

THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART EIGHT: REPORT OF COLONEL J. COURTNEY HIXSON UNITED STATES CONSUL, FOOCHOW (FUZHOU), CONCERNING THE HUASHAN MASSACRE AND THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

TIMELINE: 2 NOVEMBER 1896.

**J Courtney Hixson,
SUBMITTING A REPORT ON HUASHAN-KUTIEN MASSACRE.**

Born Union Springs, Alabama, 25 December 1863.

1883-1891, Commandant, University of Alabama..
1891-1893, Lawyer, Union Springs, Bullock County, Alabama.
1893-1897, United States Consul, Foochow, China.
1898-c1921, Lawyer, Philippines.
1898-1899. Captain, Company H, 5th Immunes, United States Volunteers, Spanish-American War.
(<http://oceanspringsarchives.net/node/211>)
1899-1901. Lieutenant, 32nd Regiment, United States Volunteer Infantry, U.S. Philippine War.
1901. Lieutenant, United States Army, Philippines.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

NOTE: Chinese characters were added by hand to the original typescript after personal, provincial, district, city and other names. These characters have mostly been deleted from this draft. All the sub-headings in the document are as in the original other than omitting Chinese characters.

References to a photographic appendix have been removed as the reproductions in the photocopy of Hixson's Report used in preparing this version were unviewable. The same photographs from other sources are included in appropriate sections of Hixson's Report or in the general collection.

Hixson's Report is the most detailed and informative of the material included in this collection. He demonstrates and highlights the fundamental cultural gap between Chinese and foreign culture throughout the great missionary era of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This gap was not the creation of missionaries but reflected the great historical differences between the evolution of an ancient Chinese civilization and the more recent emergence of an industrialized and expanding Western economic and political system. The cultural gap was nowhere wider than in the arena of justice. Hixson refused to acknowledge that the action of ordinary Chinese—including Christians—in providing information to the foreign Consuls could be legitimately regarded by Chinese officials as close to treason.

Readers should be cautious in accepting Hixson's assertions as either true or false but rather analyse the reasoning and motivation behind his comments. It is helpful to compare the two American reports (Hixson and Newell—7.2) and the brief British Report at 7.1. The Newell report has a cultural bias but provides a succinct and relatively more objective statement than that of Hixson who wished to go far beyond the Huashan incident into a wider reconstruction of the Chinese administration of Fujian Province and implicitly, China as a whole. Lawyers may be interested in Hixson's desire during the court hearings and later to pursue wider objectives beyond the issue of the trial of participants in the Huashan Massacre—see paragraph 546. Hixson's private correspondence has not been located and may have disappeared following his death in the Philippines in the 1920s.

The Hixson Report is a complicated mixture of fact, opinion and assertion—it is almost impossible to separate one from the other. Much of the information, uncited, came informally from Chinese informants whose dialect appears closer to Xiamen than that of Foochow. Consul Hixson reported to Minister Denby and Consul General Jernigan that he had full records of the trial proceedings but it is assumed he is referring to Banister's report (Part 6). No other accounts of the trial have been located. In para 325 he notes that the details of individual trials have not been included but were held in the Foochow consular records. It is not known if these documents survived but among the factual text are notes apparently made by the American committee from evidence given by Chinese prisoners during the trials in Kutien City (Gutian). It is possible that a personal search in the State Department archives might uncover the records of the Foochow Consulate during Hixson's period as Consul. This option

was not available at the time of building this collection. In passing the same is true of the Foreign Office Archives and the reports of British Consul Mansfield whose official and personal papers have not been located.

Hixson's observations are intensely Eurocentric as are all the documents in the collection which is almost entirely from Euro-American sources. Comments on the behaviour of the British Consul illustrate Hixson's personal drive to legitimize American involvement in a matter in which, as the Chinese pointed out and British actions confirm American interests were marginal at best.¹

It might be noted that Hixson uses the word "committee" in differing contexts throughout the document. Initially, it is a reference to the joint Anglo-American Commission or Committee of Inquiry or Investigation. Later it refers to the two Americans (Hixson and Newell) who formed part of the joint committee. Later, he seems to use the term to refer to his personal pursuit of information centred on his desire to establish which, if any, of the Chinese provincial officials had a connection to the Vegetarian Society. His colleague, Commander J. Newell, of the USS Detroit, left Foochow on 19 November to join his ship, then at Hong Kong. It is not clear, and perhaps unlikely, given Newell's preoccupation in submitting his own report before leaving Foochow, that he was much concerned with Hixson's activities. Newell died the following year in Oregon.

It is possible that the United States Minister and the United States Government desired close oversight of Hixson's actions. This may explain the decision to replace a junior and inexperienced officer as his collaborator on the American committee with Cmdr Newell. It is possible that the naval membership implied possible naval action if the actions of the Chinese proved unacceptable and Hixson implies this in paragraph 721.

Hixson does not appear to have given much consideration to the impact on Anglo-American relations of his determination to take a leading role in the investigation and to insist on more draconian punishments than the British, bearing in mind that all the missionaries killed were British subjects for whom justice had to be set against wider British interests in China, were seeking. His remarks on the behaviour of the British Consul should not be taken as an accurate account of that officer's behaviour.

As an aside, there is a case for a similar collection of information documenting the American handling of anti-Chinese riots such as the Rock River episode in Wyoming that is referred to in this collection. A comparison might suggest that the justice sought by the foreign Consuls over the Huashan episode was not accorded to the Chinese in North America.

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1 See FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, October 15, 1895, No 2400, Denby to Olney. Part Six: Aftermath: "As I am practically directed to act in accord with him [British Minister], 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."

**No 48. CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
Foochow, China, August 31, 1896.**

MR. J. COURTNEY HIXSON
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

(Recd) **DIPLOMATIC BUREAU**
NOV 2 1896

SUBJECT:
SUBMITTING A REPORT ON HUASHAN-KUTIEN MASSACRE.

**No 48. CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
Foochow, China, August 31, 1896.**

HON. WILLIAM W. ROCKHILL
Assistant Secretary of State.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit herewith a report on the Huashan-Kutien massacre. Prolonged illness rendered it a physical impossibility for me to complete and forward the report any sooner.

I am also forwarding copies of the same report to the Minister at Peking and to the Consul General at Shanghai, respectively.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant.
(sgd) J Courtney Hixson
Consul.

INCLOSURE: REPORT AS STATED.

A REPORT ON
THE HUASHAN-KUTIEN MASSACRE.

The following report is intended to be read in conjunction with, and as the complement of, a report on the same subject by Captain Newell, signed by Mr. Hixson, and forwarded some while since to the Consulate General at Shanghai, the Legation at Peking, and the Department of State at Washington.

The preparation of the present report has been attended with unusual difficulties, caused principally by Mr. Hixson having been ill for several months with typhoid fever, contracted during the committee's stay in Kutien city; and as his labors have been carried on in the midst of a period of what may be termed an intermittent convalescence, occasioning frequent interruptions in the work, some of them weeks in duration, the results are observable in the somewhat disconnected appearances of parts of the report. However, some of the defects, such as the want of condensation and the proper grouping of subjects, are more or less attributable to the fact that, there being neither strength nor time to recast and rewrite the report, it is here presented just as it was originally written. Still, much of the apparently extraneous matter that shows itself here and there, will, on close inspection, prove to be pertinent to the general issues involved in the Huashan case; and some of it has been necessary to the bringing of the report up to the present date — — and on these grounds its presence may be excused.

No attempt has been made to incorporate herewith, or to prepare separately, the general correspondence between the committee and the Chinese officials, — — and this for a twofold reason: on the one hand, the correspondence throws no light upon any important subject, the Chinese part of it being mostly a stupendous example of Chinese negativeness and avoidance astutely interwoven with details irrelevant to the real issues; while on the other hand, the whole is too voluminous, embodying several times the quantity of material contained in this report, appendixes included. Some of the Chinese despatches in the case are extraordinarily long: one of them is 10 inches wide — — the usual length for Chinese despatches — — and over 16 feet in length.

This report has been prepared in quadruplicate. One copy of it is placed on file in the Consulate at Foochow. The other three copies are forwarded to the Consulate General in Shanghai, the Legation at Peking, and the Department of State at Washington, respectively. It is not previously submitted to Captain Newell for his approval and signature, for the reason that, his health having broken down, he left the East sometime ago and returned to the United States.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

1. The province of Fuhkien also spelt Fukien, Fu-chien, Fohkien, and Fokien, is one of the 18 subdivisions of the Chinese Empire. Situated mainly between the parallels of 24 degrees and 28 degrees north latitude, and between longitudes 163 degrees and 167 degrees west from Washington, Fuhkien has an area of more than 53,000 square miles, supporting a population of 39,000,000. It is bounded on the north by the province of Kiangsi, and the province of Cheking; on the east, by the Pacific Ocean; on the south, by the Pacific Ocean and the province of Kwantung, sometimes called Canton province; and on the west, by the provinces of Kwantung and Kiangsi just mentioned in the other boundaries.
2. The provinces of Fuhkien and Chekiang are under the jurisdiction of one and the same Viceroy, whose official residence is in Fuhkien at the city of

FOOCHOW .

3. The name Foochow is also spelt Fuhchau, Fuchau, Foochoo and ten or twelve other ways; and the suffix fu or foo, is often written with it. It should be confused neither with the Foochow situated 350 miles to the northwest, over in Kiangsi Province, nor with a place of a similar name on the west coast of the Liautung peninsula, Shingking province, in north China, both of which are also subject to a variety of spellings.
4. Foochow in Fuhkien province is situated in latitude 26 degrees and 2 minutes north, on the left bank of the Min river, about 34 miles from the sea. Figures obtained through official sources, in 1894, soon after the commencement of the China-Japan war, when a sort of census was taken, make the population of Foochow 1,250,000.— which is not far from being correct. However, business directories of the East formerly gave the city a population of 630,000— which certainly must have referred only to the number of people residing within the walls of the old city proper, exclusive of the equally large number who live in the new city that has grown up around the old one and is connected therewith so closely that frequently the chance traveler is unable to tell when he passes from the one into the other. But the directories now place the population at 1,000,000. Clustered around Foochow within a radius of several miles, and in sight of it, are many small towns and villages which might be considered suburbs of the great city: if the total population of these were added to that of Foochow, the foregoing figures would easily run up to something over 2,000,000.
5. The magisterial district in which Foochow is located, is called the Min district after the river of the same name which flows through the province in a general direction from northwest to southeast. This district only extends westward as far as the west gate of the city. The magistrate in charge resides in Foochow.
6. At the west gate of the city commences the Houkuan district, also spelt Au-guang. Its magistrate lives in Foochow. The district runs westward, on the north side of the Min River, until it joins

THE KUTIEN DISTRICT.

7. The name of this district is also spelt Kucheng, Kautien and Coutien. It is divided into two nearly equal parts by the Kutien river, which, running through it in a direction generally from north to south, finally empties into the Min river.
8. The district magisterial city is KUTIEN CITY situated not far from the centre of the district, on the right bank of the Kutien river. Its population is variously estimated to number from 23,000 to 33,000.
9. South of Kutien City, at the point where the Kutien river flows into the Min, is located the important town of SHUIKOU sometimes spelt Shuikow, Suikow, and Cuikau. Its population numbers from 8,000 to 12,000. This town may be considered the key to the whole Kutien district, owing to its location at the mouth of a mountain pass constituting the almost sole highway between Kutien and the outside world. A telegraph office at Shuikou connects it with the main Chinese telegraph system. Recently, during the last few weeks, a line of steam launches under native control has been established to run on the Min river between Foochow and Shuikou.

10. Kungshan-ch'i, also spelt Kungsang, and Kunshan is situated about 15 miles from Kutien City, in a direction east by north. The term Kung-shan-ch'i literally means Bow Hill Fastness, ch'i signifying fastness, and 'bow-hill' being an allusion to the shape of the mountain spur on which the place is located. It is an uninviting, isolated spot, not easily accessible, and is marked only by several cattle sheds, built to protect the local mountain shepherds and their herds during bad weather. From Kutien City one may readily make out the locality of the mountain copse in which these sheds are located. Kungshan-ch'i became notorious on account of the Vegetarians, who, in July 1895, took up their headquarters there, occupied the cattle sheds, went through some rude pretence of erecting fortifications, and organized the expedition of cutthroats and assassins which at dawn, August 1, 1895, made that murderous attack on the small colony of American and English missionaries then temporarily residing at

HUASHAN .

11. The village of Huashan, also spelt Hwashan, Hwasang, Whashan, Whasang, and Huashang, contains about 300 inhabitants, is situated south by east from Kutien City, and is distant therefrom some 12 miles. English missionaries had two houses erected there for the purpose of affording them a cool retreat from the intense summer heat which prevails in South China. The mountain gap in which these houses are situated is clearly visible from Kutien City.

GENERAL PHYSICAL FEATURES.

12. Fuhkien province is very broken and mountainous, much of it being unfit for any sort of agricultural purposes. If its mountains can be said to belong to any particular chain or system they belong to the Nan Ling, or Southern Range, a distant offshoot of the Himalayas and the most extensive mountain range in all China proper. This range, in its passage through Fuhkien, instead of being well marked as represented in the published maps, may be said to spread itself over the whole province. As a matter of fact, the mountains and valley and plateaus are so promiscuously scattered about and irregularly mixed up that they suggest the idea of their having fallen from outer space, one at a time, in some remote past. However, here and there are found some well defined local ranges; but these rarely exceed ten miles in length. Such have little or no community of direction, one range often meeting another at right angles. All this physical peculiarity gives Fuhkien plenty of beautiful scenery—and far too much poverty among the laboring classes: both of which always have a tendency to foster armed opposition to established governments, just as has been the case in this instance for long years.
13. Around Foochow, for a radius of 15 miles, extends a low valley or plain, shut in on all sides by mountains. The situation is very low, the tide from the sea running up the Min river for 10 or 15 miles above the city. Further up the river, at Shuikou, 75 miles from Foochow, the elevation above the sea is considerable. At Kutien City, 33 miles inland from Shuikou, the elevation is about 11,000 feet, and this, too, notwithstanding the fact of the city's being located in a valley having an appearance much like the one in which Foochow is situated, only it is somewhat smaller. The valley is, of course, on a plateau.
14. Kungshan-ch'i, 15 miles from Kutien City, is situated among a cluster of mountain peaks, at an elevation of 2,500 feet above the sea. Its location is wildly picturesque.
15. Huashan village lies in a small, deep valley which is itself situated on the topmost ridge of a group of mountains having an elevation of 2,500 to 3,000 feet above sea level. On the north side of the valley, and overlooking the native village, are located the missionary houses. The immediate vicinity abounds with bamboo groves—one species of bamboo will grow on mountains, as high up as the timber line—with a mingling of spruce, pine and other trees, in addition to which there are several copses thickly studded with briars and underbrush and vines. The locality is a beautiful one.
16. Throughout the province there is an absence of roads. The term 'road' as generally used in this part of China, and as used in this report, generally signifies a mere path, so narrow that the travelers have to move along it in Indian file, slowly pick their way over the numerous difficulties which made the so-called highway a scene of many accidents. The road from Shuikou to Kutien City is a very dangerous

one on account of its following the course of the Kutien river. There are numerous precipices, over which a single false step could instantly hurl one. When the investigating committees were in Kutien, they had several accidents which narrowly missed being serious; these came about by the official sedan chairs being too large for the roads.

17. By reason of having no roads in this section, human beings take the place of beasts as burden carriers, carrying great loads safely over many miles of mountain pathways. But wherever possible the rivers are utilized as highways. The Min river is navigable to Pagoda Anchorage for ships of deep draught; and to Foochow for vessels drawing not over 11 feet of water. Launches of light draught may go up as far as 10 or 15 miles above Shuikou. From this point to 200 miles further up only native sampans, or boats, can run: these are built so as to stand the rapids.
18. The Kutien river is not navigable, there being numerous falls and rapids along its course. It affords drainage to the whole Kutien region. In the dry season it is but little more than a small creek. But after heavy rains it is changed into a huge river of tremendous velocity. The Kutien people use it for rafting timber down to the Min river. The logs are thrown into it singly, and those not broken up in their furious descent among the rocks, the rapids, the whirlpools, and the waterfalls, are picked up at the mouth of the river, where they are bunched together in rafts and floated down the Min to Foochow. The nature of the Kutien river is easily comprehended if one remembers that in flowing 33 miles it has a fall of nearly 1,000 feet.
19. Samash Harbor, or Samsah Inlet as it is often called, is the nearest seaboard point to Kutien City, the distance between the two being about 65 miles direct, or 80 miles by the road which winds over the rugged mountain passes. This road is a very difficult one, though in case of emergency a trip over it might be made a little more quickly than by the Shuikou route, provided it were not attempted in the hot season.
20. Samash Harbor, and Fuhning Bay close by it are both said to afford good anchorage for large vessels. Last autumn, two war vessels, flying no colors, and consequently of unknown nationality to the Chinese, created some excitement by anchoring there for several days.
21. The Kutien district and the other magisterial districts mentioned lie within the jurisdiction of the Foochow prefectural district, the Prefect of which resides in the city of Foochow.

THE FOREGOING SKETCH.

22. Is intended to avoid the necessity of frequent repetitions of descriptions as this report progresses; to give a general idea of the physical aspect of a region of country long noted for secret organizations, bitterly hostile to the present Chinese dynasty, and violently opposed to foreigners; and also to be of some service by way of reference in the probable event of the Huashan tragedy being repeated in the near future at other points of Fuhkien province.

SOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE VEGETARIAN UPRISING.

23. The Vegetarian Society, otherwise known as the T'sai Hui, is of rather uncertain origin. However, its establishment is usually attributed to one Hwa-sing, who, about 60 years ago, filled a high and important military office in the Peking Court. He called the secret order the Eight Diagram Society. It was organized for political purposes, which fact coming to the notice of the emperor caused the execution of Hwa-sing and members of his family. As well as the issuance of decrees prohibiting the existence of the society. But this society simply dropped its old name, assumed its present one, and lived on to finally become a potent political factor in the politics of China. Its tenets proclaim it anything wise but a political body, declaring its prime object to be the inculcating of all the virtues. However, its doctrines and rituals may be considered later on, under a separate head.
24. The Vegetarians Society is believed to be allied with the Xolao-hui², The White Lily, and other secret political organization, which in Southern China have shown themselves most difficult to deal with, though such connection is denied by its members.

