Su Pien, and from all other books according to Chinese law.

2.—Make known that missionaries are no longer to be considered as belonging to a heretical or depraved sect, as they have come to help in everything that is for the good of China, consequently if any *mandarins or people* wish to enter the church *they are really free to do so* without inferring with any of their Christian customs or to be regarded in any way different from other subjects.

3.—Now that all nations are in Treaty relations with China let the mandarins and gentry of each place find out the excellencies of each nation, and finding anything that will be for the good of the people of China let them *unite* with the missionaries in carrying these out and thus show *their real desire for peace and good will*.

All the missionaries and Christians desire most heartily to thank the Emperor for the successive Edicts already issued for our protection and for all the friendly officials for their kind protection. But still there are many people in every province who say that these Edicts are only issued under pressure and not from freewill, hence the riots do not cease and the missionaries of all nations find no peace. We therefore humbly beg that your Majesty will make it plain that you Command the Mandarins of all the provinces to see that these three things are thoroughly carried out, then all the people will know that it is your Majesty's own wish and they will gladly obey and Missionary troubles will be at an end.

Both Missionaries and Christians have loyal hearts and should never have been allowed to suffer all this wrong. If this wrong is removed then Heaven's blessing will follow, the many benefits of Christianity which other nations have enjoyed will soon be reaped by China.

China from of old has been a great nation and all nations honour her. With her vastness, her resources and her virtue it will be easy to make vast improvements. Instead of falling behind to rank among small nations, China should rank among the greatest in the world and her many troubles will be changed into means of countless good.

If Your Majesty will graciously grant our request it will not only gladden the hearts of all Christians throughout China but the hearts of Christians throughout Protestant Christendom. Not only will China rejoice that her missionary troubles have for ever ended but all continents will rejoice over the better understanding between China and other nations, and the Christians will more than ever daily pray God to bless China and give her lasting peace.

Herewith we also present a small book on *The Christian Religion in China* prepared by a Committee specially elected for that purpose, for the perusal of your Majesty, in the hope that all riots shall be stamped out and an end for ever be put to missionary troubles.

Signed in order of arrival in China by:—

W. Muirhead, DD, (London Mission).

W. Ashmore, DD, (American Baptist Mission).

J. S. Burdon, DD, (Bishop English Church Mission).

J. Hudson Taylor, (Director, China Inland Mission).

Griffith John, DD. (London Mission).

Young J. Allen, LLD, (American Methodist Mission South).

H. L. Mackenzie, (English Presbyterian Mission).

C. W. Mateer, DD, (American Presbyterian Mission).

J. Wherry, DD, (American Presbyterian Mission).

David Hill, (Chairman of Missionary Conference, English Wesleyan Mission).

V. C. Hart, DD (Canadian Methodist Mission).

George Owen, (London Mission).

James Bates, (English Church Mission).

H. H. Lowry, DD, (American Methodist Episcopal).

D. Z. Sheffield, DD (American Board).

E. Z. Simmons, (American Southern Baptist Mission).

G. Reusch, (German Mission).

F. F. Scott, DD, (Bishop Anglican Church Mission).

Gilbert Reid, (Mission to Higher Classes in China).

(Mostly Seniors of the various Protestant Missions in China)

Presented to the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office) at Peking by J. Wherry and Timothy Richard,
November 14th, 1895.

1896. March 10.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, March 10th, 1896. Hixson to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that I have today resumed charge of this Consulate.
I have, etc. (sgd) J Courtney Hixson, Consul.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, March 10th, 1896. Churchill to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that finding I am unable to attend to the duties of the office of Vice-Consul at this port without seriously neglecting my business to such an extent as to entail a considerable loss as well as great inconvenience, and as Consul Hixson has recovered from his illness and resumed charge today, I beg to hereby tender my resignation.
I have. Etc. (sgd) H. W. Churchill, Vice-Consul.

1896. April 2.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, April 2, 1896. No. 2500, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—As instructed by your despatch No 1236 of the 29th January last, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of my despatch to the Yamen of the 13th December last, and a copy of my telegram to Mr. Hixson, with reference to the dilatory and evasive conduct of the Viceroy at Foochow in the treatment of questions affecting Americans in his province. Denby.

**Inclosure in No. 2500.
Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.**

No 47. December 13, 1896.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies,

I have the honor to inform you that I have received a despatch from the United States Consul at Foochow complaining of the conduct of the Viceroy towards him and in the handling of pending matters.

The Viceroy refuses to receive or see my consul. He has repeatedly declined to see the Consul of the United States. The Consul has often written to him on public business and his replies are vague and unsatisfactory. The walls of the Hungwei Mission property were destroyed by a mob some time ago but nothing has been done towards the settlement of the case. At Hochiang mission property is being damaged and persecution of Christians is rife. The magistrate Huang has publicly denounced the Christian religion and bambooned converts.

The populace encouraged by this conduct threaten a massacre. The Viceroy refuses to send a deputy to Hochiang to enforce order but leaves Huang to settle his own case when it would seem he ought to be superseded.

There are other mission cases pending at Hinghua which receive no attention.

In the matter of the Huashan case no progress is made. Arrests have ceased. The Vegetarians are reorganizing and securing new recruits.

The Consul complains that he can get no satisfaction on any of his demands but that they are all met by evasion of direct answers.

I have to request that you will instruct the Viceroy to take proper action in the matters that are enumerated herein and particularly that he will receive the Consul, hear his statements and comply with his demands.

I ask, also, that special orders be issued to facilitate the return of the American missionaries to their homes in the interior which they were compelled to leave on account of threatened attacks.

**Inclosure in No. 2500.
Mr. Denby Mr. Hixson.**

Telegram. December 11, 1896.(This date seems to be an error).

Hixson, Foochow. Will present immediately to Yamen demands made by you. Denby.

1896. April 3.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, April 3, 1896. No. 2505, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In further acknowledgement of your despatch No 1241 of Feb. 11th last, wherein you suggest that should Consul Hixson remain unable to forward his report it would be best to send Commander Newell's report to him for approval or remarks, I have the honor to state that I am advised by Consul Hixson under date of 10th ultimo, that he has resumed charge of the Consulate at Foochow. Denby.

1896. April 15.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, April 15th, 1896. Hixson to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to confirm the following cablegram addressed to the Department on the 29th of January last:

Olney, Washington. Please transfer me Chefoo if it made Consulate equal or higher rank than Foochow. Hixson.

Until recently I supposed the above had been confirmed by the Vice-Consul in charge at the time. It was a personal message, and therefore was not included in last quarter's accounts against the Government.

With reference to the substance of the cablegram, I may say that it is hardly possible that I would have sent so precipitate an application but for the fact I was almost literally burning up with fever the day the message was sent, and had been in that condition for weeks and weeks before. However, notwithstanding the abatement of the fever, there is no statement of my desire to be transferred if possible to some other Consulate in China or Japan, preferably to Chefoo, where I will stand a chance to regain in some degree the good health I have lost during the past two years of continuous overwork in Foochow: and I hope the Department will find it convenient to change me to some other post as soon as I have had the opportunity of partially straightening out the present mixed up state of affairs to be found in this Consulate. If a change cannot possibly be made without sending me to a Consulate with a salary less than this, I desire the transfer just the same; for Foochow is no place for people whose constitutions are in the least weak.

I have, etc, (sg) J, Courtney Hixson, Consul.

FRUS, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, April 15th, 1896. Hixson to Hon. William W. Rochhill, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC.

Sir:—I have the honor to nominate William C. Hixson, Esq., of Longview, Texas, to be United States Vice Consul at Foochow, succeeding Harry W. Charchill, Esq., recently resigned.

Mr. Hixson is at present United States Marshall at this Consulate, having been nominated to that office in my despatch No. 10, to the Department, March 3, 1894. And confirmed April 11, 1894. He is a United States citizen; has a university education and also has had a business training. Since his connection with this office the whole of his time has been given to the Consulate work: he is therefore already familiar with all the duties pertaining to the office to which he is nominated, and I trust the Department will see fit to appoint him.

Herewith I enclose a bond duly filled out for Mr. Hixson.