2 Ko Lao hui, Kolaohui, Gelaohui. See notes in Part 1, Introduction.

25. For the last 35 years especially, since the suppression of the Taip'ing rebellion, the conditions in Southern China have been most favorable to the growth of all sorts of secret orders bent on gaining political influence. Consequently, this part of the empire has been noted for the weakness displayed by Chinese officials who are more or less actuated by the extreme fear in which they hold these societies. Their membership includes many of the officials themselves; and these, operating under the cover of secrecy thus afforded them as members, are enabled to successfully carry out schemes and intrigues which they would not dare to openly advocate.
26. It seems to be generally supposed that the Vegetarians Society was introduced into Fuhkien province by one Liu Shaing-hsing, alias Liu Ying-ching who, in 1892, came from Kiangsi province, and, as a mender of broken crockery and maker of scales, settled in Kutien City, where he at once commenced teaching the doctrines of the society, and initiating members. He was a most energetic propagandist—whence his soubriquet of “Yin-ching”, which means introducer or propagandist—and his work soon made him known to nearly every resident of Kutien City. But long before the appearance of Liu and “Introducer” the society had already attained great influence throughout the province. Some of its members examined in the course of the Kutien enquiry were proved to have joined the order more than 20 years ago.
27. Some time between 1880 and 1890 the increasing strength and influence of the Vegetarians aroused the petty officials and led them to threaten to put down the order as being a secret one and therefore unlawful in China. The Vegetarians sought the ear of the viceroy, inducing him to issue a proclamation stating that the society was a lawful, peaceful institution, and commanding that its meetings be offered no interference. But when this proclamation was issued, and by whom, is not certain. This much only is known: some time during the period referred to such a proclamation was issued, under viceregal authority, and a copy of it remained extant and up to and including the 8th day of November, 1895, on which date the Houkuan magistrate, by order of the high authorities, had it torn from the temple walls on which it was posted, and spirited away. At the same time he sealed up the temple, which was the provincial headquarters of the society, and took away as prisoners the three Vegetarians whom he found in charge of the building. This temple is on an island called San Hsien Chou, in the Min river, about 700 yards west of the United States Consulate in Foochow.
28. All efforts to obtain a copy of that pro-Vegetarian proclamation have proved futile, the officials even denying the whole transaction about closing up the temple—which denial is known to be absolutely false. The best information would seem to make Viceroy Ho Ching the author. He governed here from some time in the 70's to the latter part of 1884. One of the Viceroys who held office during portions of the period between 1880 and 1890, is credited with having been a full-fledged Vegetarian, and that viceroy is said to have been Ho Ching. He was a native of the adjoining province of Kwantung, where he might have imbibed much of the anti-dynasty principles now displayed by the Vegetarians. He was dismissed from office in October, 1884, and is now dead.
29. Following after three of Ho's other successors, came Viceroy T'an Chung-lin a native of the notoriously anti-foreign province of Hunan, who assumed office August 11, 1892, from which date all sorts of the disorders in the province seem to have grown more frequent, and more serious, too, as far as foreigners were concerned. T'an himself is true to the instincts of his native place and is well known for his hatred and contempt for foreigners—qualities which he often displayed during his administration here.
30. During the same year, 1892, the Vegetarians suddenly grew more active all over the province, and especially so in Kutien district where Liu Hsiang-hsing made hundreds of converts. This activity continued, with increasing success.
31. In 1884, the people of Southern China, and especially those of this province, suffered greatly on account of the French war, when the Foochow arsenal was bombarded, the Chinese fleet sunk, and the port of Foochow blockaded. Not having forgotten that experience, the people here were greatly disturbed when they heard the news of

THE WAR WITH JAPAN.

32. It was supposed that Japan would imitate France and attack the southern Chinese mainland and the island of Formosa. The officials here completely lost their wits in puzzling over plans to defeat the Japanese when they attacked Foochow. All their time was spent thus for many months, to the utter neglect of the general conditions of strife and disorder prevailing here and there in this province, as in most others on the coast or within reach of the victorious Japanese troops. For the reason the officials commenced to delay dealing with missionary cases reported to them by the Consuls. Subsequently, they neglected such cases almost altogether, and begged the Consuls to forbear to press them, alleging that action in some instances might provoke an uprising of the people against the officials. Yielding to these entreaties, the Consul did allow the officials to delay settling all but the most urgent mission cases.
33. Funds were necessary to carry on the war. But when the taxation was increased to secure such funds, the people made demonstrations against the officials. This was the case especially in the interior magisterial districts: in one instance a magistrate's yamen was burned down by a mob, and he had to escape by flight. There were other riotous acts, from time to time, which were nearly as bad. In the midst of all this disorder the Vegetarian Society greatly prospered and by degrees it came to usurp certain juridical functions; and it finally organized itself into a sort of vigilance committee with the ostensible purpose of putting down the growing lawlessness.
34. About this time there were numerous rumors of the activity of the Kolaohui and White Lily sects, which were said to be making arrangements with the Japanese to overthrow the dynasty. Many Chinese officials believed the reports, which, however, were never confirmed. Close upon this time were rumors that the Vegetarian and Kolaohui and White Lily sects were in reality one and the same. The success of Japanese arms in North China made the situation worse here in the southern provinces, and the official classes were greatly frightened; many of them being so afraid of their own people that they would gladly have welcomed the Japanese as a guarantee of protection from Chinese mobs.
35. Towards the end of the summer of 1894 the leaders of the Vegetarian Society in Kutien began to make a regular business of settling all lawsuits and disputes between its members and the outsiders. This not only increased the power and influence of the society, but also caused its membership to increase by hundreds. Even the district petty officials seemed to regard the order with some degree of approval, as they were now afraid to offer much opposition. In August there arose a quarrel between a Vegetarian and one of the English Mission's converts who lived about 11 miles east of Kutien City, at a village named Hsin tien-p'ing. The convert came off much the worse, as he was finally attacked by several Vegetarians who destroyed some of the goods in his shop. The district magistrate at the time was

WANG YU-YANG.

36. The native Christian went to Kutien City and complained to the Magistrate of the treatment he had received. Nothing came of the complaint: Fuhkien magistrates are never noted for eagerness in taking up cases in which native converts are plaintiffs; and in this instance any action would have put the Vegetarians on the aggressive, so Magistrate Wang Yu-yang thought. But the Vegetarians themselves took up the matter for settlement. By this time they had begun to settle cases in their own way, and without any regard to equity. Their resentment had been aroused by the Christian's action in making charges against them: so they decided to confiscate to the use of the society his growing crop of rice.
37. Accordingly, when the grain was ripe, in October, about 100 Vegetarians entered the fields of the Christian and cut and carried away his crop of rice. This deed appears to have been the beginning of a long series of oppressions which the society inflicted on the people in general, but usually against non-Christians, since it was feared Christians might succeed in compelling official action against the Vegetarians.
38. The surrender of Port Arthur [Dalian] to the Japanese, on November 21, 1894, created a panic when it was announced here. The news of the condition of affairs reaching the Kutien Vegetarians, they became most defiant in their attitudes; and held meetings in which they made no secret in proclaiming

reasonable doctrines. A clash between the Kutien officials and the Vegetarians was evident, since the latter were intent upon ruling the district.

39. Magistrate Wang Yu-yang, much alarmed at the threatening aspect; instituted some sort of espionage to keep himself informed of any hostile movements the society might make... one Chiang, one of the Magistrate's confidential secretaries. The society was now holding meetings almost every night; and in December Chiang advised raiding a meeting that was to take place. This meeting was broken up by the arrest of four prominent members named Chang Sui, Liu Hsiang-Hsing, (mentioned, paragraph 26, *supra*), Yeh Shu-ming, and Yu Hsun-yang, the last three of whom were defendants in the Huashan case— see numbers 138, 204 and 212 in the criminal list hereunto attached as an appendix. These four men were severely whipped, or bamboosed, and thrown in prison to await final action on their cases.

THE MAGISTRATE OVERAWED.

40. The arrested Vegetarians had not long to remain in prison. The next day plans were matured for their deliverance at all events, but without bloodshed if feasible. About 100 Vegetarians, without any previous notice of their intention, gathered at the magistrate's yamen and firmly demanded the release of the prisoners, meantime crying out, "Send the magistrate to Foochow and let us have another one here". This demonstration filled Wang Yu-yang with terror at the prospect of mob violence; and so he made a humiliating surrender to the Vegetarians, agreeing to comply with the demand for the releasing of the four men, and further stipulating he would send them home in semi-state, in chairs adorned with red trappings, in the midst of a great popping of firecrackers—a Chinese method of making an abject apology for some great wrong done the occupants of such chairs. He further appeased the Vegetarians by promising to have secretary Chiang publicly whipped and then dismissed from his service for having dared to make false (?) charges against the innocent Vegetarians. These several promises were promptly and fully carried out by the magistrate.
41. Ho Ts'ung-lung a petty military official, Li Ch'i-tseung, Police Magistrate of Kutien City, and Lang Chih-jin, a lawyer and second degree literary graduate, figured prominently in Magistrate Wang Yu-yang's disgraceful surrender, acting as intermediaries between him and the Vegetarians and arranging all the details of this matter.
42. As might be expected, the prestige of the Vegetarian Society now became greater than that of the magistracy. Large numbers of people joined it—some from personal gain they might derive from extortions practised on their neighbors not under the protection of the order; while there were others, many of them wealthy, who joined purely as a matter of expediency, seeing that unless they did so their property would be constantly exposed to the depredations of marauding gangs for whom unlawful acts there would be no redress. The Vegetarians, elated at having compelled the magistrate to acknowledge their power, commenced to arrogate to themselves all sorts of civil, military and literary authority, actually conferring upon one another literary degrees and various decorations. Any decisions the magistrate might give contrary to the interests of members of the order were worthless, he having no means to enforce them; the rulings of the Vegetarians, however, had to be accepted since they possessed power not only to compel acceptance, but to also punish any attempts at resistance. The populace generally took in the true situation and acquiesced in the virtual sway of the Vegetarians.
43. At this stage there were outstanding about 125 cases in which Vegetarians had forcibly seized property which belonged to others. In this way a few of the English Mission's converts had suffered.³ The English missionaries reported the facts of the case to their Consul at Foochow, Mr. R. W. Mansfield, who laid the matter before the Foochow high Chinese authorities, but without any results at all.
44. The beginning of 1895 found the society with a membership numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 in Kutien district alone, and growing larger day by day.
45. The magistrate Wang Yu-yang, smarting under the treatment received from the Vegetarians, seems to

3 No mention is made of any problems for Christians connected to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in Kutien District.

have reported nothing to his superiors in Foochow; but he quietly laid his own plans for subduing his enemies. He prevailed upon the wealthy people of Kutien City to contribute money to put the city in a general condition to withstand an attack. The city walls, which at the time were almost in ruins, were rapidly repaired. New gates were made so as to effectually close the city at night. Within the several city wards the streets were partitioned off by what are known as mob gates.

46. The putting of the city walls and gates in good order necessarily occupied much time. Meanwhile, the progress of the Japanese war made a large number of people suppose it would end in the total collapse of the Chinese government; and this feeling was increased by Japan's rejection, on February 2, of the first envoys sent to sue for peace, and the capitulation of Weihaiwei which took place on the 12th of the same month. No one could keep up with the numerous rumors of Chinese in the South rebelling and giving aid to invaders. One of these rumours related to an attack on Kutien in which the Rev. Robert Stewart, an English missionary, had been killed by some of the "rebels."
47. American missionaries and their converts having had no trouble with the Vegetarians, had never reported to the United States Consul at Foochow, Mr. J. Courtney Hixson, any of the disturbances that had been taking place in Kutien district. He never heard of any trouble there of any kind until he investigated the report about Mr. Stewart's death—which report was untrue; but while enquiring into it he learned of some of the troubles already related in the foregoing pages. However; those who knew of the Vegetarians sect in Kutien said the previous disturbances there in nowise concerned foreigners or native converts, but that it was the result of a quarrel between the magistrate and the society's leaders, which quarrel had been satisfactorily settled. Here the matter dropped for the time.
48. Some Japanese ships were observed off the mouth of the Min river about this date; and it was soon known that a naval expedition was coming south.
49. On the 24th of March the Pescadore Forts, with all their guns and a large quantity of munitions of war, capitulated to the Japanese. On day later, the 25th of March, the attempt was made to assassinate Li Hung-chang at Shimonoseki, when he was severely wounded. Almost simultaneously with the occurrence of these two exciting events there were more rumors about Vegetarians getting ready for a rebellion which was to begin with the sacking and looting of Kutien City. It could not be discovered how these rumors originated; and they could neither be confirmed nor denied. But to all appearances the reports were set afloat by Chinese, who seemed suspiciously well informed on the plans the Kutien Vegetarians had in view.
50. Impressed with the evident correctness of some of the rumors, the United States Consul, on the 27th of March, called on Taotai Ch'en Min-chi, President of the Tungshan-chu, or so-called "Foreign Board", and had a conference with him about the situation. The Taotai not only said all was peaceful and quiet in Kutien City, but he said it was absurd to even entertain any fears of future trouble there. In proof of his position he had a deputy produce a copy of what purported to be a report just received from Magistrate Wang Yu-yang: it gave all assurances that there had been no serious trouble, and that none need be expected. Events subsequent to the call would make it interesting to really know whether the paper brought in and read by the deputy was a genuine document received from the magistrate or whether it was what the Chinese call a "dumb report". If it was a real report, the magistrate convicted himself of lying, since right on the heels of it he sent to Foochow two other reports of quite a different tenor, which reached the Foochow Prefect, T'an Pao-ch'ien, on the 28th and 29th days of March, respectively.
51. The prefect embraced both reports of the magistrate in a report which he made on the case and submitted to the then Viceroy T'an Chung-lin. The following is a correct translation of what is believed to be a copy of the original of the

PREFECT'S REPORT TO THE VICEROY.

52. On the 28th of March, 1895, I received the following representation from Mr. Wang Yu-yang, the magistrate at Kutien:—

The District of Kutien is situated at an obscure corner of the mountain region. The people are vain

and restless; eccentricity and deceptiveness are their prominent characteristics.

(53). Since last year the maritime provinces have been in a state of war-like preparations on account of our trouble with Japan; and lawless characters from Chekiang province, disguising themselves as craftsmen, have unexpectedly make their appearance in the upper country, and in my humble district. They introduce the term “vegetable eater”, and persuade the people to abstain from opium smoking and to avoid it. Assembling in temples, there they burn incense, collect money, and worship the gods, calling this procedure “an act of repentance”. They employ all methods to incite and mislead the foolish population; and the result is that the local vagabonds and the ignorant classes, thus deceived and inveigled, follow them willingly and implicitly, and are ready to gather en masses at their call.

(54). So, day by day, their followers are rapidly increasing. In the beginning they acted with more or less reserve; but not, relying upon their numerical strength, they repeatedly create disturbances, annoying, defrauding and bullying the ordinary people. Taking advantage of their power, they never fail to wreak vengeance on those against whom they have some grudge or some cause for dispute. Consequently, people fear them as they do tigers; and, though sustaining grievous injuries, they, the people, would bear these silently, since they have no courage to make complaint. Witnessing such a state of affairs, I am indeed filled with indignation.

(55). Now, I am charged with the Kutien local administration; but my talent is poor, and my virtue small. I have been thinking seriously of immediately arresting and punishing these (Vegetarians), in order that innocent people may enjoy peace. But by inquiries I have discovered that these evil characters are, like the spreading weeds, confined to no particular locality, but reside in the various villages; and a large mob can be collected at a moment's notice.

(56). Unless a thoroughly safe plan can be adopted to capture the ringleaders who are instituting this movement, it is to be feared that our action may tend to drive them to revolt, and thus bring on a disturbance which, contrary to our desires, will do harm to the people. I beg to note further that efficient runners, or policemen, are few in my district, and that there are only several soldiers here; and I am afraid that their services would be of little avail.

(57). If I were to report these facts to the High Authorities—(Viceroy and Tartar General—and make application for troops, the trouble might be taken in vain, because, only one or two of the evil characters are ringleaders, who have come from abroad, while the rest of them are natives—and, in case our plans should get wind, these leaders might flee to distant parts.

(58). Moreover, at present the maritime provinces are threatened with a state of war, and coast defences are matters of paramount importance. The, how dare I trouble the High Authorities by making representations about the sore or itch that is bringing suffering to this secluded part? Therefore I am compelled to consider the circumstances, and to plan to root out the evil.

(59). It has occurred to me that the organization of the lien-chia, or home guards, would prove an excellent means for extirpating the rowdy elements and thereby putting an end to thieving and robbery. During past years the home-guard organizations in Kutien have not been maintained with due energy, nor have the enrolments been properly conducted.

(60). Upon my invitation, the gentry and the old citizens of this city visited my office for the purpose of having a conference. These agreed to contribute money for the printing of census slips, (which, filled in with the numbers, names, occupations and other data about residents, are to be posted on the doorway of each house), and to defray the expenses of providing registration books for the home guards; and I was to issue a proclamation commanding the various villages to select persons of high standing to supervise the enrolments, or registrations, and thus get at the fountain of evil. Upright members of the gentry have now been successively elected for this work; and I have been petitioned to issue instructions authorizing the organization of the home guards. Henceforth let no evil characters make their appearance; let the ignorant classes be wary of doing unlawful acts; and thus let the torrent of vices be stemmed.

(61). At a later date permit me to submit a separate report on the organization of the home guards; pending which date I have the honor to at once communicate to you the fact that in my humble district a lawless parties have been, and still are, using various pretexts to incite the ignorant populace, to the prejudice of the general public. I beg you to condescend to give the matter your consideration, and to issue instructions for my guidance.

(62). On the 29th March, 1895, just as I was having inquiries made in the premises in order to report the facts to you, I received another representation. It runs as follows:—

(63). Owing to the attempt on the part of bad characters in my district to incite the ignorant masses, and seeing that their designs were inscrutable, I had the home guards organized, and I reported to you the measures I was adopting.

(64). Contrary to my expectation, immediately after the forwarding of the above mentioned report, and just as the home guards were being to in proper shape, the said banditti, saying that the home guards would be prejudicial to their interests, had the audacity to issue and secretly distribute slips of paper containing notices calling on their associates to the number of about 1,0000 to come together for the purpose of attacking the city on the 28th day of March. Receiving news of this, I hurriedly made inquiries, and my information was found to be correct. Thereupon, I, at the dead of night, led on the gentry and the populace; and we ascended on the city walls, making preparations for defences.

(65). If I should prevail upon the lawless band to desist and disperse, it will be a blessing to the public; otherwise, we can only do all in our power to defend the city pending the arrival of succor.

(66). But the city wall has not been completely repaired; nor are there any weapons or soldiers here—and how, then, can we defend the city?

(67). Permit me to report the particulars to you at a later date: meanwhile, I have the honor to send this urgent representation requesting you to be so good as to despatch soldiers here at once, giving them orders to proceed at double speed so as to relieve the exigency.

(68). The above representations from the magistrate having come to hand, I beg to note that on account of warlike preparations in the maritime provinces the organizing of the home guards has become a matter of urgent necessity. It is a thing that must be done.

(69). But how is it that Vegetarian outlaws from abroad have suddenly made their appearance in the said district, and, assembling themselves under certain pretexts, have gone so far as to name a day for attacking a city? They have actually set the laws at naught.

(70). If the report be correct, I shall be bound to apply for forces to be sent to arrest and punish the Vegetarians, thereby preventing the spread of their influence, and reestablishing peace. But heretofore it has been deemed most important in military affairs to ascertain the condition of the hostile forces and to carefully reconnoiter and mark out the configuration of the land.

(71). In order to submit a report to your Excellency for action, I should hastily find out: (1)—whether or not the words “*chai-fei*” have been erroneously written “*ts'ai fei*”; (2)—the names of the ringleaders; (3)—the present rendezvous of the evil characters; (4)—if troops are to be sent, what route they should take in order to successively charge upon the enemies and not rest with an ineffectual pursuit of them; and (5)—whether or not soldiers may be sent directly to the district city.