As regards the resignation of Mr. Churchill,—he handed it in early last fall, but upon my special request he temporarily withdrew it, and was in charge of the Consulate during my recent illness. His only reasons for resigning are those briefly given in his despatch No 39 of March 10, 1896, to the effect that the duties of the office interfered with his private business interests. His statement is correct; I happen to know that he lost considerable money by having to be at the Consulate last year while I was in Kutien. His interests here are large and require all his attention.

The Consulate will perhaps never have a better Vice Consul than Mr. Churchill proved himself to be during the time he filled the office; and I regret he insists on resigning. But the relations between Mr. Churchill and the Consulate will continue to be most cordial, and the valuable experience his long residence in Foochow has given him will not be entirely lost to the Government.

Excepting Mr. Churchill, Mr. Hixson and myself, all the United States citizens in Foochow are missionaries. I do not wish to see an Englishman made Vice Consul, and I seriously doubt the advisability of appointing a missionary to the office. I consider Mr. Hixson the only available man for the office.

I have, etc., (sgd) J> Courtney Hixson, Consul

NOTE: I know William C. Hixson and believe him competent and suitable for Vice Consul, and approve the nomination. M. Jernigan, Consul General, Apr. 1896.

1896. April 28.

Hixson Report: Consulate of the United States, Foochow. Hixson to Assistant Secretary of State Rockhill, Washington, D.C., 28 April 1896.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the following cablegram in reply to my No 36. Of February 22, 1896, requesting leave of absence.

Hixson, Consul, Foochow: "Granted, Rockhill."

I greatly thank the Department for kindly granting my request for leave. However, I am sorry to say that my hopes of a speedy recovery were not well founded, and my health is still such as to make it unsafe for me to undertake any long trip. Moreover, the Kutien report is yet unfinished; and even were I well enough to travel, I would not leave here before finishing that, and also settling up several cases here that are important. The attack of fever which I had was an unusually severe one. Since my convalescence I have not had half an opportunity to regain my strength, having been compelled to remain shut in the house most of the time on account of the rains that prevail here at this season of the year. The present "rainy season" has been a very long one; the sun has not been clearly visible in Foochow more than several times since the first of January, owing to the clouds and the mists, and the rains meantime have been almost incessant.

With a few days or weeks of sunshine I think I shall be sufficiently improved to again take up the laborious work of the Kutien report and complete it. Having finished with the report, and having settled several of the cases now pending in the Consulate, I shall immediately avail myself of the leave of absence granted me.

I am, etc. (sgd) J. Courtney Hixson, Consul.

1896, September 26.

Hixson Report: Consulate of the United States, Foochow. Hixson to Assistant Secretary of State Rockhill, Washington, D.C., 25 September 1896.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that, being about to avail myself of the leave granted me in Department despatch No. 21. Of April 8, 1896, and there being no Vice Consul for this Consulate, I have today turned over the charge of the office to Mr. William C. Hixson, the United States Marshall, authorizing him to draw the usual drafts for payment of salaries and contingent expenses of the Consulate, as they become due from time to time, just the same as I myself could do if I remained here on duty. I trust the Department will honor his drafts.

There has been no choice about placing Mr. Hixson in charge of the Consulate, as there is no other available man in Foochow who will accept the position.

I have not earlier availed myself of the leave granted me, because I considered it necessary to settle with the Chinese authorities several missionary cases of long standing and because of the fact that up to a few weeks ago my health has been such as to forbid me travelling.

I trust I shall soon have the pleasure of calling at the Department.

I have, etc. (sgd) J Courtney Hixson, Consul.

1896, October 27.

Hixson Report: Consulate of the United States, Foochow. Acting Consul William C. Hixson to Assistant Secretary of State Rockhill, Washington, D.C., 27 October 1896.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your cablegram, dated the 22nd instant, as follows:

Hixson, Consul, Foochow. “Why has not Kutien report been received? Due here four months ago. Rockhill.

I also have the honor to confirm my reply to you under date of October 23rd as follows:

Rockhill, Washington. “Report mailed August 31, Hixson.”

You have doubtless received the Huashan-Kutien report by this time, for it was mailed to you on the first steamer leaving this port after August 31. Nearly months have elapsed since the report was transmitted to you.

Mr. Consul Hixson left his post of duty on September 25th to avail himself of the leave of absence granted by the Department of State.

I have, etc. (sgd) Wm. C. Hixson, Acting Consul.

1896, November 18.

The Climax, (Richmond, Madison County, Kentucky), 18 November 1896.

THE KUCHENG RIOTS.

Photographic Display Showing the Execution of the Chinese Criminals.

The state department has just received the final report of the commission appointed to investigate the Kucheng riots in China last spring and to secure the punishment of the perpetrators of the outrage on American missionaries.³⁶

The report is a very voluminous document, fully illustrated by photographs showing the ruins of the destroyed property, the transport of the convicted criminals to the place of execution in bamboo cages, the actual beheading with startling exactness and the display of the heads of the executed Chinese from trees near the place of their crime as a warning to the inhabitants against further assaults on foreigners.

While the report is of value as a faithful reflex of the conditions leading up to the missionary outbreaks it has been anticipated by the department, and Secretary Olney, by instructions to United States representatives in China, has laid down the doctrine practiced successfully in the case of the punishment of the Kucheng rioters that hereafter they are to insist upon holding the local Chinese officials to account and personal responsibility for outrages upon Americans.

1897, March 8.

Erin's Hope, Journal of the Smyly Homes, Dublin. (no date but c1897)

EXTRACT FROM MISS CODRINGTON'S LETTERS.

The Olives, Ku Cheng, 8th March 1897.

I am writing once more in the dear Ku Cheng home in the room I used to sleep in when I first came out here in 1891, and as I look up through the door my eyes rest on Hua Sang mountains, just now bathed in a flood of golden sunshine, standing as a continual reminder of those who there passed into the glory that excelleth. All is so peaceful and happy; the sound of the women's voices comes up from the schoolhouse built for Mrs. Stewart by her mother, Mrs. Smyly, mingled with the shriller voices of the dear wee "Bird's Nest" girlies at their play. The outward surroundings and busy life around are so little changed it seems still as though they must be here, and at first every step in the house gave me a feeling of expectation for the dear familiar faces missed so sorely at every turn.

We left Foo Chow last Tuesday, March 2nd, "we" being Mr. and Mrs. Collins, children and nurse, F. Johnson, Mary Darley, Connie Reed, E. Vulliamy, Annie Tolley, and myself. We were able to make use of the new steam launch this time as far as Cui Kau, changing on to her at the upper bridge on Wednesday evening, and so were able to cover the 6- to 70 miles in eight hours instead of, as usual at this time of the year when the river is very swollen, taking four or five days. Cui Kau looked lovely as we anchored there just after dark on Wednesday evening. With the lights twinkling about brightly against the dark background of mountains and all the quaint boats lying at anchor along the river bank. Here we had to say good-bye to dear Frances Johnson and the others, they got on to native boats again ready for their start to Nang-na at daybreak next morning. Annie Tolley and I spent the night on board the launch fully expecting to pass the next in Ku Cheng, but plans in China are apt to be upset, and we were given one of the frequent lessons in patience, for the coolies delayed in starting, so we did not get off till 8 o'clock, and 6 p.m. found us still eight miles from Ku Cheng city at the village of Co Tong (it was here that dear little Herbert Stewart passed away) where we spent the night with the old catechist and his wife.

We reached Ku Cheng about 11.30 on Friday morning, a lovely sunny day, so the country, naturally beautiful, looked its best. At the west gate of the city the Ku Cheng pastor, Ling Sang, with my teacher, Mr. Lau, met us and escorted our chairs to the ferry, where there were more Christians standing. As we waited we could see our three dear sisters, Ada Nesbit, Linda Wade, and Connie Watham hurrying down the hill on the other side to meet us, and before we touched the bank they were there with such a loving greeting.

Erin's Hope, Journal of the Smyly Homes, Dublin. (no date but c1897)

IRELAND AND CHINA.

By Ellen Smyly.

Most of our friends who read *Erin's Hope* will know why I started in August last for China. It was to bring home the three children of my beloved brother and sister, who had so wondrously escaped from that dreadful massacre on 1st August. I started in the "Campania" on the 17th of August for New York. A dear old lady on board said to me, "The world is full of kind people, but you must travel around in order to find them." I found this very true, for everywhere I went I found kind friends, and was never lonely. At Shanghai I got a telegram saying, "Mildred unable to travel," so I went on to Foochow, where I spent five weeks in the hospital; and during that time I got an insight into foreign mission work, and a realization of the needs of the heathen that all the telling and the hearing in the world could not give.