(72). In replying to the representation of the Kutien magistrate, I have directed him to look into all these points and to give me a speedy answer. I have also ordered him to stimulate and encourage the gentry, his soldiers, and his runners, and to warn them to quietly and composedly devise measures for the defence of the city, and not by any means to lose self-possession or to remit their efforts. I have informed the magistrate that as soon as his next report comes to hand I will consider the circumstances, and, if necessary, will apply for forces to be sent to settle the

matter.

(73). It becomes me to send in this report to Your Excellency, requesting you to give it consideration.

(74). I beg here to note that Magistrate Wang failed to make a report prior to the occurrence of the trouble, and his management after its occurrence has been entirely wanting in skill. It is my duty to request that his name be first marked for demerit five times—and we will see what he may afterwards accomplish.

(75). Besides sending this same report to — — — etc., etc.,

(Dated) March 31, 1895.

76. The above report is chiefly valuable on account of giving, from a purely Chinese standpoint, the condition of affairs in Kutien as they existed on the night of the 27th of March, 1895, and for that reason it is here set out in full. Commencing with page 18 the Chinese version of this report is written on the back of the sheets containing the translation, and runs from right to left in usual Chinese order. The term “chai fei”, is mentioned by the prefect in paragraph 71, means “Vegetarian outlaws” in a sense which carries with it the suggestion of outlaws belonging to a religious institution, while the other designation, “Ts’ ai- fei”, is used apart from the religious feature of the order, or, to follow the paradoxical distinction of the Chinese “chai fei” means “Vegetarian religious outlaws.” It does not appear just why the prefect in his report lays so much stress on these terms, actually considering them as coming first among the things deserving his serious consideration. Leaving some features of this report for subsequent remarks, let us consider the attack on Kutien City.
77. Rev. Mr. Stewart reported the trouble to Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul, who, on the 1st of April, wrote to Viceroy T’an Chung-lin requesting him to send troops to Kutien. It was two weeks later when the viceroy replied, stating that he had sent a wei-yuan, or deputy, to Kutien to enquire into matters, and that the deputy, having returned from his mission, reported that all was peace and quiet in Kutien district, and hence there was no cause for disquieting rumors.
78. Li Sh’un Hui was the deputy whom the viceroy sent to Kutien; he had formerly been magistrate of Kien-yang, a district situated some 150 miles northwest from Kutien, and while occupying that office he acquired a very unsavory reputation.
79. Under date of March the 29th, Dr. J. J. Gregory, of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the physician in charge of Wiley General Hospital at Kutien City, wrote an account of the trouble with the Vegetarians, forwarding it to Mr. Hixson, United States Consul. The letter reached the Consulate on the 1st of April, and Mr. Hixson again called on Taotai Ch’en Min-chi.
80. The Taotai at first appeared to be entirely ignorant of the any trouble at Kutien, but finally admitted there was some truth in the report. Mr. Hixson explained fully the seriousness of the situation and urged that prompt steps be taken, insisting, among other things, that a number of troops be despatched to the scene. The interview continued for a long while, the Taotai wishing to be allowed to receive a report from the magistrate before taking definite steps, and Mr. Hixson pressing for immediate action. Attention was called to the falsity of the alleged report of the magistrate which had been read to Mr. Hixson during his previous call about the same matter, and the Taotai had to admit that a report from the magistrate would be worthless; so he agreed to see that immediate action was taken, promising to send 400 soldiers to Kutien.
81. The Taotai claimed that all the trouble had come from bad feeling between the magistrate and the ordinarily peaceful and harmless religious sect. It was difficult, he said, to determine whether the real blame rested on the magistrate or on the Vegetarians. Whereupon Mr. Hixson suggested transferring Magistrate Wang Yu-yang to another district, and the Taotai agreed to do so.
82. The taotai was requested to inform Mr. Hixson of the departure of the soldiers for Kutien, and two days later sent a deputy to say that they had gone.
83. No soldiers arrived at Kutien City any time during the first part of April, and it is not believed any

ever started for that city. The magistrate, indeed, was not only removed, but he was also degraded, it is stated; but whether this was done upon Mr. Hixson's request for his transference, or upon general principles, cannot be ascertained.

84. A day or two after the above interview, it was reliably reported here by the English missionaries that all the trouble at Kutien had been smoothed over, and the natural conclusion was that the soldiers had arrived there and put an end to a small row that had been greatly exaggerated in the first reports.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER.

85. Seems to be this: as was related in paragraph 45, and as stated in his report to the prefect, Magistrate Wang Yu-yang busied himself in strengthening the city walls and in making various preparations with a view to putting down the Vegetarians. When the preparations lacked only three or four days time of being completed, he felt bold enough to issue instructions to have the home guards organized. This, of course, put the Vegetarians on the alert.
86. Worse still, he further forgot his prudence, and drafted a proclamation informing the public that he was ready to try all the cases that had accumulated against the Vegetarians. He placed this draft in the hands of a wood engraver who was to prepare a block for printing a number of copies. The magistrate had no intention to make known the contents of the proclamation until the walls and other defences had been completed; then he expected to spring his scheme upon the Vegetarians. But the Vegetarians sprung something on him; somehow the contents of the proclamation reached the Vegetarians soon after the engraver took it in hand, and so on Tuesday night, the 28th of March, small red placards were posted up here and there in the city, denouncing the magistrate with death, and calling upon the people to rise in rebellion.
87. The following day was an exciting one. It was rumored that Vegetarians were preparing to get their forces together, at a place about 10 miles distant, and march on the city. Li ch'i-tseng, City Police Magistrate, received from Liu Hsiang-hsing, who is said to be related to him, some information that caused him to bundle up his goods, and to move his family to an obscure house. The Magistrate Wang Yu-yang, on learning of his police magistrate's movements, and knowing of his intimacy with the prominent Vegetarian Liu Hsiang-hsing, came to the conclusion that the city was to be attacked as reported; and in this he was undoubtedly correct. He displayed great energy at this critical stage, personally attending to getting affairs in shape for the threatened assault.
88. The walls being now hurriedly completed, the gates of the city were closed and barricaded, on Wednesday night, the 27th of March, after the magistrate had succeeded in persuading Rev. Mr. Stewart, and the other English missionaries living outside of the city, to come within the walls. These all found a temporary home in the American mission houses. Throughout that night guards, with such arms as could be obtained, did service on the walls and in all parts of the city.
89. The gates being now closed, business greatly suffered, and the merchants, at the end of two days, commenced grumbling at the loss they were sustaining, they insisted something must be done to have the city gates opened, and finally stirred up much feeling on this point. There was some danger from a sort of rebellion within the walls. The magistrate thus beset with difficulties, and not having much hope of aid coming from Foochow, prepared to again surrender to the Vegetarians.

A TRUCE ESTABLISHED.

90. Some leading Vegetarians, notably Liu Hsiang-hsing, Tai Jih-ching, and T'ang Ch'un, were invited to a conference in the magistrate's yamen. These leaders declared the Vegetarians entertained no sort of hostile intentions, which declaration circumstances compelled the magistrate to accept as true although he knew its falsity. However, he wanted the Vegetarians give bond for future good conduct. No responsible people dared to go on such a bond, and this fact came near undoing peace arrangements. But the hard presses official, thinking it best to establish peace on any terms, finally accepted Lin Tikang, and Cheng Lang, irresponsible yamen policemen, as sureties for the whole gang of outlaws; and on the morning of March 30th the denizens of Kutien City were astonished to find all the gates thrown open and traffic going on as usual, while all the armed guards who had been previously patrolling the

walls, had been disbanded by order of the magistrate.

91. In coming to the arrangements about peace, the magistrates conceded to the Vegetarians the privilege of establishing their headquarters within the city walls, in one of the east wards, besides agreeing to make no efforts to arrest members of the society for what already had been done.

MISSIONARIES RECALLED FROM INTERIOR.

92. On account of the Kutien disturbance just noted, and owing to general disorders arising throughout the province by reason of the movements of the Japanese, Mr. Hixson called on all American missionaries to leave the interior and come within the limits of Foochow.⁴
93. On hearing of the gates being opened, Dr. J. J. Gregory, who with other American missionaries had reached Shuikou on his way to Foochow, returned to Kutien City, remaining there in charge of the hospital work.
94. The other missionaries came to Foochow. But Miss Hartford, whose work was in the Kutien district, soon returned there in spite of all the remonstrances the United States Consul could make.
95. Writing from Kutien City, under date of April 10th, Dr. Gregory reported to the Consulate that all was quiet there, which was confirmed by reports from other sources. But it seems to have not then been publicly known how quietude had been gained, and some supposed the fact of the twenty days' armistice between China and Japan, which had been signed March 30, 1895, had caused the Vegetarians on the same date to abandon their rebellious designs.
95. The consummation of peace with Japan followed by the disbanding of Chinese troops who roamed at large threatening all sorts of trouble in the South; the resistance offered by Formosa to Japanese occupation; and fears that Formosa's action would lead to a general rebellion in Fuhkien and other southern provinces, where it was claimed the dynasty was treacherous to the South in giving up Formosa to end a war growing out of a trouble in the North in nowise concerning the South—caused the Kutien affair to drop out of sight for the time being.
97. But the Kutien Vegetarian's second victory over the magistrate had become known among the masses of the people. The society's influence was quietly becoming more irresistible.

VICEROY PIEN PAO-CH'UAN SUCCEEDS VICEROY T'AN CHUNG-LIN.

98. On April 19, 1895, Pien Pao-ch'uan assumed his duties as Viceroy of Fuhkien and Chekiang provinces, succeeding T'an Chung-lin who, having been appointed viceroy of Kwantung and Kwansi provinces, was transferred to Canton. This change was not a good one for this province. The rule of T'an had been bad enough for foreigners and natives alike, since to his bitter hostility to all things foreign were added his dissipated habits, his besottedness, and his almost total want of any executive ability, together with gross ignorance of all treaty questions. The affairs of his office, for the reasons just noted, had to be really conducted by his subordinates.

WANG JU-LIN APPOINTED KUTIEN MAGISTRATE.

99. In May, Wang Yu-yang was removed from the Kutien magistracy, his successor being Wang Ju-lin. On assuming charge of his office the new magistrate set about to collect the taxes which his predecessor had neglected. Thus engaged in the eastern part of the district, he received a report of troubles caused by the Vegetarians, who for some time hitherto had remained quiet. This outbreak was at a village called Che-yang; when a crowd of Vegetarians numbering about 75 set upon a man and beat him and his family, as well as his friends, one of whom was killed outright; nine more were severely wounded. The Vegetarians, completely victorious, plundered the property of this man and his neighbors. But the magistrate could do nothing with his small force; and it is believed he reported the situation to his superiors in Foochow.

4 Any withdrawal by American missionaries was voluntary. The US Consul had no power equivalent to the British Consul's authority to withdraw the internal passport required for foreigners living outside the Treaty Ports.

FOOCHOW PREFECT CHANGED.

100. A vacancy occurring the office of salt commissioner for Foochow, Prefect T'an Pao-chien, was appointed acting Taotai to fill the position; and to fill the prefectural vacancy thus created, Ch'in Ping-chi was appointed Acting Prefect, entering on the discharge of his official duties Sunday, June 8, 1895.

KUTIEN VEGETARIANS VISIT FOOCHOW.

101. During the early part of 1895 Vegetarians from Kutien and the neighboring districts paid numerous visits to Foochow. Some of the noted men of the sect attending meetings held at the provincial headquarters in the temple on San Hsien-chou island, Foochow. The frequency of such visits seems to have increased, until at the beginning of June appearances indicated that there was a regular system of communication established. Whatever may have been the nature of their desultory acts, it was made quite evident that the branches of the society existing in the outlying districts owed allegiance to some higher branch in Foochow which was directing the general movements of the whole order towards the accomplishment of some single and sinister project known only to a very few members who were guarding the secret with the most zealous care.

MORE VEGETARIAN RAIDS.

102. Somewhere about the middle of June a crowd of Kutien Vegetarians joined in with Vegetarians from the district of Ping-nan — the borders of which are some 25 miles distant from Kutien City — and organized an incursion for plundering some villages in that district. The marauding expedition was a great success, and a quantity of plunder was secured by the open robberies.
103. While returning from Ping-nan, the Kutien Vegetarians added to their booty by robbing a wealthy family living in a village called San T'ou-tsai. Close on the heels of this they again commenced promiscuous lawlessness in the Kutien district. Smaller robberies took place. The magistrate being powerless to do anything, waited to see what would result from his appeals to Foochow for aid.

HO TING INVESTIGATES.

104. Following the receipt of the magistrate's report on the Cho-yang murder case and the general bad condition of affairs, Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uen sent a deputy named Ho Ting to inquire into the trouble. Ho Ting a few years since was the Kutien magistrate, and his opinion on the matters he was then investigating in his old district should have carried much weight.
105. The deputy considered it would be necessary to have at least 1,000 soldiers to handle the Vegetarians; and it is believed that he so reported to the viceroy. How much the latter valued his deputy's opinion may be gathered from the fact that

ONLY 200 SOLDIERS WERE SENT.

106. These, under command of Colonel T'an Yu-te, reached Kutien City on the 23rd of July. All the military movements, it appears, were to be under the general direction of Deputy Ho Ting. But no movements whatever were made against the Vegetarians, since it was feared the forces were not strong enough. Seeing this hesitation, the Vegetarians became bolder than ever and commenced to make demonstrations.
107. Just here it may be stated that the sending of troops to Kutien was known to the Vegetarian society long before they reached Shuikou, much less Kutien — showing that the society had a sort of intelligence department.

A WARNING TO THE OFFICIALS.

108. On the 25th of July, Mr. Hixson, United States Consul, addressed a long despatch to Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan reciting the apparently willful neglect of the officials in dealing with the cases reported to them, and urging him to look into the numerous abuses of that kind, if he had any regard for the general peace of the province. The despatch referred to the Chengtu riot, which had just occurred, and cautioned the viceroy that the same thing would happen in Fuhkien unless most active steps were

taken to forestall the growing lawlessness.

109. But so far as Mr. Hixson was informed, Kutien matters had continued quiet after the trouble in the last part of March, and so, when he wrote the viceroy the above mentioned despatch, he never had in mind the Kutien Vegetarians at all, but was referring to the apparently general increase of Chinese hostility towards foreigners in Fuhkien. During the three or four months preceding this, he had time and time again made similar complaints to the other Foochow officials, both by writing and by verbal representations.

HO TING'S DELAY.

110. By not utilizing his troops Ho Ting dissipated what fears their arrival had at first caused the Vegetarians. About this time there was great activity among all Vegetarians. Their yin-chings, or propagandists, were going from place to place, giving secret instructions to the lay members. Foochow representatives of the order went to Kutien district. It is believed that members from other provinces came in and took a hand in advising their movements.
111. Soon after the arrival of the soldiers in Kutien, Ho Ting issued a proclamation of a rather peculiar nature in view of the circumstances. This proclamation commanded all persons concerned in the Vegetarian outrages to appear at the yamen for examination. Naturally, not a one answered such a summons. Meanwhile, the soldiers, instead of making arrests, were left to do a little drilling and some target practice—this last, perhaps, with hopes of bluffing off the enemy, the Vegetarians, who by this time were commencing to boast that the soldiers could not take them.
112. During the Kutien investigation, Deputy Ho Ting personally explained that the delay above mentioned was no fault of his; that he was a civil official, and therefore could not issue orders to the military officer in command of the soldiers. Colonel T'an Yu-te, in making a personal explanation, said he was not to blame; because, though in command of the troops, he was subject to Ho Ting's orders, and could do nothing by reason of receiving no orders from the deputy. One or the other, or both, must bear a certain amount of responsibility for the uninterrupted gathering of

VEGETARIANS AT KUNGSHAN-CH'I.

113. Moving singly and in two and threes and in crowds, the Vegetarians began to gather at Kungshan-ch'i, where they gathered up scanty supplies and arms of rude manufacture, to serve them in coming events. These movements were well known in Kutien City: there was no attempt made to conceal them, nor to hide their purpose. The Vegetarians loudly proclaimed their intention to resist the soldiers. Kungshan-ch'i became a sort of military headquarters for the gang, and from there orders were sent all over Kutien district, and Ping-nang district as well; while the leaders are known to have corresponded with Foochow members, and are believed to have sent letters to the adjoining provinces.
114. Meanwhile the various artisans here and there who were members of the sect, set about making new weapons and repairing old ones. Knives, swords, spears, bludgeons, clubs, and even sharpened bamboo sticks, were made ready and sent to Kungshan-ch'i as arms for the outlaws. Some of those who came armed to the rendezvous brought along with them enough rice for food for several days, also clothing in some instances. Many living nearby were sent back home for supplies when they arrived without any.
115. The yin-chings—petty officials of the order who had powers to initiate members—were hurrying in every direction to get their disciples to come to headquarters. Now came to the front as the chief actor in the planning

CHENG CHIU-CHIU.

116. This man had several aliases, being known as Cheng Huai, Ming, Chu Tsen, and Chang Chih-chia; the last name literally meant "Long Fingernails", and was given him on account of his having fingernails three or four inches long. He left the vicinity of Foochow about the time the troops started for Kutien to aid Ho Ting. His movements are a mystery. It is not known by what route he travelled, or by what means, in going from Foochow to Kutien. It is quite certain he never walked; he was not accustomed

to exercise, and could not possibly have made the trip. It is only known that about the time the soldiers arrived in Kutien City—the 23rd of July—he also arrived in that vicinity, turning up at a place called Kung-kuan, without seeming to have come from anywhere in particular, and without giving any better account of himself than to say he was a fortune teller looking for business in his line. 117. But he was either already well known to the then leadership of the Vegetarians, or else he possessed some means of soon making himself known to them; and he also appeared to know all that had been taking place. He soon had his headquarters at Kungshan-ch'i, in one of the cattle sheds there.

CHENG CHIU-CHIU'S ASSISTANTS.

118. Chang Ch'ih;
 Liu Hsiang-hsing;
 Liu Yin-ching;
 Lin Hsiang-hsing alias Min Ch'ing-ch'i or Ming Ch'ing chek, alia Pan Tien-chi;
 Tu Chu-i;
 Yao Pa-chang;
 Tai Nu-lang, alias Tai Nu-tang;
 Tai Meng-tsu—

All, in degrees of importance nearly in the order as mentioned; were, when Cheng Chiu-chiu arrived, engaged already in helping to organize the Vegetarians into a sort of military body. By some, Yeh Hu-tieh, has been added to the list of organizers; but he was not one: he only came to the front in the massacre, when he proved to be one of the most diabolical fiends in the lot.