China and Ireland seem now very closely linked hand in hand, and not very far away from each other. So many are working there now whom I last saw in Dublin, and who worked with us the [Irish Church] Mission here. Miss Barr and Miss Chambers, who nursed dear little Mildred so devotedly are linked with our work at home' and the hospital in which we were so comfortably housed was built by money sent to my dear sister from home—a large proportion of it from our Mission friends. Miss Wade, too, who came to help us, was

very lately a fellow-worker at home; and Miss Fleming, in whose arms the dear little baby Hilda breathed her last, went straight from the Elliott Home, where she was assistant matron, to be a Missionary in China. These are strong and real links (there are others too many to mention), for they are cords that bind us to the throne of grace, where we continually meet to intercede for each other—our prayers bringing blessings on China, and their's returning to showers on our work at home. In the day when secrets are revealed it will be interesting to know how much of the blessing in the Birds' Nest, for instance, is in answer to prayers in China; and on the other hand, how much China feels the blessing of the prayers at home; and the self-denying gifts, too, of those who do not know much of the burden of riches, but have learned the luxury of giving. The last time I heard Hessie Newcombe speaking was at the Birds' Nest, when she came to thank the children who had with such joy given their pennies to support a baby in the Home in Kucheng. She told them their baby was called "Beloved," and taught them to say the name in Chinese. And now that I am at home again I feel more than ever that we are one—one in God; those who have passed out of our sight, those in China, and we here at home, at all united...

*The Advocate of Peace, 1895, Vol 57 No 10, pp 222-224.*³⁷

THE MASSACRE OF CHINESE MISSIONARIES.

Christians, everywhere, have been horrified, during the past month, by the intelligence of the massacre of English missionaries and their families at Ku-Cheng, in China, and by violent assaults and injuries directed against other missionaries, both British and American, in various parts of the Empire. A dozen lives have been thus sacrificed by fire, spearing, and throwing down precipices. Also a large amount of property has been destroyed. These outrages are the work of violent fanatics, and in particular of a body called Vegetarians, who, although they are under obligation, by oath, not to make food of any living creature, but to eat only plants and vegetables, are stated by their countrymen, to be a most bloodthirsty band. These events have naturally caused general indignation at home, and have given rise to abundant and still continuing discussions in the press, in regard to the whole policy of missions, and of those to the Chinese, in particular. And these discussions have brought into prominence certain facts which possess a special interest for the friends of the peace cause. In the first place, it is thus shown that a large proportion of the missionaries in China, both men and women, are carrying on their work on the most absolute and uncompromising principles of non-resistance, and in the true spirit of martyrs. The members of the China Inland Mission, the largest missionary body in China, have, for years, and to the present moment, emphatically disclaimed reliance for protection upon an arm of flesh; and they conduct all their operations in faithful devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake they profess themselves willing to lay down their lives in the path of religious duty at any time, if such a sacrifice should be imposed upon them by a wicked or misguided native population. The missionaries of the Society of Friends, and, indeed, most of the Christian laborers, of all denominations now stationed in China, practically adopt the same pacific principles, which, although thus non-resistant, are yet indicative of the very highest form of heroism and bravery. And it is matter for deep thankfulness and encouragement that in this modern age, which some sentimental or ill-informed persons are apt to regard as a degenerate one, as compared with former times, there are still found, in the ranks of Christian service and discipleship, both men and women, of the devotion and fidelity of the martyrs of the Apostolic era. A few, comparatively, of the missionaries, have united their voices with a large number of their countrymen, in England and America, who have cried out for immediate revenge upon the Chinese, or at least for effective armed intervention. But there is reason to believe that these constitute but a small proportion of the total number of missionaries in China. At home, the same parties who have been violently urging the Government to rush into war with Turkey, at any cost, on behalf of the Armenians, are now also calling for vigorous hostilities against China. And in each case, these parties manifest their ignorance as well as want of judgment. The Spectator newspaper, which is by no means an adherent of what are termed "ultra" peace views, wisely sets forth the practical difficulties, not to say impossibilities, which would attend anything like a British invasion of China. The Editor remarks: "A great deal of Southern China has, since the Japanese war, drifted into a condition of virtual anarchy, in which nobody's orders, except those of some

37 Published by the American Peace Society, Boston, MA, USA.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Peace_Society

pirate or brigand chief, or of the board of a secret society, have any chance of commanding obedience. Here is the real difficulty of the British Government. What is the use of putting strong pressure upon the Emperor and his advisers, when they probably know a great deal better than he does himself that in the districts where strong Imperial action is demanded, Imperial authority has almost ceased to exist. We believe that at the present moment there is little or no difficulty in getting the Chinese Government to promise action. The trouble is that their action is so entirely ineffective. If the Chinese Government proves impotent to deal with the Vegetarians and the officials who, partly from fear, partly from interest, fail to check their attacks on the missionaries, the question which the British Government has next to consider is how far would it be wise for them to take the law into their own hands, and themselves try to punish the Vegetarians and the Mandarins who aid and abet the rioters. No doubt, by using river-gunboats, and landing marines and blue jackets, a good deal might be done in the way of punishment; but that course presents many difficulties. It might easily lead us into a campaign in Southern China, and the punishment of rioters might develop into an attempt to put down anarchy in a region with some fifty million inhabitants. Suppose a force of marines and sailors landed, and overwhelmed in an ambush?—a by no means impossible supposition? that is the first step. Next would come an attempt to recover the captured men, and lastly, a punitive expedition of twenty thousand troops, half English and half Indian, to capture the stronghold of a brigand with a mono syllabic cognomen. Assuredly that is not the sort of adventure to be lightly undertaken." These words, from an impartial and well-informed writer, are deserving of universal consideration. A second and further matter for satisfaction, in connection with the discussions of these occurrences in the press, is the evidence thus afforded that there is a by no means inconsiderable number of thoughtful persons in this country who feel the incongruity of supporting missionary operations by means of gunboats, bomb-shells and bayonets. Many interesting letters in this direction have appeared in the newspapers. One in the Times, for example, compares the advocates of bellicose measures to the disciples of our Saviour who were rebuked by Him for wishing to call down fire from heaven upon those who would not receive them. The writer says: "Our 'fire from heaven' is in the form of a gunboat? a very questionable missionary." Whilst there is thus so much ground for satisfaction at the procedure and spirit of most of the missionaries in China and of many of their friends at home, there is also a right place and necessity for prudent measures for protection. And there is reason to believe that the British and American Governments are most earnestly considering the best means of upholding the power of the Imperial authorities in China, whose sincere desire to protect the foreigners there appears no reason to doubt. But under all the circumstances, the missionaries themselves, and the friends who at home direct or influence their movements, may do well to reconsider, more than hitherto, whether their own course of action may not be rendered increasingly cautious and conciliatory. In a communication to the Pall Mall Gazette, from a Mandarin, not unfriendly to the English, and who willingly admits that much exemplary conduct characterizes the missionaries, he, at the same time, deprecates what he terms the rash and inconsiderate action of some of them. He observes: "The ladies, I am sorry to say, are the worst offenders in this respect. They should be explicitly prohibited, if necessary by force, from leaving the sea-coast. They have the notion, 'more danger, more glory.' Against that I have nothing to say while it only affects themselves; but it is positively outrageous that they should be permitted to imperil peace between two friendly nations, perhaps causing incalculable bloodshed of brave men on both sides. I will tell you their methods. They will take up their residence in the midst of an unknown and hostile community, and at once start open-air preaching in the streets, heedless of all advice given by those best able to judge of the risk run. All manner of ridiculous stories are circulated about them, with the consequence that our lower orders are galled to madness and provoke a riot. Then you blame the Chinese official for not protecting people who have done exactly what he told them not to do! Do you think protection, under these circumstances, is such an easy matter? Suppose the blackguards of London worked up a sudden riot against, let me say, the Jews, would your police be able to prevent damage and outrage? What protection would, or could, you afford Mormon missionaries who might come to England, and publicly preach in the streets doctrines subversive of all you hold dearest relating to religion and the home? Against the missionary, man or woman, in the private capacity, there is not the slightest prejudice. It is possible to tramp from one end of China to another without the slightest interference, provided a person minds his own business. I have seen travelling Englishmen as far inland as Kwen-Lun, and the only notice taken was surprise at their strange clothes. As for interference, why, not as much as I receive, on account of my unusual attire, from the ladies and gentlemen of your back streets and slums!" It