119. With the exception of Chang Ch'ih, all these prominent Vegetarians at once recognized Cheng Chiu-chiu as their commander-in-chief, attributing to him the qualities of a great general; and they also looked to him as a divine prophet of the highest order, and as a sort of Vegetarians messiah, come to deliver them out of the hands of Ho Ting's little band of 200 soldiers, and to enable them to set up a new empire in China.
120. Chang Ch'ih questioned the authority and the ability of Cheng Chiu-chiu, but none of his fellow members supported him.
121. The trouble between these two men commenced July 22, 1895, on which date Chang Ch'ih received from Cheng Chiu-chiu the following short note:

Five hundred years ago Vegetarian affairs were (divinely) decreed to be important. I beg you to come at once to Ping Shi at Niy Tou-ling (very close to Kungshan-ch'i. Please do not delay. Letter addressed to Mr. Chang Pu-tao by his stupid younger brother, Chen-jen. "Chang Pu-tao" is Chang Ch'ih's Vegetarian alias; Chen-jen" is another one of Cheng Chiu-chiu's many aliases. Something about the note provoked the ire of the recipient; but he hastened to meet the writer.

CHANG AND CHENG QUARREL.

122. When Chang Ch'ih went to Kungshan-ch'i in response to the above note, he had a conference with Cheng Chiu-chiu and the other leaders. It was decided that Chang Ch'ih should go at once to Foochow to confer with parties there. Chang Chiu-chiu asked him to be the bearer of a letter he had written to the "Vegetarian Hall" at Foochow, which he consented to do. But he asked Cheng Chiu-chiu to tell him what was in it. This was refused, Cheng Chiu-chiu saying,

It is not necessary for you to know the contents; when you reach Foochow and give it to the Vegetarians there, they will know who it is from without you telling them, and you also will find out whether I be spirit or demon.

This aroused suspicions in Chang Ch'ih that may be he was to be the victim of a snare. So, pretending to start for Foochow, he went away and secretly opened the letter. Its only contents were:

The Kutien Vegetarians do not know my intentions: let our fellow Vegetarians bring up (from Foochow) weapons and provisions.

123. Chang Ch'ih gave back the letter, charged Cheng Chiu-chiu with being a scoundrel and made an attempt to assault him personally, but was restrained by Tu Chu-i and others. Henceforth the two men were violent enemies, each opposing the other's plans and striving for the supreme command. Owing to his great fame as a supernatural character, Cheng Chiu-chiu easily carried his point; and Chang Ch'ih, baffled in every effort to break the spell his rival had over the Vegetarian camp, finally, as we shall presently see, determined to ruin him, even at the last moment, by betraying him and his expedition into the hands of the law.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RAID.

124. In spite of Chang Ch'ih's disaffection, the other leaders had great success in gathering their men and retaining them at Kungshan-ch'i, meantime hastening all sorts of preparations. From first to last it is believed that about 700 men visited Kungshan-ch'i between the 23rd and 31st of July. Some of these remained there, while others went home for supplies and failed to return. During the last few days of the above named period, the average daily attendance at the rendezvous was about 350.
125. One of the various methods employed in gathering up this body of men was the sending out of notices written on slips of paper about the size of a ten dollar bill. These simply informed Vegetarians that they must come at once to Kungshan-ch'i, bringing weapons and food supplies with them. No signature appeared on the notice—it bore a peculiar seal in every instance, which to one familiar with the secret enabled the recipient to tell that the summons came from his Yin-ching, and should therefore be obeyed. One of the original notices sent out is now on file in this consulate.
126. In some instances, the yin-chings forming their men in a body at distant points marched them to Kungshan-ch'i in regular Chinese military fashion. In this way one Lan Tsu-tsai brought in a crowd of about 40 Ping-nan men, who are said to have remained throughout the whole affair absolutely loyal to his command.
127. Some months before members of the society had gone to Huashan and spied out the locality of the foreigner's houses. Lin Hsiang-hsing was there some time in the previous May, when the Huashan Vegetarians conducted him around the place. But now more spies appeared there, making surveys of the place and asking strange questions.⁵ It was at this time that some Vegetarians asked Mr. Stewart's servants at Huashan whether or not the foreigners had any guns. The Vegetarians themselves, it may be remarked here, had only two or three guns among the weapons they had collected at their rendezvous; and consequently they were not much inclined to attack people having guns about them.
128. A flag waved from the Vegetarian headquarters. Other flags were being made for the mysterious expedition.
129. Such unconcealed actions of the Vegetarians informed the whole surrounding country of their warlike plans. By degrees, too, they commenced boldly declaring their intention to destroy missionary chapels in general. These facts were all known to the vacillating Kutien officials; for the mission native preachers went to Kutien City and informed them of what was going on, and in at least one instance asking for soldiers.
130. Cheng Chiu-chiu was now become a sacred personage, remaining out of site most of the while. It became a great privilege for a lay member of the society to see him. Thus he worked on the superstitions of his men. As he was conducting a movement for a new empire, it was necessary for him to seek a new emperor. He decided at once he was the man for that office; and so it became understood among the crowd that he was the accepted one; though Tu Chu-i and Liu Hsiang-hsing cast about to see if they could not get the society's support for the position. But a sort of compromise was here effected by parceling out other offices among the most prominent members.
131. There were some curious titles for offices; for instance, "The Four Great Generals", "The Four Bold Tigers", and "The Three Fierce Dragons".

5 See Part Two: The Huashan Massacre: Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States, Foochow, August 7, 1895. Deposition of Ling Lek Muoi, Stewart's House Coolie.

132. In order to stimulate a feeling against foreigners, some of the leaders had already started the report that the troops in Kutien City were sent there by direct intervention of the missionaries, and even that they furnished the money for the soldier's supplies. Again they urged others to remain with the crowd, because otherwise every Vegetarian would be killed; while now again it was claimed that all would be made wealthy by the campaign the great Cheng Chiu-chiu was then planning. At this time there were numerous rumors flying about to the effect that this or that native village would first be attacked. But these reports, it is believed, were circulated to hid the fact that they had designs on

HUASHAN.

133. A number knew, from the very beginning of the summoning to Kungshan ch'i, that an attack was to be made on Huashan for the purpose of robbing and burning the missionary houses there. Now, however, the leaders went to work to prove to the common fellows that the gods had decreed such an attack on Huashan. To do this, they had resort to a drawing by lots.
134. Cheng Chiu-chiu went through the pretence of conducting the drawing. He wrote the names of Huashan and two (?) other (?) villages (?) on small slips of paper, which were rolled into balls and placed into a receptacle. Numerous incantations were then indulged in, during which the paper balls were promiscuously mixed. Some incense being burned meanwhile chopsticks were used to pick out the balls. For three consecutive nights they had three drawing a night. Every time a ball was picked out it read "Huashan", just as Cheng Chiu-chiu had previously prophesied would be the case. So this decree of fate almost set the gang wild to get under way.
135. As a matter of fact, the "drawing" was all a fake. Cheng Chiu-chiu himself wrote out the slips each time and folded them up for some one else to draw them. It never occurred to any one, except those who were in the secret, that Cheng Chiu-chiu wrote "Huashan" on every slip he prepared, thus making sure the fates would not disappoint him.
136. On the day after the last drawing there was a great bustling in the camp to get under way with the expedition. The flag was brought forth—the flag of the would be new emperor—and was saluted by the leaders and more prominent members of the society, after they had sworn the most fearful oaths of allegiance to Cheng Chiu-chiu. Some of these oaths were rather unique, if terrible, such as, "If I prove false, may I be torn in pieces by five wild horses tied to my neck, hands and feet", "If I betray my trust, may I be condemned to drink molten lead for all time", "If we live we live together—if we die, we die together.". But there does not seem to have been any particular form of oath required.

LEAVING KUNGSHAN-CH'I.

137. Between 300 and 400 Vegetarians passed down from their stronghold, about 5.30 o'clock, July 31, 1895, and took up their march for Huashan. Tu Chu-i acting as flag-bearer and commander-in-chief, while Liu Hsiang-hsing, or Ming Chin-chi, was placed in charge of the vanguard, to lead the way. Some over-anxious ones had already straggled on ahead of the main body. It was understood that accessions would be made all along the road to Huashan. This did happen, but some few of those who started in the beginning, deserted. It is not believed that the number of desertions reached more than one or two dozen.
138. Cheng Ch'ih who had been trying to cause a mutiny in camp against Cheng Chiu-chiu, and who had failed, left the crowd about the time the expedition moved off. He hurried on to An-chang village to inform Yeh Shou-chien, the English Mission's native pastor there, of what the Vegetarians were doing. But Yeh Shou-chien was absent, as he and Kang Wang-te, of the same place, had already gone in to Kutien City where they were trying to get Magistrate Wang Ju-lin to move against the outlaws; and so Chang Ch'ih hastened on to Ta Chiao-tou, and informed the native Christian teacher at that place. This teacher, Yeh Ch'ung-kuang, wrote a letter to Mr. Stewart telling him the Vegetarians would attack Huashan the next day. But the messenger delayed starting with the letter until the next morning.
139. About midnight the Vegetarian expedition reached An-chang village, which is on the road from Kungshan-ch'i to Huashan, nearly half way between the two. Here, as elsewhere in that region of the

country, the lawless condition of things, and especially various rumors of Vegetarians preparing to attack this or that place, had caused guards to be placed on duty at night. Two or three roads led through An-chang, and the Vegetarians seem to have divided up for the time being, different squads taking different routes, to meet again on the outskirts of the village. However, the village guards, together with a number of inhabitants who had been aroused from sleep, counted 296 Vegetarians as they filed across a narrow footbridge and passed on their way, boasting of their intention to attack the

MISSIONARIES AT HUASHAN.

140. The total number of foreigners then in Kutien district was 18. Of these, two were United States citizens—J. J. GREGORY, M.D., of Elwood, Iowa, and Miss MABEL C. HARTFORD, of Dover, New Hampshire; both of whom belonged to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the former being in charge of the Wiley General Hospital in Kutien City, while the latter was occupied generally with the women's work of the mission.
141. The other 16 foreigners, all British subjects, were Rev. ROBERT WARREN STEWART, and wife, LOUISA K. STEWART; Rev. H. S. PHILLIPS; Miss ELIZABETH MAUD (or "Topsy") SAUNDERS; and Miss HARRIETTE ELINOR (or "Nellie") SAUNDERS;—members of the Church of England Missionary Society: Miss FLORA CODRINGTON; Miss MARY ANN CHRISTINA GORDON; Miss ELSIE MARSHALL; Miss HESSIE NEWCOMBE; and Miss FLORA LUCY STEWART—belonging to the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, a separate women's organization, but under the general auspices of the Church of England Missionary Society. In addition to these, there were the children of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart; MILDRED, aged 12 years; KATHLEEN, aged 11 years; HERBERT, aged 6 years; EVAN, aged 3 years; HILDA SYLVIA, aged 13 months; and their nurse, HELENA YELLOP, who had recently come out from Ireland.
142. Dr. Gregory lived in the Methodist Mission's general compound (premises) in Kutien City, which is well situated on the extreme western edge of the city; ...
143. Miss Hartford and the English missionaries had left the city, their usual home, and taken up their residence for the summer at Huashan. Miss Hartford occupied a two-storied Chinese house, in which also lived her teacher and his family, who were native Christians. Mr. Stewart and his family and the other English missionaries were residing in two houses built for their mission.
144. (Re photos of Huashan, reproduced elsewhere in this collection).
145. Not one of these foreigners had the slightest suspicion of being molested by the Vegetarians⁶, who, continuing their night march from An-chang village, where one part of them were counted, finally reached their destination about dawn, August 1, 1895, and soon afterwards commenced

THE MASSACRE OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

146. The harrowing details of what took place at Huashan on that fateful morning are given in the statements of the survivors. These personal accounts may be considered in the order of their logical sequence.

STATEMENT OF KATHLEEN STEWART.

(147). Last Thursday morning (August 1st) between 6.30 and 7 a.m. Mildred and I were in the garden (just outside the house on a hill we call the garden) picking ferns and flowers because it was Herbert's birthday and we were going to decorate the breakfast table.

(148). We saw men coming along and at first I thought there were dang dangs (load men—carriers). Milly saw their spears and told me to run but I was so frightened I lay in the grass thinking perhaps they would not see me.

⁶ This remark, repeated elsewhere in other parts of the collection, is actually astonishing, given the earlier references to Vegetarian visits to Huashan and conversations with the Chinese staff of the British missionaries. It appears that the Chinese, including the Christians, in Kucheng and elsewhere were well aware of the threats against the missionaries and reported this to Stewart. It is therefore surprising that Stewart did not consider the risks of taking the British missionaries to Huashan.

(149). The men did see me and took hold of me and pulled me by my hair towards the house. Just as we arrived there I fell down. They then began beating me. I got away from them and ran to the back door. I tried to shut it but could not at first because the men put their sticks in. I afterwards succeeded and bolted it. Then I went into our bed room and got under the bed. Mildred was on her bed.

(150). Soon the men broke open the door and entered our bed room. First they pulled off all the bed clothes, opened the drawers and took what they wanted to, smashed windows and things, then began beating Mildred and cut her with her swords; afterwards they left the room. One man saw me under the bed as they were going out and gave me a knock on the head with a stick.

(151). We next saw Topsy Saunders with her cheek very much cut, being walked backwards and forwards by the men who were asking her questions, and if not answered quickly dug a spear into her. One question we heard them ask was about her money and she told them they had taken all she had. Topsy afterwards came and told us to go into her room and we went out and lay on the bed in her room. Topsy then left the house.

(152). We saw Nelly Saunders lying by the door moaning. From the window we saw the men outside the back door beating and killing the guniongs [Kuniongs]⁷ ladies. Four were outside, one guniong's head I saw quite smashed up in a corner, it was an awful sight.

(153). Very soon I heard a rushing noise like water, went out to see what it was and found the house on fire. I went back to Mildred and told her and she got up and we walked through the servant's rooms to the nursery where we found Herbert covered with blood, Lena lying on the ground (I think she was dead) with baby beside her and Evan sitting crying.

(154). I screamed at Lena. She did not answer; I tried to lift her up but could not. I took baby first and laid her down outside, then went back for Evan, we then all (Mildred and Herbert included) went down past the guniong's house, which was all in a blaze, into the little wood.

(155). After waiting there a little while I saw Miss Codrington with a Chinese man. I called out to her, and the Chinese man then came and carried Herbert to Miss Hartford's house, I carrying baby and Mildred and Evan waiting in the wood. I then went back and carried Evan to Miss Hartford's house, and was going back for Mildred, but met her on the way trying to walk. She could only walk a few steps and then I heard a cracking sound in her knee and she fell down.

(156). We saw a Chinese man, I beckoned to him and he came and helped Mildred to walk a little way and then carried her to Miss Hartford's house. We stayed at Miss Hartford's house till Friday afternoon when we started about 4 p.m. for Foochow.

(The foregoing statement was taken from the Foochow Daily Echo's supplement, published some ten days after Kathleen's arrival in Foochow. The statement is authentic).

MISS CODRINGTON'S STATEMENT.

(157). It was about 6.45 on Thursday morning August the 1st. I had been up about half an hour and was almost dressed, when I was startled by a sudden shout of men's voices, followed by a child's scream and rapidly succeeded by the loud report of a cracker and terrified cries from the servants' and teachers' quarters.

(158). I went at once to our front door, and there met Miss Gordon coming into the house (she had been sitting outside reading). In answer to my inquiry what is the matter? She answered "Something serious, I think, the rioters are here". Just as she was speaking one of our teachers rushed into the house and out the back without speaking, and then I saw a man coming from the Stewarts' house brandishing a long spear in his hand. I got the front door shut and locked before he reached it, and calling to Miss Gordon to help close the shutters in front of the house as rapidly as possible at the same time, we both urged the other ladies, who were still in bed, to get their things on and come at once.

7 The almost universal Chinese term for an unmarried woman missionary was kuniong or guniong.

(159). The man outside began beating the windows with his spear, calling others to join him. More men came, a cracker was let off in front of our house and then they all set to work to break in the front door of the house.

(160). Miss Newcombe and Miss Marshall were soon ready and joined Miss Gordon and myself at Miss Stewart's door which was fastened on the inside. After a little delay Miss Stewart opened her door but she had not succeeded in getting her things on before the men had effected an entrance.

(161). Some one shut the bedroom door and fastened it, but we soon saw our position was more hopeless shut in there, so we opened the door and made a rush to escape by the kitchen, hoping the men were too busy plundering to notice. Unfortunately the kitchen door was fastened on the outside so we retired to Miss Stewart's room again to consult, Miss Marshall receiving a wound on her shoulder.

(162). We tried to escape by the window, had got the shutter open and were in the act of jumping out when two men rushed at us and drove us back with spears. We knelt together in prayers as the men hammered on the door. Soon it burst open and they rushed in, but at first were too busy searching for money to molest us.

(163). Seeing the kitchen door open, four of us, Miss Gordon, Miss Marshall, Miss Stewart and I, made for that, but Miss Newcombe got separated from us and I never saw her again. We passed safely through the deserted kitchen and into the court at the back where we were again confronted by men. They searched us to see if we had any money about us and one pulled the ring off my finger.

(164). They were passing on into the house when another man came and asked them "have you secured anything?" "And the foreigners, have you killed them all yet?" "Not yet", was the reply. "do it quickly then" he said. I think it was just then a man, whose dress and appearance differed from all the rest, and who I think belonged to the Hwa Sang village interposed and begged them to spare our lives. "If you give us \$2,000" was the scornful reply given to him. Miss Marshall then begged me to go to this man and get him to help us. I asked him to save us if he could. "They wont kill you" he said.

(165). By this time we had got outside and were standing between the Stewarts' house and ours, at the back. The men gathered round and threatened us with knives and spears. A division arose among them, some suggested taking us to Kucheng for the hope of a reward, other shouted "kill them" "Kill them", Miss Marshall's wound was bleeding profusely, and I begged her to let me try to staunch it, but she declared it was nothing. For a moment it seemed they decided not to kill us but to bind us and take us to Kucheng.

(166). Miss Marshall again asked me to beg them not to bind us. I went up to the seeming leader and said we would walk quietly and told him if he killed us or ill-treated us the consequences would be most serious, "Walk on then" he said.

(167). Just at that moment a man came rushing towards us carrying a red flag and crying, "Kill them, kill them every one".

(168). A man seized me by the collar of my jacket and pointed a knife to my throat, then as our eyes met he dropped his hand and walked away. In the scuffle I had been dragged away from the others a little way but now got back to them and standing close together we received the onslaught. A blow on the head made me unconscious for a minute.

(169). When I came to I was lying between Miss Marshall and Miss Stewart. I still heard men's voices, so lay quite still. Miss Marshall was groaning a little at first and I hoped was still living. Soon I heard the order to start given, followed by the crackling of burning wood which told me our houses were on fire.

(170). The next thing I remember was hearing Cassie Stewart's voice crying, "Oh! They've killed

them all". As soon as I dared, I got up. A glance told me Miss Stewart and Miss Gordon had gone but Miss Marshall and Miss Topsy Saunders seemed to be breathing still. They were lying just under the wall of the house and with some difficulty I dragged them a little further out of the reach of the flames, then feeling my own strength fast giving way I went in search of help.

(171). Standing on a hill I looked down and saw a man standing below. I beckoned to him to come but I think he was too frightened: still I knew by his signs he was friendly and so somehow I made my way down the hill to where he was standing. Cassie Stewart joined me on the way with baby and told me the other children were on the hill but she did not know where her mother and father were.