is but reasonable to look at both sides of this question and to listen to the views of intelligent Chinese themselves. Hence such remarks as those just quoted are entitled to respectful attention by missionaries themselves and their friends at home, and by all persons who desire the maintenance of pacific and fraternal relations between the vast populations of China, Great Britain and the United States. Especially in the interests of evangelization, is it desirable to give the utmost scope to fairness and caution, on the part of all Christians, in reference to their influence, either in, or upon, the Chinese? Herald of Peace and International Arbitration,

The Penny Illustrated, 23 April 1910.

“The Inner Meaning of the Anti-Foreign Riots in China.”

Valentina Steer.

The Penny Illustrated, 23 April 1910.

The rebellion at Changsha, the capital of one of the largest and richest provinces of China, in which all the property of the foreign residents has been destroyed, is at present a local rising.

But its causes are by no means so local as some of the telegrams would have us understand, and herein lies its grave significance.

The Changsha riots are a symbol of a great anti-foreign movement which has been maturing throughout the whole of Asia for many years, and which has received a tremendous impetus since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War.

It was the real cause of the Boxer rising, and it has since made itself outwardly manifest in many outrages on missionaries and foreigners throughout the length and breadth of China, and in the alarming spread of sedition and anarchy in India and in Egypt, culminating in boycotts, bomb-outrages, and murder.

In China the movement has more excuse than elsewhere, for whilst the foreigner has undoubtedly done much for the development of the country, there have been many unseemly exhibitions of "grab" and "squeezing" for concessions on the rival Powers, with the result that the impression prevails throughout the country that Europe is anxiously hoping for the "break up" of China in order to divide the spates.

Turned into the right channels, the movement may be productive of much good; but owing to the peculiar character of the Chinese, it is doubtful whether the saner members of the reform party are strong enough to make their views prevail.

Should they be unable to do so, we may see a turmoil in Asia which will turn the whole world upside down.

In any case, the evolution which is now taking place -- and which is being badly "missed" by the whole of Europe and America, as we shall presently find to our cost -- is an epoch-making movement.

A regular army consisting of 500,000 men and about 200,000 reserves has now been organised on an up-to-date footing, and is being trained throughout by Europeans -- mostly Germans -- and Japanese.

Properly led, properly fed, and properly paid -- which they have never been before -- the Chinese according to so high an authority as Lord Wolseley, would make the finest fighting material in the world. Under the present reform scheme they hope to be a first-class military Power within five years.

The Navy, also trained by Europeans -- mostly British -- and Japanese, is also being rebuilt and reformed. It will be remembered that only a few months ago a Chinese Naval Commission -- the most important even dispatched from China -- arrived in this country under the charge of Prince Tsai-Hsum, the brother of the Prince Regent.

The object of the Mission was to "devise means" for the organisation of the Chinese Navy.

The visit to England marks the beginning of a new movement which aims at placing China among the Naval Powers of the world.

One of the main proposals of the Chinese new Naval movement, which has in the main received the sanction of the Prince Regent, is the placing of orders with Western ship-building yards for eight battle-ships, twenty cruisers, ten gunboats, as well as a large number of torpedo craft.

These facts, taken in conjunction with the knowledge that China contains vast undeveloped (menial) mineral wealth and four hundred and thirty million people -- one fourth of the whole population of the world -- will show the importance of the movement of which the anti-foreign riots at Changsha are a small but significant sign.

Stirring Up Strife

The province of Hunan, where the rioting has broken out, is the most anti-foreign province in China. Foreigners who penetrate into the interior, even with the help of the mandarins, by means of a military escort, do so at the risk of their lives.

Until the last few years nearly all the traders and missionaries went no further up the river than Hankow, the place where the refugees have now taken shelter, and which is 296 miles away from Changsha, but recently the capital has become a treaty port, and a British Consulate and many missionary stations have been built, and a number of European and Japanese merchants have opened branches in Changsha. It is a

very prosperous trading centre with the Chinese, but great opposition has always been placed in the way of foreign trade.

For years the anti-foreign propaganda has gone on unceasingly in Hankow and Changsha, the funds being provided by the rich native residents.

Outrages and riots in both places have been very frequent, and on every occasion the local government has declared itself unable to control the populace, as it has done again on this occasion. Indeed a large proportion of the army has gone over to the rioters.

In 1898 the mob was roused up by anti-foreign pamphlets to set fire to the town of Hankow. Over two miles of the city and its suburbs were devastated, 1,000 people were burnt, and property worth about 1,300,000 was destroyed.

Yet the authorities had received warning in advance that the town would be burnt in order to create a disturbance as a protest against the people's taxes being paid to the foreigner!

The British merchants in Changsha and Hankow have repeatedly called attention to the inadequate protection which they receive for their lives and property.

At the time of this fire in a city of a million inhabitants, where there were riots almost daily, the only outward sign of the might and majesty of the greatest sea Power that the world has ever seen was the "Esk," a tiny wasp of a river gunboat, which, under the most favourable conditions, can go only six knots an hour, and which in order to bring her one gun to bear was obliged to turn round first -- an awkward thing in a country where the enemy do not often get in front!

Since then the British Government, in order to protect British interests in China, have put a small fleet of gunboats in the Yangtze River, and it was in one of these that the missionaries from Changsha made their escape.

The "fleet," so called, consists of two or three flat-bottomed river gunboats, dispersed over a length of 1,500 miles of the Yangtze, besides some hundreds of miles of lakes and small rivers. To reach Changsha some difficult rapids have to be negotiated.

Vile and malicious anti-foreign pamphlets have recently been distributed broadcast amongst the people by the various secret societies, who are behind the scenes of the "China for the Chinese" movement, and it is these undoubtedly which have led to the outbreak.

For some time attempts have been made to boycott all foreign goods by "loyal" Chinese in the same manner that the recent boycott of British goods was carried out in Calcutta and other parts of India, by the sedition mongers of the Congress Party.

One of these anti-foreign pamphlets begins with a passionate protest against the cruel laws made by America against the Chinese, and it calls on the people to maintain the boycott of American goods. It points to the success of the boycott, and asserts that "it is carried on in such a civilised manner that no excuse can be found for its suppression."

"The foreigners have characterised us Chinese as being without patriotism and without unity," it says. "It is our duty to prove that this is not true. Mr. Chang, a wealthy merchant of Shanghai left his great fortune uncared for in order to start the boycott. Mr. Fung, a young man of great talents, sacrificed his life for the purpose of encouraging his countrymen on. Mr. Liang, Chinese Minister at Washington, fought for the cancellation of the cruel exclusion laws at the risk of losing his appointment.

"Wealth, honour, and life are things we all care for. But these three gentlemen were ready to give them all up in order that they should help their own countrymen. Ought we not to respect their motives and avoid the disgrace of being called cold-blooded creatures? Boycott! Boycott!

There are cold-blooded creatures of the lowest order who still buy American goods. Do not argue with them. Let all Chinese with warm blood flowing in their veins apply to those low beings the same methods that they have done to American goods."

The circular concludes with details of the marks on American goods, so that all can know them.

Another points out that "China today is surrounded by many nations -- Japan to the East, Russia to the North, England, France, Germany, American to the West. All of these are stronger than China, and they have all determined to steal Chinese territory. "If a nation's land is gone that nation is ruined. What can be done to stop them?"

What Has Happened

The riots at Changsha were first said to be due to a "rice corner" -- rice being one of the biggest products of the district -- but it has now been clearly proved that the outbreak is another anti-foreign revolution.

The mission stations, warehouses, and other buildings occupied by foreigners have been looted and destroyed. The city itself has been burnt to the ground.

Six thousand troops stationed at Changsha have joined the rioters, 24,000 of whom are engaged in looting. The Governor's residence was attacked, and he and his son killed.

All foreigners have left, many of them seeking refuge in vessels on the river. The most satisfactory feature of the riots is that no foreigner appears to have been killed up to the time of writing.