(172). Some Christians then joined us. At first they were afraid to take us to Miss Hartford's house which was close at hand, fearing the return of the rioters, but finding I could not walk any farther they got me in there and then went for the children.

(173). I was unconscious after this I think, for I do not remember anything now after, till I heard Mr. Phillip and the children in the next room. Mr. Phillips came to me and staunched the bleeding with wet rags, he then went to see if the others still lived, but it was soon ascertained that of our Mission only the children and myself survived.

(174). For Mr. Phillips prompt attention I feel under God I owe my life. Later in the evening Dr. Gregory arrived and dressed our wounds. We owe much to his kind care then, and on the journey down. The next day we left for Foochow and arrived on Sunday afternoon.

(Above from Foochow Daily Echo, of August 1, 1895.)

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT, IN ANSWER TO INTERROGATORIES.

(175). Miss Marshall, Miss Gordon, Miss Stewart were first attacked outside our house by 8 or 10 men who came from the Stewart's house. When the men broke in the front door, they seemed mainly bent on plunder, but Miss Marshall received a spear thrust in her shoulder from one man, before we made our exit at the back.

(176). I remember being met by one man. He was tall and thin with rather marked features, and seemed recognized by the others as a leader. It was he who asked if the work of destruction was finished or not. I had a conversation with him and he withheld the other men from touching us at first, till the bearer of the red flag came. Whether he himself struck any of us or not, I cannot tell.

(177). A short man seemed very violent. Just before the bearer of the flag appeared, he seized me and dragged me to the other side of the Stewarts' house. He put a knife to my throat once, but our eyes met, and he dropped his hand and let me go. I then went back to the other 3 ladies without molestation, though there were several shouts of "Kill her", "Kill her".

(178). The first of the Vegetarians I saw, came down to our door from the front of the Stewarts' house, but I do not think he, or any of the first party who entered our house, were mixed up with the other murders. They seemed afraid of us, and just plundered and smashed up the things, except the man who wounded Miss Marshall.

(179). I did not see Miss Topsy Saunders at all till I recovered consciousness, and found her lying close to me, next Miss Marshall. She must have come out of the back door of the Stewarts' house just behind us.

(180). When I was dragged to the corner of the Stewarts' house, I saw some 50 men or so collected on the level ground there, putting their plunder together. They raised a shout on seeing me, and several seized their spears. I think when the bearer of the red flag came, some of those must have joined in the attack on us.

(Though unsigned, both above statements are authentic.)

STATEMENT OF MISS HARTFORD.

(181). August 1st 7.30 a.m. Heard shouts and yells. Servants rushed in shouting for me to get up

the Vegetarians were coming; that they were tearing down the houses on the hill (belonging to English mission) stop

(182). Ten minutes later my teacher came to my door and told me to run. I put on my clothes rushed out to the door to be met by a man with a trident spear who yelled here's a foreign woman and pointed the spear at my chest. I twisted it to one side and it just grazed my ear and head beside the ear., He threw me to the ground the beat me with wooden end of spear.

(183). A servant came and wrenched the spear away and told me to run. I jumped down an embankment and ran along the road. A servant came and pulled me along until I got up the side of the hill when I lay there to get more breath.

(184). After resting twice I reached a secluded spot and lay there. All the time the yells went on and the two houses were burning to the ground stop

(185). After a while the yells stopped and we supposed the vegetarians had gone away so the servant went to see how matters were, He returned in half an hour telling me to come home; that five ladies of English Mission had been killed, and some wounded were at my house. This was a rented native house and not troubled at all.

(186). I went home to find Miss Codrington much cut about head and beaten all over. Mildred Stewart (twelve years) cut on knee bleeding very hard; Herbert Stewart (six years) cut on head almost dead; Baby Stewart (one year old) one eye black and swollen.

(187). The second Stewart girl, Kathleen (eleven years), and second boy, Evan (three years), were beaten and pierced with spear, but not seriously injured. The boy vomited all day at times, but we thought from fright.

(188). Mr. Phillips of English Mission lived in a native house at some distance and escaped all injury, only arriving in time to see bodies of dead and hear the Vegetarians say: "We have killed all the foreigners".

(189). At first we heard that some of the foreigners had escaped and were in hiding but as Mr. Stewart did not come we feared the worst. Mr. Phillips went to ruins and found eight bodies, five not burned and three burned so as not to be recognizable.

(190). Doctor Gregory arrived at dark and dressed the patients. Coffins were made and bodies put in and bones of burned put in boxes.

(191). Another burned one was found making nine people massacred. (1) Rev. W. Stewart and (2) his wife Mrs. Stewart. (3) a nurse from Ireland called Lena. (4) Miss Nellie Saunders and (5) Miss Topsy Saunders, Australia. These lived in upper house called "The Stewart House", (6) Miss Hessie Newcombe, Ireland. (7) Miss Elsie Marshall and (8) Miss Lucy Stewart, England. (9) Miss Annie Gordon, Australia.

(192). The first four were burned beyond recognition.

(193). Miss Topsy Saunders ran out of the house and was killed outside. Miss Hessie Newcombe was thrown down an embankment, her head nearly severed from shoulders, Miss Gordon's head was also nearly cut off. The bodies were put in coffins and we left Hua Sang for Cui-kau at about four o'clock Friday p.m.

(194). Herbert died about three hours later just below Ca Iong. We took on body in chair and had coffin made at Cui-kau. Reached Cui-kau at about 8 o'clock Saturday a.m. and telegraphed to Foochow for launch.

(195). Left Cui-kau in two native boats at three p.m. and Sunday a.m. met steam launch taking soldiers. Engaged them to tow us to Foochow and soon met a rescuing party in a launch. The party consisted of U.S. Marshall and two English missionaries bringing full supplies for sufferers.

(196). When I was thrown down my teacher's wife called on some Hua Sang men who stood around to save me. There were four men there and only one Vegetarian but they would not help

me stop. She came and tried to pull me away as he beat me and the Vegetarian kicked her.

(197). When this Vegetarian who beat me started down the hill to come to our house, there were three others with him but they ran off after some Chinamen, so I escaped with only one persecutor stop

(198). There were about fifty Vegetarians. I only saw the one man who attacked me, who shouted, "Here's a foreign woman". He had a trident spear .

(199). Some of them had swords and there was at least one gun for it was fired off. The natives say there were more.

(200). Uong, the Ku-tien magistrate came up to Hua Sang Friday p.m. August 2nd with one hundred soldiers. He viewed the bodies, saw the injured and inquired the names of all and places of injuries and wrote out an account. He did what he could to help us get off to Cui Kau.

(sgd) Mabel C. Hartford.

U.S. Consulate, Foochow. August 4th, 1895.

STATEMENT OF REV. H. S. PHILLIPS.

(201). About 6.30 a.m. on August 1st hearing shouting from the direction of Stewart's house (I was sleeping in a house five minutes walk off, though spending most of the day with the Stewarts) I went out and at first thought it was a number of children playing, but soon I was convinced that the voices were those of excited men and started for the house. I was soon met by a native whom almost pulled me back shouting the Vegetarians had come.

(202). I said that I must go on, and soon got in sight of the house and could see numbers of men, say 40 or 50, carrying off loads of plunder. One man seemed to be a leader carrying a small red flag. I could see nothing of any Europeans; as this was in full view of the rioters I crept up a hill in the brushwood and got behind two trees, from twenty to thirty yards from the house, Here I could see everything and appeared not to be seen at all.

(203). As I could still see no foreigners I concluded they had escaped, and as to go down was certain death, I thought better to wait where I was. After a minute or two the retreat horn sounded and the Vegetarians began to leave, but before they did so they set fire to the houses; ten minutes after this every Vegetarian had gone.

(204). I came down, looked along the front of the house but could see nothing of any one, though I feared something dreadful had happened as I heard the Vegetarians as they left say repeatedly, "now all the foreigners are killed".

(205). I just then met one of the servants who told me that the children were in the house in which Miss Hartford, of the American Mission, was staying. I found Mr. Stewart's eldest daughter, Mildred, here with a serious wound in one knee and another severe cut. When I had washed these and put what calico we had to staunch the bleeding, I turned to Herbert, Mr. Stewart's son, who was fearfully hacked almost everywhere.

(206). Then Miss Codrington sent me a message that she too was in the house. I found her in a fearful condition, but by cold water and rags we managed to staunch the bleeding. She begged me not to wait, as she thought Miss Topsy Saunders was still alive.

(207). I then rushed up to the back of the house and found the bodies of Misses T. Saunders, Stewart, Gordon, and Marshall. The latter was awfully cut, her head almost severed, but beyond wounds given in the struggle the bodies were not mutilated.

(208). Then later I found Miss H. Newcombe's body at the foot of a hill in front of the house, where it had evidently been thrown. As then I could see no traces of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss N. Saunders and Lena the nurse, we hoped some had escaped and I returned to the house where the four Stewart children and Miss Codrington were.

(209). Presently Miss Hartford arrived. She had received a nasty cut under one ear, but had been

saved from death by a native man.

(210). I learned later from Miss Codrington that the five ladies of the Zenana missionary society, who lived in the lower of the two houses which form the Kutien Sanitarium, after a futile attempt to get out at the back and were immediately surrounded by Vegetarians. At first they said they intended to bind them and carry them away, and they begged if that was the intention they might be allowed their umbrellas but this was instantly refused.

(211). Some even of the Vegetarians touched with their pleading for life. An old Huasang man alone of the natives who did not take part begged that their lives might be saved; some of the Vegetarians were inclined to spare them but were ordered by their leader to carry out their orders; had they been able to escape into the brushwood round, there seems little doubt they might have been saved; the great misfortune was that only two were dressed.

(212). Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, I learned from Kathleen, were not dressed. Lena, the nurse, died protecting baby when Kathleen managed to carry her out of the house, through not before the baby's eye had been injured.

(213). Miss Nelly Saunders, Kathleen told me, was also knocked down at the nursery door going to help the children, and as we afterwards found the remains of a body burnt there we had little doubt it was hers.

(214). For a long time we thought that at least Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had escaped but later I found their bodies, or rather ashes, in what had been their bedroom.

(215). The Hua-sang people seemed to have as a whole no hand in the affair, though doubtless four or five Vegetarian families were concerned; The natives say the Vegetarian band came from the east road (of Kutien City) and many from Ang-iong and A Deng-bang within 30 or 40 li of Kutien.

(216). The Kucheng former magistrate, Wong came up in the evening to examine into the case. (Sgd) H. S. Phillips.

U. S. Consulate, Foochow, August 4th, 1895.

STATEMENT OF DR. J. J. GREGORY.

(217). At 12.30 p.m. August 1ST, a native Christian rushed into my study, saying that some of the foreign ladies at Huasang, a mountain resort four puo (12 miles) from Kutien city had been killed that morning and two houses burned.

(218). Fifteen minutes later a note from Mr. Phillips confirmed this report; for he wrote that five ladies were dead, the Stewarts missing. and four seriously wounded; and expressed the hope that I was then on my way to Hua-sang. I at once went in to the Yamen, where hundreds of excited natives had already gathered. I requested the district magistrate, Uong, to send soldiers at once to Hua-sang to protect those who were still living. In half an hour the magistrate himself to Huasang under escort of about sixty soldiers.

(219). At 6.00 p.m. I myself left Kutien City under escort of 13 soldiers, arriving at Hua-sang at 8.00 p.m., to find that nine adults (British subjects) had been murdered, and that all those alive at Huasang, eight only, had been more or less severely injured, except Mr. Phillips who had arrived there only two or three days before and was staying a native house some distance from the English cottages.

(220). I was delayed in leaving Kutien owing to the fact that coolies refused to carry chairs.

(221). On my arrival I set to work to make the injured as comfortable as possible. Miss Codrington had received one sword cut extending from left angle of the mouth diagonally outward and downward, several inches long, completely dividing the lower lip and exposing the inferior maxillary bone; also one cut on crown three inches in length and quite down to the inner table of skull; one cut across the nose and beneath right eye, five inches long, and another cut

three inches long on right side of neck: the last two were skin wounds only.

(222). Miss Hartford, the only American citizen residing in Hua-sang at that time, was living in a small native house some 20 rods from the English cottages. He was attacked by one assassin armed with a trident, and received a cut on the lobe of the right ear.

(223). She was thrown to the ground and beaten on lower extremities and body. While the murderer was engaged in this attack her servant grappled with the assailant. While they were struggling Miss Hartford escaped to the hills, and remained hidden until all was over. Her nervous system sustained serious injury.

(224). Mildred Stewart, aged twelve, received a wound on the outside the right knee joint six inches long exposing the joint; two punctured wounds—one on left leg, and one on left foot. Her condition is serious:

(225). Kathleen Stewart, aged eleven received several wounds and bruises on face and lower extremities, but not serious.

(226). Herbert Stewart, aged six, received a deep wound on right side of the neck four inches long; one on crown which chipped up external table of skull; one on back part of head four inches long, cleaving the skull and exposing the brain; a circular scalp wound on left side of head, two and half inches in diameter; a small punctured wound on anterior part of chest, and another stab in back. He died of injuries thirty hours later while on road to Cui-kau.

(227). Evan Stewart, aged three, was stabbed in the left thigh, and received several bruises and scratches on head and body—not serious.

(228). Baby Stewart, aged 13 months, received a severe injury in the right eye; a small penetrating wound in the left frontal region which enters the cranial cavity; and several severe bruises on head and body—probably fatal. (Died August 10, 1895. J.C.H.)

(229). All wounds were apparently made by swords and spears.

(230). Of those killed outright, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss Nellie Saunders and Lena Yellop, (Irish nurse) were almost wholly incinerated in one of the burned houses. They were in all probability murdered before the house was burned. Kathleen Stewart saw Miss Nellie Saunders lying unconscious on the nursery floor; and she removed baby Stewart from beneath the dead body of the nurse.

(231). Miss Hessie Newcombe was cut on the left cheek and the left hand, probably with a spear, and was then thrown over a steep embankment where we recovered the body.

(232). Miss Marshall's throat was frightfully cut, and a deep sword wound on the left wrist.

(233). I failed to find any serious wound on the body of Miss Stewart, and I am inclined to think that she died from shock; this opinion is sustained by Miss Codrington's report to me.

(234). Miss Gordon received a deep spear wound in face, another on side of the neck, and one on the right side of the head.

(235). Miss Topsy Saunder's death was caused by spear wound in right orbit, the weapon entering the brain.

(236). These last three bodies were lying in one heap. Apparently no post-mortem mutilation was attempted on any of the bodies.

(237). The frightful massacre was done by members of a secret society known as "Vegetarians", who have been giving much trouble alike to Christians and heathen in and around Kutien City. From various reports from those who saw the attack, I believe there were about eighty men engaged, armed with spears and swords, and seemed to be organized under one chief leader.

(238). The attack came like a thunder-bolt from a clear sky, not one of the victims having received the slightest intimation of the intended assault. Thirty minutes from the time the

onslaught commenced not a single “Vegetarian” was to be seen near the grounds of the massacre.

(239). Miss Codrington tells me that the ladies were first seized and told that they were to be bound and taken away into captivity; afterwards several faint-hearted attempts were made to kill them, when they plead for their lives. At this time the leader appeared on the scene, and noting the wavering of his gang, shouted to them, “you know your orders kill them outright” — and the orders were at once obeyed.

(240). Mr. Phillips and I worked all the latter part of the night placing the remains in coffins. We finished this sorrowful duty about eight a.m. on the second.

(241). Having finished placing the bodies in coffins, and fearing to remain longer at the scene, we then undertook to secure transportation to Cui-kau. According to our request the District Magistrate had remained with his escort on the ground, so we at once appealed to him for chairs for the living, and for bearers for the coffins. After urging, pleading and finally commanding him, we were able to leave Hua-sang at 3.00 p.m.

(242). After travelling all that night, we managed to reach Cui-kau on the morning of the 3rd, the saddest, most appalling procession ever formed in China.

(243). The Magistrate had sent runners to Cui-kau by our orders, and impressed four native boats for us; and we left there for Foochow in the afternoon. On the morning of the 4th we met a steam launch taking the Sub-Prefect to Cui-kau. We boarded this and insisted upon the launch towing our boats to Foochow, it being necessary for us to arrive there as soon as possible since the effect of the extreme heat was proving serious to the wounded.

(244). At 11 o’clock we met a steam launch with U.S. Marshall Hixson, Venerable Archdeacon Wolfe and Rev. W. Banister on board, coming to our assistance with supplies. These friends we heartily welcomed and in our hearts we devoutly thanked United States Consul Hixson for his prompt action and successful efforts in securing and immediately dispatching this rescue party, who by its presence greatly relieved the fatigue and suffering during the remainder of the journey to Foochow.

(245). As noon we were met by Mr. A. W. V. Gibb, who had kindly come in his houseboat to meet us bringing more supplies.

(246) At 1.30 p.m. we arrived at the U. S. Consulate jetty, Foochow, where we were met by Consul Hixson and a large party of friends and soon had the injured comfortably resting in clean beds.⁸

(247). When the question is raised as to the cause of this terrible massacre, we need have no doubt that the “Vegetarians” are the active participants; and that the local and provincial authorities are *particeps criminis* is equally certain, for this society has been strong in and around Kutien for two years, and has been increasing in numbers and growing bolder in its threats and acts as the months passed.

(248). Early in July last several hundreds of them attacked a village near Kutien and killed and wounded several natives, not Christians. This outrage has never been punished, and the Viceroy sent to Kutien the small force of two hundred soldiers to assist the local authorities in settling with several thousand determined savages. This was a mere farce, and the local officers were unable to do anything, but criminally failed to promptly demand reinforcements from the Viceroy.

(249). It is obvious to all who have given the matter much thought, that China has been encouraged to continue her slack care of foreign life and property within her territory by the fact

8 It will be noted that the entire rescue operation, as reported by Dr. Gregory, refers to the efforts of the U.S. Consul in securing the steam launch (from the Viceroy) and in sending immediate aid. There is no mention in any of the related reports of any action by the British Consul. The British contribution was initiated by the Rev. W. Banister and Archdeacon Wolfe without any apparent assistance from the British Consul.

that heretofore a money indemnity had been accepted as the price of foreign blood spilt by her murderous subjects; and just so long as foreign powers are satisfied with such a settlement of this wanton, barbarous destruction of life, just so long will China fail to govern her people as she should govern them in this enlightened century.

(sgd) J. J. Gregory,

U. S. Consulate, Foochow, China, August 4th, 1895.

250. The original copies of the foregoing signed statements are on file in this Consulate. At the time they were secured correct copies of them were prepared and furnished the British Consul, as was also done with all other papers which had any bearing on the case, and which had been secured by this office. Later on, when making out his report, the British Consul published the above statements in a revised form, including the same in an appendix which was given wide circulation. The exact purpose of his making such alterations is not known. Attention is called to it here simply to point out the fact of the changes having been made.
251. The signed statements above, though made under circumstances of great mental and physical distress, are, nevertheless, correct in their general substance, as was shown by official investigation, except in respect to the number of the attacking party. In this particular, the estimates were far too small—an undoubted result of the topography of the vicinity, since not a fourth of the Vegetarians could have been seen at any one time by a person looking from a given point, and this too, even if here had not been so much underbrush cover and so many bamboos growing right up to the houses.⁹

THE DEAD AND WOUNDED.

252. Of the 18 foreigners who on August 1st, 1895, were in Kutien district, 11 are now dead, viz:- Misses Gordon, Marshall, Newcombe, Elizabeth Maud (“Topsy”) Saunders, Harriette Elinor (“Nellie”) Saunders, Rev. R. W. Stewart, Mrs. Louisa K. Stewart, Herbert Stewart, Hilda Sylvia Stewart, Miss Flora Lucy Stewart (no relation to other Stewarts), and Miss Lena Yellop, the Irish nurse.
253. Miss Hartford was at one time in great danger from the nervous shock she sustained. She improved in some degree and went home last fall.
254. Miss CODRINGTON sufficiently recovered from her wounds to enable her to go home a few weeks before this writing—May 1896. She is disfigured for life, and her constitution has greatly suffered.
255. Mildred Stewart lingered between life and death for a long while, her recovery being despaired of at times. She got better, and has been sent home to England. Her right knee joint will be stiff from the wounds she received.
256. KATHLEEN STEWART received only flesh wounds which soon healed up. She suffered no permanent injury. She accompanied her sister Mildred home.
257. EVAN STEWART while having no serious wounds, was cut and beaten up in a fearful manner. He wounds all healed up readily; but his nervous system was left in a very bad condition. He was only four years old at the time, and it cannot yet be determined whether or not his constitution is permanently injured. He went home with his sisters.
258. Dr. GREGORY and Mr. PHILLIPS both escaped injury from the Vegetarians. They too have returned to their homes.

VICEROY CONCEALED NEWS OF MASSACRE.

- 25). The Kutien officials, as soon as they learned of the massacre, telegraphed the facts to Viceroy Pien Pao-ch’uan. The message having been sent to Shuikou, reached that telegraph office about 7 P.M., Thursday the 1st of August, and was thence despatched to the Viceroy in Foochow. Instead of his communicating with the Consuls, he kept his news to himself.
260. However, he sent Acting Prefect Ch’in Ping-chih and some soldiers up the Min river in the direction

9 See Introduction: page 2, for a sketch map of the Huashan massacre site.

of Shuikou—but not for the purpose of siding or assisting the wounded foreigners. When he met these last, Ch;in Peng-chih actually refused to let them use the launch—which was towing his houseboat—and the refusal was persisted in until Dr. Gregory, boarding the boat, practically placed him under duress and compelled him to hand over the launch for the use of the wounded.

261. Vegetarians in Foochow are said to have done a lot of talking among themselves about the massacre as early as 9 o'clock Thursday morning—a thing that can only be accounted for on the theory that the morning for attacking Huashan had been definitely settled upon several days before its occurrences and the plans made known to the society members.
262. All foreigners in Foochow were absolutely ignorant of the matter, not even hearing of the Vegetarian rumors just mentioned above.
263. Late Friday night a messenger sent by Rev. Mr. Phillips arrived at Kuliang (a mountain resort about 10 miles from Foochow) bringing a note for the English missionaries. It was very brief, simply stating that five missionaries had been killed by the Vegetarians. No names were give; and it was not even stated whether the victims were English or Americans. Nothing being heard from Dr. Gregory and Miss Hartford, their American friends supposed both to be among the number of slain; not was this impression ever corrected until they finally arrived in Foochow.
264. The news of the massacre reached the United States Consulate about noon on Saturday, the 3rd of August, when Rev. W. Banister called and asked the Consul if he could not make some efforts for the relief of the survivors. Very soon Archdeacon Wolfe called in also. Both these gentlemen belong to the English Mission.
265. Mr. Hixson suggested the need of food and medicines for the survivors, asked that the same be got ready while he went into the city to see the viceroy and secure a Chinese launch for carrying a small party up the river to Shuikou. It may be stated here that the river at the time was very low. A bar just above Foochow prevented foreign launches from ascending the river, all foreign launches being of heavy draught; but Chinese launches, being of exceedingly light draught, cross over the bar easily. It was necessary to obtain one of these, or else leave the survivors to their fate; and the viceroy tried to do this last.

VICEROY REFUSES LAUNCH.

266. Pien Pao-ch'uan, having assumed charge of his office on the 19th day of the preceding April, had refused to receive any of the Consuls, alleging that he was too ill, but really because of his anti-foreign proclivities. He is said to have declared his intention to never receive any foreigner so long as he held office.
267. Mr. Hixson wasted no time writing a despatch appointing a time to call, as it would have brought a negative answer, but went at once to the viceroy's yamen, arriving thereat 1.20 p.m. As expected, the viceroy claimed illness, and not only asked to be excused, but would not even have the outer yamen gates opened. The object of the call was explained. The answer to this was a message to come some other day or write. Mr. Hixson produced telegram blanks and proposed to denounce the viceroy to the United States Minister at Peking unless the gates were opened within 10 minutes. This had the desired effect. But the viceroy did not receive Mr. Hixson in the proper reception room: he undertook to receive him in a little side room. Seeing such a game was of no use, he finally received him properly.
268. He at once refused to lend a launch, and went further to say he would not allow a foreign launch to go up the river. He said he would consider the matter of letting a launch go up the following Wednesday—just eight days after the massacre—meanwhile he would ask the Kutien magistrate to report on the case and say if it was necessary to send up a launch for the missionaries.
269. All arguments failing to move the viceroy in the smallest degree, Mr. Hixson again had recourse to his telegram blanks. The launch was promised then. But the matter of getting it ready came to be another occasion for squirming. Mr. Hixson demanded that the order for at once getting up steam be written out and a copy given to him before he would leave the yamen. It was done. Later, on United States Marshall Wm. C. Hixson, Archdeacon Wolfe and Rev. W. Banister, of the English Mission, started for

Shuikou with the launch. There were no American missionaries in Foochow at the time.

270. While it can hardly be said to be germane to this report, it may be remarked right here that a great deal of untruth has been published concerning the securing of this launch and its going to the aid of the wounded missionaries. It has been written and printed that the United States Consul, in asking the viceroy for the launch, was only “backing up” what the British Consul had already done by writing a despatch, “in the early morning of that day”; again, that Mr. Pitzipios, the British Consul’s assistant, did the whole business of securing the launch—another launch; that the United State’s Marshal’s going with the launch was a purely accidental arrangement at the last moment”; and so on, making both United States Consular officials appear in the light of men sitting still and waiting for the British consular service to rescue their countrymen from peril.
271. In brief, such assertions as these are pure fictions—notoriously known to be such in Foochow and in most ports of China. It is a fact that not a line was written on any subject to the viceroy before 4.30 p.m. on that day; nor was there any written by his assistants. Up to that hour, the United States Consul was in the viceroy’s yamen, conferring with the Chinese officials about plans of dealing with the Huashan case, especially such as looked to shutting in and surrounding the rebels by guarding the mountain passes; and as he left there it was a matter of comment that nothing written or verbal had been received from the British Consul. It is know that for a long while after this no despatch came from him.
272. Now, the United States Marshal was officially in charge of the launch, under positive written orders from his Consul. Within 10 minutes after Rev. W. Banister brought the Huashan news to the United States Consulate, the Marshal received his instructions to prepare for the trip. Those who accompanied him, from the launch coal heaver up, were absolutely under his orders, because at the time it bade fair to be a perilous expedition; and neither Mr. Pitzipios not any one else then in Foochow except the United States Consul, could have gone in that launch without first giving assurance that he would implicitly obey the orders of the Marshal.
273. The misstatements, standing uncorrected, were a reflection on the United States Consular Service, in that, at the time of the events here noted, two United States citizens were supposed to be dead or lying wounded somewhere in the Kutien region, notwithstanding which their consular officials in Foochow were, according to these false representations, contenting themselves either with doing nothing at all or with simply swinging on to the coat tails of the British Consular Service—for this reason only, the correction is here made.

MAGISTRATE YI CHIEN SUCCEEDS WANG JU-LIN.

274. The occurrence of the massacre caused the viceroy to at once remove Magistrate Wang Ju-lin from office, and appoint another magistrate in the person of Yi Chien thus carrying out the usual Chinese program of holding an official personally responsible for whatever may happen within his juridical district. The new magistrate reached Kutien and took charge of his office the 6th of August.

THE INVESTIGATION PROCEEDINGS.

275. Immediately after the news of the massacre was received in Foochow, plans were set on foot to secure evidence that would help locate and arrest the criminals as well as to serve the purposes of a general investigation.¹⁰ This work was carried on, without cessation, through days and nights, the offices of the United States Consulate not being closed at all during the while.
276. Reliable data as to the identity and whereabouts of many of the leading Vegetarian massacrers, were furnished to the Chinese authorities, who, till then, sought to make believe that they themselves were utterly unable to effect arrests because they could not secure any evidence at all—an allegation on their part wholly without foundation. But, being furnished with the evidence, they had to make some show of endeavoring to capture the criminals.
277. Nothing seemed to come from the evidence given the officials, although subsequent investigations

10 Hixson was a trained lawyer, a graduate of the University of Alabama.

show that it was correct. There had been some talk about the Consuls going to Kutien; and for fear of its coming true, the Chinese officials were apparently employing all their time to persuade the Consuls that such a trip would mean capture and horrible death at the hands of the Vegetarians, whom they now represented as numbering fully 10,000 well equipped men. As time passed on they came to the conclusion that there would be no

KUTIEN EXPEDITION ORGANIZED.

278. But on the 11th of August, at 11.35 p.m., Mr. Hixson, the United States Consul, received from Hon. Charles Denby, United States Minister at Peking, a telegram authorizing him to go to Kutien, and stating the Chinese government had promised protection. At 8.30 the following morning, Mr. Hixson arrived at the viceroy's yamen for the purpose of securing an escort. The outer gates were thrown open, and Mr. Hixson admitted to the reception room. The viceroy sent in word that, overcome with nervous prostration, he was unable to get out of bed, but that he was sending his taotais, and deputies to represent him.
279. The request for an escort to Kutien was met with expressions of great astonishment on the part of the officials, who at once refused to comply with it. Arguments being unavailing, the telegraph blanks which had done good service before were again produced. The officials begged for time to consider, a day or two; but none was given. As the officials saw the telegram to the United States Minister was about to be handed to a messenger they broke down in their game of bluff, admitted they had received advices from Peking about the escort, and would furnish it if they were only allowed time to get it ready.
280. Mr. Hixson insisted on remaining to see the written orders prepared for those charged with making ready the details of the escort. This done, 9 o'clock next morning was fixed on as the time for leaving Foochow.
281. So far it was supposed that the only foreigners in the party would be Mr. Hixson and Dr. J. J. Gregory. But on returning from the city Mr. Hixson found the U.S.S. Detroit had arrived at Pagoda Anchorage, and he sent to call on Commander J. S. Newell. The latter, of his own suggestion, kindly delegated Lieut. W. Evans, of the Detroit, to accompany the party to Kutien.
282. The British Consul had been invited to accompany the American party to Kutien. When all was ready to start on the morning of August the 13th, at 8 o'clock, he appeared and stated that he also would go if the starting could be postponed three days longer—when he hoped to have a body of marines to go with him on the journey. It was out of the question to delay so long; moreover, it never would have done to have carried along any unacclimated body of foreign soliders or marines, for not half of them could have survived the heat and fatigue of the trip, to say nothing of the difficulty of keeping them in supplies.
283. The British Consul then asked the American party to wait ... One other houseboat had to be procured, as he proposed taking with him the British Vice-Consul and two other gentlemen to assist in the work. Everything being in readiness, the expedition left the United States Consulate jetty at 4.55 p.m. on the 13th of August. The following, in alphabetical order, gives

THE PERSONNEL OF THE PARTY.

284. E. L. B. ALLEN, British Vice Consul; Rev. W. BANISTER; of the English Mission; Lieut. W. EVANS, U.S.N., J. J. Gregory, M.D., of the American Mission; J. COURTNEY HIXSON, United States Consul' R. W. MANSFIELD, British Consul, and Rev. L. H. STAR, of the English Mission.¹¹
285. A deputy named Chu Tsung-ping, a civil official, was responsible for the escort part of the expedition which consisted of 73 soldiers, besides petty officers, under the immediate command of Colonel Chu Pi-ch'eng. Half of the soldiers were Hunan men, while the other half were Fuhkien men; and all were

11 See Part Four: Letters and Report of the Rev. William Banister for picture of the members of the American and British Committees. It is likely the picture was taken as the party assembled on the U.S. Consulate jetty at Nantai, 13 August 1895.

as fine a looking body of fellows as is likely to be seen under arms in China. The viceroy claims to have had them selected from his body-guard. For his thoroughness and apparent sincerity in organizing the escort, he is entitled to the highest commendation, notwithstanding his reprehensible conduct in at first trying to prevent the party from going.

286. The sending of half Hunan men and half Fuhkien men to constitute an escorting party, was specially designed with a view to prevent any possible mutiny or collusiveness in concert with Vegetarians, the Fuhkien soldiers being unable to understand the dialect spoken by the Hunan soldiers, and vice versa, while their petty officers understood both dialects.

287. The members of the investigating committee found it necessary to carry along their own servants; and the Chinese officials had a large number of attendants. These, with the soldiers, required large

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

288. Three houseboats, three steam launches, five river junks, and a half dozen or so of small boats, gave the expedition the character of a veritable flotilla as it proceeded up the Min river, which at the time was quite high on account of a heavy rain two days before. All the various boats were lashed together, with the launches in front, moving abreast of one another, while towing the other boats. Whenever there was a wind, the houseboats (which carry an enormous amount of canvas) and the junks were put under full sail; while the United States and British flags, and numerous Chinese flags and banners, together with the uniformed soldiers and liveried servants, make an impressive and gaudy spectacle, in some instances almost terrifying the riverside inhabitants. But, owing to the flood on the river, progress was slow at best, and this difficulty was increased by

OFFICIAL TRICKERY.

289. Hardly had the expedition got under way before Deputy Chu commenced trying to delay progress. He wanted to anchor in sight of Foochow for the night because of his alleged fear of the boats being attacked by Vegetarians if they continued their journey; the launches would not proceed after dark because they had no pilot; and every other excuse was given. Not wishing to sink their boats, the committee waited until 1 a.m., ... [line missing] they insisted on the launch getting under way. From that time on the trip was literally a drive. Every possible excuse was conjured up to delay. One of these schemes was to nearly close the throttle valve on all three launches; and some times, when the wind would drop, the boats actually drifted downstream. The launches being some 20 yards in front, those on the houseboats could not tell the amount of steam that was being carried, nor see that the throttle valve was nearly closed. Enquiries brought forth the answers that the steam was up to 150 pounds and the throttles wide open. Two or three times a Chinaman sent to board the launches brought back similar assurance.

290. As the boats were really losing ground, the committee were satisfied that all was not right. Consequently two of the committee, by means of a small skiff and the two line, quickly boarded the launches, after having had the assertion repeated that 150 pounds of steam was being carried. It was found that there were just 39 pounds of steam on one launch, and under 50 on the other two, while the throttle valves were almost entirely closed. Those who boarded the launches remained until there was 150 pounds of steam, under which the launches shot along at a lively rate.

291. Soon after this there was some communication between the launches and Deputy Chu's boat. Just what its purport was can only be inferred from that which soon followed: one of the launches was observed to be drawing its fires. The man in charge said it had broken down. It was being carried along now by the other two launches, as all the steam had been turned off. Members of the committee who had before boarded the launches, again did so. The fellow in charge could not at first point out how it was broken down; but finally, after some hesitation, he said it was the steam chest. Examination proved he was lying. He then falsely located the break-down in several other places. The members of the committee forced him to at once get up steam.

292. There was not the slightest thing wrong with the launch. It had undoubtedly been stopped by the orders of Chu in the hopes that in this way he could further delay the

ARRIVAL AT SHUIKOU.

293. On August the 15th at 12.25 p.m., Shuikou was reached. The party remained on board the boats until 5.15 the following morning, when the start for Kutien City was made.
294. The escort guard had been increased to 100 men when leaving Shuikou. The so-called road necessitated the journey being made in single file; and for this reason the party became a cortege, over a mile long, and of a most varied composition.
295. At 3.42 p.m., when Kutien City was yet some 10 miles distant, a large party of people was met kowtowing and prostrating themselves in the dust before the official chairs of the committee, and firing off firecrackers as these passed along. Other and larger crowds of natives were encountered who enthusiastically kept up these demonstrations until the

ARRIVAL AT KUTIEN CITY.

296. IN the midst of a great throng of people assembled to welcome them, the committee passed through the south gate into Kutien City at 5.30 p.m., the 16th of August, and were soon afterwards domiciled in the premises belonging to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.
297. Early the following morning Magistrate Yi Chien called to pay his respects to the committee and to report on the situation. He said that, although several arrests had been made, no important evidence had been secured, and nothing to convict the individuals had been discovered. A most astounding statement, considering that the evidence was really of such a nature as to result in the beheading of the criminals not very long afterwards. For his failure to discover and convict the guilty, he claimed to be overwhelmed with sorrow. At 10.20 a.m. the same day, acting Prefect Ch'in Ping-chi called. A good deal of discussion was indulged in relative to the general plans for apprehending the Huashan criminals, and especially with regard to the movements of the military forces, now reported as numbering 1,500 men. At length the question of trying the criminals came up; and there arose the

BEGINNING OF OBSTRUCTION TACTICS.

298. In saying he would furnish the committee with the results of the trials as soon as possible after the latter had occurred, Acting Prefect Ch'in Ping-chi gave the impression that he did not expect the committee to attend the trials. Asked the direct question, he said he must object to the presence of the committee at the trials, because his instructions from the viceroy did not permit him to allow such a thing. His attention was directed to the point that the treaties gave the Consuls the privilege of being present at all trials involving the rights and the interests of foreigners. His reply to this was that he had never read the treaties, and so did not know what was in them. Taken to task for such ignorance, he said he had read some treaties, but could not remember all that was in them; and he had no recollection at all about any clause granting Consuls ... [line unclear].
299. Precedents were cited which were known to be correct. All argument was futile in the face of the viceroy's instructions. Therefore the committee formally demanded their right to be present, stating they would soon confirm the verbal demands by a written despatch. The prefect was firm in his refusal, and finally, at 12.20 p.m., he left for his yamen.
300. The demand was at once put in writing and went to him with a request that he would definitely answer it by 4 o'clock that afternoon. The reply came some 15 minutes after 4 o'clock. It was the sort of refusal Chinese officials nearly always give—an evasive affirmative sort of a negation. He wrote. "that as a matter of course the treaty gave the Consuls the privilege of being present; but that he had applied to the viceroy for instructions". This despatch was brought to the committee by Deputy Chu Tsung-ping—the same that had charge of the escort—who said that the prefect had sent him along in order that there could be no mistake about it being satisfactory as an affirmative reply to the demand.
301. If there was the slightest objection, said Chu, the prefect would write another despatch. The objection was made plain to Chu. He said that by 10 o'clock the same night he would have the prefect write in the required answer plainly complying with the demand. He could not get it in before that late hour, said he, because the prefect was being entertained at a big dinner which would not be over before 9

o'clock. He warranted the reply would be made all right.

302. At 15 minutes past 11 o'clock the same night Deputy Chu himself wrote briefly stating that the prefect declined to make further answer pending instructions from the viceroy. That night the Consuls telegraphed their respective Ministers in Peking the fact of their having been refused admission to the trials.
303. At daylight the morning of the 18th Deputy Chu mysteriously left Kutien City. He returned to Foochow, only to be back again in Kutien City within a very few days. Subsequent developments, it may be observed, have thrown some little light on

DEPUTY CHU'S MISSION TO KUTIEN.

304. Before his first departure for Foochow he repeatedly declared that he had no connection with the investigation; and such declarations were reiterated afterwards at every opportunity—he claiming that when he got the escort of the committee safe in Kutien City his duties ended for the time being, and would not again commence until the return trip to Foochow. Meanwhile, he was enjoying himself in Kutien City, said he, and taking a rest.
305. Several times during the proceedings he made trips to Foochow, in every case making the journey very quickly. He never attended any of the daytime trials, not even as a spectator. Frequently he called on the committee, distinctly asserting always that his visits were purely of a social nature. But it is now known that this man was at the beginning, and up to the arrival of Hsu Hsing-yi, the chief Chinese official charged with the investigation; and that after the arrival of Hsu he still performed the important duties of

SECRET AGENT TO THE VICEROY.

306. In this capacity he wielded great power among the other Kutien officials, since they suspected the true nature of his work—the exercising of espionage over themselves as well as over the foreigners composing the committee. For this reason it will never be known just how much Chu influenced the prefect's course in first declining to grant the committee their right of attending the trials; nor can it be known what effect his reports had in shaping the infamous tactics of Viceroy Pien.
307. There were others in Kutien City engaged in the same role as Chu—several more deputies, who were evidently close to the viceroy, since some of them visited Foochow to confer with him about the condition of things—and so Chu himself may have been subjected to a system of espionage.

THE COMMITTEE HEAR TRIALS.

308. Consul General Jernigan wired the United States Consul to insist upon his right to be present. The telegram coming via Foochow, reached Kutien City the 20th of August. Immediately thereafter a despatch was forwarded to Acting Prefect Ch'in Ping-chi informing him that the committee, at 10 o'clock on the following morning, would appear at the magistrate's yamen with the expectation of seeing tried the prisoners confined therein on account of complicity in the massacre. This elicited a most courteous reply from the prefect stating that he would be glad to have the committee be present at the trials and that he would meet them at the yamen, as he was in receipt of a telegram from the viceroy not only permitting him to allow them to be at the hearings, but also commanding him to do so.
309. Early the following morning, August 21st, the committee received from the magistrate a despatch stating that "over twenty criminals" had been arrested; that he had caused these to be examined repeatedly; but he had great sorrow in saying no definite evidence had been acquired. So, then, it appears that up to 21 days after the massacre the

CHINESE OFFICIALS HAD ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING.

310. The verbal and written statements of the magistrate regarding the situation were both confirmed by the prefect. Not only had nothing been accomplished up to then, but there is every reason to conclude that nothing of practical importance would ever have been done but for the timely arrival of the committee.

Some 14 or 15 alleged criminals had been arrested up to the time of the committee's appearance. Still, there is no question about the majority of these having been innocent of any connection with the Huashan affair; but such was well known to be a fact at the time of arrest. They had been hurriedly arrested by the officials after the committee left Foochow, in order to have something on which to base their claim of energetic action against the Vegetarians.

311. Meantime, the soldiers sent up to quell the uprising were mostly located in and around Kutien City, doing nothing. Some, indeed, had been detailed to guard foreign property; but in at least one instance the soldiers proved as bad as common thieves and robbers. The guard detailed to protect the house of the late Rev. Mr. Stewart, broke into it and carried away all small moveables that were of much value. The officers in charge of the troops were quartered either in Kutien City or its immediate vicinity.

THE PLAN OF PROCEDURE.

312. The committee and the prefect agreed upon a plan of procedure for holding the trials. According to this, a preliminary examination was to be held as soon as any arrested prisoner was brought to the yamen, whether he arrived by night or by day, made no difference—the examination was to be held just the same.
314. The Consuls were to be notified, night or day, whenever there arrived at the yamen any newly arrested criminal, and either one or both the Consuls, or their representatives, should have the privilege of being present at every such examination.
315. It was distinctly understood that pending his being subjected to a preliminary examination every prisoner should be kept separated from the others and allowed no opportunity of communicating with any prisoner whomsoever. In this way it was intended to prevent as far as possible all chances of collusion in manufacturing testimony and in concealing evidence.
316. On such preliminary examinations the evidence was to be written out in full and kept for reference at the formal trial of the prisoner.
317. The regular trials were to take place in the order of the arrests, except in cases where it might be deemed inexpedient to have them in such order. At such trials the committee was to be present.
318. No prisoner was to be turned loose on any consideration without the Chinese officials having first notified the committee of their intention to release such prisoner.
319. Prisoners receiving capital sentences should be executed in Kutien City as soon as possible after sentence. But a notable exception to this was made in the case of such Vegetarians as might be considered leaders in planning the massacre or making the actual attack; these, upon the termination of the Kutien proceedings, were to be sent to Foochow, reexamined by the provincial judge in concert with the Consuls, and then beheaded in Foochow.
320. With the exception of the parts concerning the preliminary examinations, the Chinese officials, either secretly or openly, broke every one of the foregoing agreements. Presence at the preliminary trials had to be waived by the committee, it being a physical impossibility by reason of the fact that the whole of this work had to be borne solely by the American party, the British party declining to help in the labor. But it was just as well that the matter was waived, because the arrests soon became so numerous that the preliminary examinations, conducted as they were day and night by Chinese deputies, would have more than consumed all the committee's time and attention.

THE FIRST TRIALS.

321. Were productive of results, and showed there was plenty of evidence at hand to convict several, and that there was also a great amount of information that was important in locating other criminals. All officials seemed now determined to get at the bottom of the massacre. But after the officials themselves finished examining the prisoners, the committee, or at least a part of it, claimed the right of reexamining and cross-examining them. The officials objected, saying that it was useless to examine any one further after he confessed his guilt. The committee could not accept any such confessions, seeing that some parts of them were made under torture or under threat of torture; and so the right of

cross-examination was insisted upon.¹²

322. The officials, after a warm discussion, finally gave way to a demand; and the cross-examinations were begun. But the prefect, the magistrate, and their several deputies interrupted these examinations and in many instances, by asking questions themselves, put the prisoners on guard. This led to more discussions in which the right of cross-examination without interruption was demanded, and granted. And never in any case was there cross-examination more thoroughly than in this one, and never were there more practical results from it. Without cross-examinations in the Huashan case, several innocent parties would have been executed, while many of the guilty would have escaped altogether.
323. From the first day of the investigation to the last, the committee gave no material credence to any sort of evidence until after it had been thoroughly subjected to the test of cross-examination, even treating voluntary confessions—and these were not a few—in the same manner. The Chinese method of trying criminals without witnesses made cross-examination a most essential feature of the trials, since the latter led to the incrimination of many of those that went to Huashan, who otherwise would have escaped the penalty of the law; for instance, one of the criminals, who was afterwards apprehended and beheaded, was convicted on no less than 30 counts, all drawn out in the examination of other prisoners. There was displayed great activity by the officials, and especially by Magistrate Yi Chien. The latter worked day and night, almost without cessation. He was undoubtedly far the superior of any of the other Chinese officials. However, it was a matter of great regret that he showed marked hostility towards foreigners and towards native converts. At first he appeared to be equally hostile towards the Vegetarians, but for some unknown reason this wore off.

TRIAL DETAILS OMITTED.

325. From this on the mere routine of the individual trials may be omitted, as they are of importance only in their final results which may be succinctly obtained in the criminal list hereunto attached as an appendix. But if desired, the entire evidence in any particular case may be obtained from the consular records.

PROCLAMATION AGAINST CONVERTS.

326. Shortly after the hearings commenced Magistrate Yi Chien issued a proclamation most damaging to the native Christians. It had reference to membership in the home guards, or lien-chia; and was accompanied by private instructions directing how it should be construed. This proclamation permitted Vegetarians to become members of the home guard, and placed no limits whatever on their joining. It also permitted native Christians to join, but only after compliance with most unreasonable requirements. Before a native Christian was allowed to be a member of the home guards he had to submit to a rigid examination as to his own name, the names of his family and relatives, his own their occupation, the time and place when he became a church member, whether he had been concerned in the Huashan massacre of not—and so on, and so on, in fact being subjected to a regular inquisition, the results of which were to be recorded in a book for “future reference.”
327. This act was an outrageous one, and was plainly intended to cause trouble for native converts, and at the same time protect Vegetarians from arrest. It accomplished both ends. Its recall was requested by the committee. The prefect promised it should be done at once. But subsequent events showed that there was no confidence to be placed in his promises, especially when they ran counter to the wishes of the magistrate who neither respected nor feared such a weakling.
328. The proclamation at once encouraged the Vegetarians to begin boasting of what would be the fate of the native Christians as soon as the Consuls left Kutien. Reports were circulated to the effect that both prefect and magistrate had declared themselves in favor of the Vegetarians as opposed to the Christians. Another result was the falling off of efforts to make arrests. This came about through fear that the Vegetarians, being permitted to join the home guards, would soon be in a position to persecute the Christians who were mostly members of the home guard.

12 See Giles, Herbert A, *Chinese Sketches*, (London, Trubner and Co, 1876), Ch 29, Torture.

329. It was afterwards learned on undoubted authority that the magistrate at first meditated on issuing a proclamation much more severe on the Christians, proposing to post up the same at all the mission chapels. But when advised it would certainly end in his degradation from office, he settled on issuing the one mentioned above.

OFFENSIVE DESPATCH FROM VICEROY.

330. When the committee was refused admittance to the trial proceedings the Consuls wrote a despatch to the viceroy besides wiring their respective Ministers in Peking. This despatch was most conservative and respectful in tone and in substance. In addition to briefly relating the obstructive conduct of Prefect Chin Ping-chi, it also proposed a plan of procedure very similar to the one already mentioned herein as having been agreed upon by the committee and the Chinese officials. The viceroy's reply, instead of being written in the form of a letter addressed to an equal, was in the form of sort of command addressed to an inferior, commencing, "Be it known", etc.
331. This despatch was pointedly positive in informing the Consuls that none of their propositions would be entertained; that the matter of shaping the course of the investigation pertained exclusively to the viceroy and the Tartar General, who "alone could issue orders"; and rather intimated that the Consuls would do well to confine their attention to their own business. In the light of later events, it is a matter of wonder how Pien Pao-ch'uan ever screwed his courage up to the pitch of being bold enough to write such a document—a document without any signs of squirming or avoidance; in nearly all his despatches since then he has shown himself to be an abject coward, hiding behind evasion, hypocrisy and misrepresentations, depending more and more upon duplicity and deception, and manifesting neither consideration for the dignity of the office he holds, nor any regard for even the commonest attributes of honor.

CAPTAIN NEWELL JOINS COMMITTEE.¹³

332. Commander J. S. Newell of the U.S.S. Detroit, having received instructions to proceed to Kutien City, Mr. Vice Consul Churchill, on August the 21st, wrote to the viceroy requesting an escort. The reply was that he could get no escort as there was no necessity for Captain Newell to go to Kutien. This matter was made the subject of correspondence between the viceroy and consulate until the 24th of August. The escort was not forthcoming until the Vice Consul telegraphed to Minister Denby at Peking, the viceroy seeming determined to delay Captain Newell as long as possible. When he finally agreed to send the escort he wrote a despatch to that effect, taking occasion to say he had received no instructions from the Tsungli Yamen, but was doing it of his own accord on condition that not more than three should constitute the foreign party—but it is believed that the Yamen did order the viceroy.
333. Captain Newell, accompanied by Dr. E. H. Hart, of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, left Foochow at about 4.30 p.m., August the 24th, arriving in Kutien City at 7.35 p.m., August the 27th.
334. It is worthy of remark here that notwithstanding the fact of his flatly refusing to entertain the propositions submitted by the Consuls, the viceroy nevertheless issued instructions to the officials almost exactly in line with the desired plan of procedure—thus showing his animus towards foreigners who had dared suggest what ought to be done. This spirit was again manifested when later on the Consuls represented to him the crowded conditions of the Kutien prisons and requested that a convenient structure bear by be secured to provide additional accommodations.¹⁴ He bluntly wrote to

13 It is not clear why Commander Newell was ordered to join the Kutien investigation. One of his junior officers, Lieutenant (Ensign Waldo) Evans, was already involved. One possible explanation is that U.S. Minister Charles Denby was aware of Hixson's energetic approach to problems and may have recommended that an experienced naval officer with a reputation for stability and caution was needed to balance out Hixson's excitable personality. A reading of the reports of the two men supports this assessment.

14 An American Episcopal missionary, Lydia Mary Fay, gave this description of a Chinese prison in Shanghai. *Spirit of Missions*, Vol 37 March 1872, p 707. "About half a mile further on the city are the prisons, and, shade of Howard and Fry! what horrors have we here. We enter a high gate, guarded by two enormous stone lions, which opens into a large, square, open court, paved with stone; on two sides of it, behind a row of strong wooden bars are some of the prisoners—a mass of seething and writhing humanity, swarming over each other in heaps, more

the Consuls that he would allow nothing of the sort: yet by the same messenger he sent a despatch to the prefect ordering him to at once secure the additional prison accommodation. The viceroy's ruling passion was, and still is, to act contrary to any request made to him by a foreigner.

**OFFICIALS ANNOUNCE THE LAW OF THE CASE AND
PASS SENTENCE ON THIRTEEN CRIMINALS.**

335. Several times during the examination of the prisoners both the prefect and the magistrate had occasion to announce the law of the case, their opinions being expressed during interviews between them and the committee, and in open court while the trials were in progress. The officials stated that all persons who planned, or aided in planning, the raid on Huashan, and all who left Kungshan-ch'i for Huashan on the 31st of July, together with all who had any hand in the actual massacre, or who at the time or afterwards took part in plundering the missionaries of their property at Huashan—would have to suffer the death penalty, inflicted in degrees of severity proportionate to the heinousness of each particular case, i.e., by strangulation, by decapitation accompanied by mutilations, and so on, as is provided for in the Chinese laws.
336. This interpretation of the law is correct. The death penalty which it decreed was an eminently just one. It would have been a just one according to the laws of any country; for, the criminals, as a gang of marauders, were guilty of highway robbery in a most aggravate form; as a menacing mob, they had opposed the local officials, and finally overawed them; incendiaries, they were guilty of arson in the first degree, the missionary houses having been fired while some of the victims therein were yet alive; leagued conspirators and assassins, they were guilty of murder in the first degree, not one of the missionaries having offered the slightest provocation; members of an organized and armed body of men resisting national troops, they were rebels striving to erect another government over the established one of China, and besides having sworn allegiance to their own flag, were guilty of other overt acts of treason and rebellion; the whole forming an aggregation of crime rarely met with in any land.
337. According to the principles which they had announced in court, the prefect and magistrate sentenced to death by decapitation the following 13 Huashan criminals:
- Chen Chin-shu;
 - Ch'en Fan-tsai;
 - Chou Neng-t'iao;
 - Hsieh Kuo-sung;
 - Liu Chiu-su, alias Liu Chiu-shu, alias Lan Tou-tsai;
 - Lin Hsien;

like a lump of maggots on a dead dog's carcass than so many fellow-men. those in front thrust their arms out between the bars, begging for food like monkeys in a cage; while in the dim obscurity of the background, pallid, blanched faces, void of all expression save stony despair, are turned hopelessly on the observers. Some of them are chained to the wall. Fancy the utter misery of such a position in the summer, without room to lie down, sweltering with heat and smothered with vermin and filth! The endurance of such a punishment would kill nine Europeans out of ten in a couple of days; but, except when a fever comes, it does not seem to affect these wretched Chinese much. These are the *tender* mercies of the Chinese; but in the Yomen [yamen-courthouse] on the other side of the open court, can be seen instruments of cruelty, showing what they can do when they mean to be severe. there may be seen various appliances for torture, and several round cages about two feet in diameter and over five feet high, made of stout wooden bars wide apart. The top is like the head of a barrel, with a hole in it rather larger than an ordinary man's neck. The wretched victim is put in the cage, and the hole at the top fitted around his neck; his feet cannot touch the ground, though sometimes a brick or two is put in, so that he can just rest his toes on them; and there he is left to die. No food or drink being given to him, he would speedily starve; but it is not that that kills him: he soon has cramp in his legs, and, to relieve it, has to cling by his legs and arms to the bars, and hang by the chin: soon his legs are covered with bruises and sores from his struggles, and then *the flies come*. In about three or four days—a shapeless, tortured, half-devoured mass of flesh—death relieves him from further pain.”

Lin Nan-min;
Lin Ti-tsia;
Tai Nu-lang, alias Tai Nu-tang;
T'ang Ch'un;
Yeh Ming-jih, alias Yeh Min-jih;
Yeh Ming-yung;
Yao Pa-chang.

The prefect sent the Consuls what purported to be the death warrant of these convicted criminals, to which in each case was attached an alleged brief of evidence, and requested the Consuls to sign and return the same in order that it might be forwarded to the viceroy for final approval before execution could take place.

338. The British Consul agreed to sign it. The United States Consul, claiming that such an act would be a judicial one and therefore *ultra vires*, declined to sign the document. Whereupon the officials said there could be no executions at all; and the refusal therefore created a great deal of dissatisfaction in the committee as well as among the Chinese officials. However, on examination there was found another grave reason for declining to sign the papers, and that was

THE DOCTORING OF EVIDENCE.

339. The Chinese officials had set out a lot of evidence that was no evidence—only pure fabrication by the officials themselves. A large part of it could never have been testified to at all anywhere, much less in the general sessions of the court. The main features of this doctored stuff consisted in making the criminals all say that the massacre was the result of a general quarrel between Christians and Vegetarians, and that there were only 1,200 Vegetarians in Kutien district; but there were numerous other falsehoods included along with these, the confessions of each individual being made to tally with those of all the rest except as regarded his individual acts.
340. On having these falsehoods pointed out to them the officials were at first a little disturbed, but finally admitted that the testimony had been changed so as to make the several statements agree with one another as required (?) by the Chinese law—but they said nothing about the same Chinese law making it a serious felony to change the evidence of confessions in such cases.
341. The United States Consul agreed to *notarially* certify to the correctness of any true brief the officials might prepare from the confessions of the prisoners. Such briefs were finally made out, and sent in to the Consuls on the 6th of September; and on the same date they were notarially certified to as being substantially correct, after which they were returned to the officials to be at once forwarded to the viceroy. When the messenger with these papers left Kutien City for Foochow it was confidently expected that at least 13 of the Huashan criminals would be executed within four days from that time, as the prefect said he had requested the viceroy to telegraph his approval of the sentences and his permission to have the executions take place immediately. But the viceroy had some plans of his own that proved disappointing to those hoping for early executions.

GUILTY PRISONERS SECRETLY RELEASED BY CHINESE OFFICIALS.

342. For some while the committee had been keeping itself informed through sources unknown to the officials. In this way it became aware that many prisoners had been released secretly. Just how many of these there were, could not be learned. But in court, on the 6th of September, the attention of the officials was drawn to the matter. The releasing was indirectly denied; whereupon the committee called for the production of this or that prisoner known to be among the ones released. Of course they could not be found. Finding it useless to dissemble further, the Chinese officials acknowledged that a number had been turned loose; and they tried to excuse themselves for a breach of the agreement made in the first part of the investigation by saying the prisoners were not actually released but that they were only placed in the hands of their securities for safe keeping, the jail being greatly crowded, and

that any one of them could be brought into court at a few hours' notice.

343. A list of the names of the prisoners released was called for, and another giving their securities. It could not be produced. The return of the released prisoners was requested: it was declined. A warm discussion ensued which culminated in a demand being made that all criminals irregularly released be returned within five days and held until tried; that a list of such be at once prepared and furnished the committee; that assurances be given that no more releasing be done without the prisoners having been first formally arraigned and tried in court, the committee being present. Reluctantly, but positively, the prefect promised compliance with every feature of the demand.
344. The list sent in showed that 39 had been secretly turned loose. Only three or four of these had been rearrested and returned to the yamen at the end of the fourth day after the demand was made; and the prefect, alleging now that the prisoners lived a great distance from Kutien City, requested that the time he was allowed for securing them be extended to 10 days. His request was granted. But up to this writing only 15 of the total number have ever been returned and reported for trial.
345. Of those brought back and tried, one was convicted of having actually participated in the murdering of the missionaries, having stabbed two of the Stewart children; three were proved to have taken part in robbing and plundering the houses and their inmates while the massacre was going on; and some of the others were shown to have been armed and accompanying the crowd that left Kungshan-ch'i bound for Huashan the evening before the attack. The committee secured evidence that some of those yet at large were participants in the massacre; and there exists but little doubt that on trial several of these would have been convicted and sentenced to death.
346. The released Vegetarians went about over the country repeating the former reports that the Chinese officials were on the side of the society, boasting of their prestige, and publicly announcing that the native Christian converts were henceforth to be the special subjects of their vengeance. The better elements of the people were terrified. To them there was no better proof wanted of the officials' attitude than the setting free of Vegetarians known to all the country as being the murderers of innocent women and children. These facts being connected with the magistrate's infamous proclamation already alluded to, bought on a state of things that not only intimidated the good people generally, but also made the home guards afraid to do their duty of arresting Vegetarian criminals, since some guilty ones had returned and roundly denounced the home guards who previously aided in their arrest.
347. In some villages only a few miles from Kutien City the Vegetarians commenced outrageous persecutions against native Christians. In one instance a native Christian who was suspected of having given information against the Vegetarians, was seized by the latter, bound to a column in the public hall, and whipped at intervals by his persecutors who meanwhile warned the onlookers to beware of his fate. Such outrages caused the greatest excitement; and the

PEOPLE DENOUNCED THE OFFICIALS.

348. Vegetarian members and sympathizers made no concealment of their feelings. Some of them while inside the gates of the magistrate's yamen were loud in their threats and boasts. One morning it was found that placards against the Chinese officials had been posted up in all the public places of Kutien City. They were written in Chinese, and were anonymous, purporting, however, to have originated with the gentry and better class of citizens. The Chinese officials were denounced for accepting bribes from the Vegetarians and shielding the Cho-yang and Huashan murderers from their just punishment, accused of treachery and deception towards the foreigners, and charged with endeavoring to make pecuniary profit generally out of the investigation instead of trying to do their duty as officials.
349. It was never discovered who wrote the placards. But as time passed on, it became evident that the author knew his business, and received some correct information from inside sources. Another great source of dissatisfaction and cause of scandal was the fact that the

OFFICIALS MISAPPROPRIATED REWARD FUNDS.

350. The viceroy, after urgent appeals, had agreed to give rewards for arresting the criminals. These ran

from Mexican \$50 to Mexican \$600 at first, and were later on increased to Mexican \$ 800 in one or two cases. The hope of reward proved a powerful incentive to induce the people to make arrests. In some instances criminals' relatives even pulled them from their hiding places and turned them over to the law for punishment, thus expecting remuneration in the shape of rewards. But it transpired that the captors of criminals really received very little of the reward money—most of it was retained by the officials as personal perquisites. Some of those entitled to rewards were bold enough finally to tell how they had been treated. They even came personally to the committee and complained. The committee represented the matter to the prefect, and he denied that the money was not properly paid out; but he finally admitted that in a few cases some of the money had been withheld to be available if another claimant for the reward should appear.

351. There was no use for any such stopping of the payment of the rewards: it was done simply to beat the captors out of their just dues. The officials were too shrewd to take the money and pay it over with their own hands; so they had the rewards paid out by some trusted petty official—and he of course kept back whatever his superiors ordered him to keep. To prevent such abuses and restore the confidence of the people, the prefect promised the committee he himself would in future personally pay all rewards over to those entitled to them. It is believed he did do this in one or two instances—after he resumed the old plan of letting the money pass through the hands of his subordinates; and the abuse with its bad effects remained unto the end of the investigation.

EXPECTANT TAOTAI HSU SHING-YI APPOINTED COMMISSIONER.

352. On reaching Kutien City and finding the prefect intended to exclude the committee from the trials, the United States consul wired the United States Minister requesting a higher Chinese official be appointed in charge of the investigation. On the representation of the Minister, Hsu Hsing-yi, an expectant taotai in this province, but a native of Hunan province, was appointed a commissioner to go to Kutien. But he was not sent to Kutien. On the contrary, his appointment as a commissioner was kept concealed so far as it could be done by the

WILES OF VICEROY PIEN.

353. The Minister's telegram announcing the appointment of Hsu Hsing-yi was dated at Peking, 2.20 p.m. August 30, 1895, and reached Kutien City the following morning at 10 o'clock. The news it contained was not given out to the Kutien officials. But it being evident, later on, that they had no information about the appointment, suspicion arose that there was some duplicity somewhere. Accordingly a messenger was hurriedly sent to the United States Consulate at Foochow bearing a letter requesting Mr. Vice Consul Churchill to investigate the matter.
354. On the 2nd of September the United States Consul in Kutien received from the viceroy a despatch, dated August the 29th, stating that owing to the multiplicity of affairs in the Tung Shan Chu, or "Foreign Board", he "some time since appointed the Expectant Taotai Mar. Hsu and joint commissioner in addition (to the regular staff); that he had wired his action to the Tsungli Yamen; that an "imperial telegraphic edict had been issued for my (his) observance"; and that the Consul "should discuss all international affairs with Hsu Taotai". The British Consul received a similar despatch; and so did the United States and British Vice Consuls in Foochow.
355. On the 4th of September, Mr. Vice Consul Churchill, being unable to locate the newly appointed Kutien commissioner, addressed a despatch of enquiry to the viceroy, and on the following day the latter replied to the effect that he had received no instruction from the Tsungli Yamen about any commissioner for the investigation, and that he did not know any such appointment had been made.
356. On the 7th of September Hsu himself called at the United States Consulate and informed the Vice Consul that having been appointed commissioner he was making hurried preparations to leave for Kutien. But further than this there was no notice given of the appointment; the viceroy, who formerly had denied the appointment, had nothing to say to the Consulate.
357. However, late in the evening of the 10th of September Hsu arrived in Kutien City. Two days later, at 10 o'clock on the morning of September the 12th, he called on the committee. And here he commenced

HIS DECEPTION AND DUPLICITY.

358. At first he declared he was a commissioner with full powers to deal with every feature of the case, having been appointed by imperial authority. The interview was a long one; but through it all there was a suspicion of deception so strongly manifest that one of the committee members finally asked Hsu about his credentials or something to prove his assertions. He could produce none; but claimed surprise on learning that the viceroy had not written to the Consuls about his appointment as commissioner. Questioning him closely, the committee referred more particularly to the 13 criminals mentioned in paragraph 337 as having been sentenced by the prefect, and asked when they would be executed. Hsu answered, "Just as soon as we can arrange for the execution". Penned down to explain what he meant by arrangements for the execution, he said, "The execution will take place just as soon as the papers are all signed up". And so it developed that his

SCHEME WAS TO CUT OFF SO MANY HEADS.

359. He claimed his powers were full, but conditional. The papers he wanted signed were intended to be a final settlement of the whole claim, and as a bar to any further demands on the part of the foreign governments concerned. The executions would come off at once as soon as the terms of such settlement were arranged. "Tell me", said he, "how many heads are wanted, and I will cut them off at once—provided the case is thereby finally settled".
360. The committee was told that no executions could take place until they had agreed upon the items of settlement; that he, Hsu, had no powers unless an understanding was first had with the committee as to the number of Vegetarian heads they desire; that he was sorry to seem stubborn over the matter, but that he was compelled to obey the viceroy's orders; and that he, Hsu, finding it impossible to carry out instructions would probably have to return to Foochow at once. Whereupon the committee requested to be shown a copy of his instructions so as to know the exact limit of the powers the viceroy had granted him. He replied that all the instructions he had were verbal instructions, but that he would show the committee a copy of the imperial edict appointing him commissioner; if the committee would wait until the afternoon.
361. Hsu said he would apply to the viceroy for further instructions; meanwhile the trials could proceed as before. But being a commissioner he could not do such a thing as attend court in the magistrate's yamen. He said he would try the prisoners himself in his own yamen after they had been tried before the committee. Such an arrangement was too clearly meant to be dilatory. It really meant that every prisoner had to have four trials—a preliminary trial by the Chinese officials, just as soon brought into prison; a formal arraignment and trial in the presence of the committee; a trial before Hsu; and a review of the case by the viceroy. Thus, by reversing and remanding any particular case at some one of its several stages, the final decision could be stayed as long as the officials desired to block the course of justice. The committee informed Hsu that the pretensions made that he was too good to sit at the trials, along with the Consuls, were not to be tolerated; and that he would not be allowed to have star-chamber trials excluding the committee from hearing what might be important evidence. Moreover, he was told that unless he appeared at the regular court sessions the matter would be represented to the Ministers in Peking. Hsu then answered that "as a measure of compromise" he would attend the court, dispensing with his plan of a separate trial.
362. The proclamation which the magistrate had issued against native converts to Christianity had never been recalled by the prefect. The prisoners who were released without having had a trial before the committee, had not yet been returned as demanded. Many other matters were needing some one to put them straight. Accordingly, Hsu was requested to attend to them. Now, he claimed he had no power beyond referring the matter to the viceroy and waiting for his instructions, as the Consuls, by declining to fix upon the number of heads wanted, had placed him, Hsu, in the position of being unable to deal with the situation.
363. The committee were very plain in condemning such a scheme of trying to coerce the Consuls, and they let it be known that all efforts in that direction would be futile. A unique sample of hypocrisy and

deception was now presented when

HSU DENOUNCED THE VICEROY.

364. While some comments were being made relative to the course being pursued by the viceroy, Hsu himself, to the astonishment of all, joined in and bitterly denounced his superior. He said that in the first place the viceroy was wholly unfit to fill any important office, since he was simply a literary man with no practical sense or executive ability; that he was utterly ignorant of all “foreign affairs”, beside knowing nothing of his own government; and that, moreover, he was in such a physical condition that he had to let his subordinates direct the affairs of his office. Further, the viceroy, he said, had acted in a most blundering and foolish manner in obstructing the Kutien investigation; that he had ... [line lost] communicator and preventing him from carrying out the wishes of the Tsungli Yamen from whom he received the appointment. This speech of his, being both a lamentation and an arraignment, won him the sympathy of some of the committee, but excited the suspicion of others.
365. All Hsu said in derogation of the viceroy was true, but the motives prompting him to say it were questionable—he was only bent on distracting attention from the treacherous part he himself was preparing to play in the investigation.
366. The Consuls wrote a despatch to him asking for a written confirmation of the position he had taken in the interview of that morning. The reply though cautiously worded, contained substantially the same declaration he had already made, to the effect that he was in Kutien City for the “speedy settlement of the whole case”.
367. The Consuls returned his call in the afternoon, when the drift of the conversation was about the same as the morning interview. But Hsu promised to speak to the prefect and magistrate about the latter’s objectionable proclamation which was still in force. Now, also he made good his promise about giving the committee a cop of the edict under which he came to Kutien—one of the very few instances in which he ever made good a promise. The Chinese version of the paper which Hsu personally handed the Consuls during the call, will be found on the back of this sheet. The following is a translation of the same:-
- (383.) On the 19th day of the 7th moon, of the 21st year of Kuanghsu (Sept.7, 1895), a telegraphic imperial edict was received as follows:
- “In the Kutien church case many arrests have been made; but it is necessary that positive evidence, by investigation, be obtained from the principal and important criminals, before any judgment can be passed.”
- (384.) “To follow the list (of names?) sent in by Consuls, and make extensive search, indiscriminately involving the innocent, is not a course of procedure to be pursued.
- (370.) “Taoatai Hsu Hsing-yi has the special charge of this case. How is it that the foreign Ministers at Peking represent that he is charged with conducting affairs in the Tung Shan Chu, or “Foreign Board”, and is not invested with powers to render decisions (in the Kutien case)?
- 9371.) “In short, this is a case of a serious nature. Let Hsu Hsing-yi be charged with the responsibility of discussing with the Consuls and acting securely in the premises.
- (372.) “It is essential that a speedy closing of the case should be effected. Respect this.
373. The copy of the edict which Hsu handed the Consuls is said to have been a doctored one, some censures which the Tsungli Yamen passed on Viceroy Pien having been omitted, and also some other portions of the original version. It cannot be ascertained if this be a fact, but it most likely is.
374. Hsu said he had received no other written instructions besides the copy of the edict, which statement is now known to be false. He had full written instructions even to the limit of obstructionary tactics to be employed before permitting any executions to take place. These instructions were the result of

PLANS CUT AND DRIED IN FOCHOW.

375. Just before Hsu’s departure to Kutien, the viceroy and his advisers, exercised by the threatening

attitude of the foreign press in China and at large and by pressure from the foreign Ministers in Peking, held a consultation and decided that something would have to be done in the Huashan affair in order to assuage the increasing hostility that was being manifested in all quarters. They adopted a plan which was adhered to almost without a change through the whole of the Kutien investigation.

376. At this time it was decided that seven Vegetarians should be executed. But the terms of the whole settlement were to be arranged before even these few were to pay the penalty of their crime. The report about this plan, coming from generally reliable sources, reached the committee in Kutien before Hsu left Foochow. But it got little credence at first.
377. Hsu had written instructions to settle the case by executing the fewest possible number of criminals and the payment of aggregate claims, damages and indemnities not to exceed a total of Mexican \$10,000. That is why Hsu was so anxious to have the Consuls sign the papers before discussing the question of executions.
378. If Hsu found it beyond his power to carry out the prearranged plan, he was then to come as near it as possible, it being understood that if he had to give way at all he was to do so inch by inch.
379. Being picked up the first day on the question of whether or not he really was empowered to deal with the case, was an incident for which Hsu was wholly unprepared, and one which the viceroy could not have expected; and it was for this reason perhaps that the former made, in the beginning, a number of grossly inconsistent statements about this or that subject connected with his duties. Perhaps it was for the same reason that the

VICEROY FINALLY ANNOUNCED HSU'S APPOINTMENT.

380. In a despatch dated September 10th, the viceroy informed the Consuls that he had memorialized the throne for permission to depute Hsu Taotai to go to Kutien and deal with the Huashan case; that an imperial edict had been issued for his (the viceroy's) observance; and that Hsu had reported his intention to start for the scene of his duties on the 8th of September—two days before the despatch was written. This document from the viceroy reached the Consuls in Kutien City at 3.30 o'clock on the afternoon of September 14th.
381. Of course every one knew that the viceroy's claim to having memorialized the throne to be allowed to send Hsu to Kutien City was another way of saying he had been ordered to send him. But why should the viceroy of a province—in this instance viceroy of two provinces—have to get permission from the Peking government before he can send a subordinate a few miles interior from Foochow to look into a case involving foreign interests? There is no reason for it but one—the almost universal practice of Chinese officials to disclaim any power to protect foreigners until orders have been received from the high Chinese authorities. Thus, it will be seen, Chinese officials do not grant the same measure of protection to foreigners as they do to Chinese subjects.

SEVEN VEGETARIANS EXECUTED.¹⁵

382. Owing to the propositions which Hsu made on his arrival at Kutien, the Consuls telegraphed to the foreign Ministers in Peking about the situation. Hsu himself telegraphed the viceroy, saying among other things, “the Consuls are determined to have their way”.
383. It cannot be learned just how much Hsu did telegraph the viceroy. But as a result of all the telegraphing, a despatch from Hsu Taotai reached the Consuls at 8.47 p.m., September the 16th, stating that a telegram had been received from the viceroy permitting seven Vegetarians to be executed, and requesting the committee to be present to witness the execution proceedings at 6 o'clock the following morning.
384. The criminals named for execution were the following seven of the 13 mentioned in paragraph 337 as having been sentenced to death by the prefect and magistrate in the first part of September, viz:-

CHEN CHIN-SHU;

15 See images in Part 6: p 677;-680.

CH'EN FAN-TSAI;

LIU CHIU-SU, ALIAS Liu Chiu-shu, alias Lan Tou-tsai;

LIN HSIEN;

LIN NAN-MIN;

TAI NU-LANG, alias Tai Nu-tang;

YEH MING-JIH, alias Yeh Min-jih;

385. The viceroy had arbitrarily reversed the sentences passed on the other six criminals, Chou Neng-t'iao; Hsieh Kuo-sung; Lin Ti-tsai; T'ang Ch'un; Yeh Ming-yung; and Yao Pa-chang. He gave no reason for such action further than asserting "these six are not guilty of any heinous crime".
386. The committee, excepting Captain Newell and Rev. Mr. Banister, witnessed the executions on September 17th. The preliminary ceremonies of binding the prisoners and then acquainting them with their fate, took place in the outer halls of the magistrate's yamen. The proceedings were occupied 24 minutes and were solemn, serious, weird, and most impressive.¹⁶ From the yamen the officials adjourned to the execution ground, where the prisoners were executed at 7.05 a.m.
387. The executions were very badly conducted. It had been decided that the seven Vegetarians should be simultaneously beheaded—a foolish arrangement in view of the fact that as there was only one professional executioner at hand mere novices had be called in to do the work. It was out of the question for these men to deliver their strokes at the same time, though that was what they were expected to do; and consequently some of the prisoners turned or dodged on hearing the sound from the first sword that struck, thereby receiving their own blows on the shoulders, arms or other parts of the body. The professional executioner beheaded his man at the first blow, the head jumping up from the kneeling body and flying three or four feet into the air. Some of the amateur executioners haggled away at the necks of their men until they finally cut off their heads, while others, terrified at the spouting of arterial blood all around them, threw down their swords and ran from the place, leaving the necks of their criminals unsevered, but fearfully cut and slashed. In two instances the condemned men were alive and struggling for 15 minutes after the execution commenced.
388. The executioner standing on the right of the prisoners, and smiling, is the professional executioner; and those just behind the line, the amateurs. A picture taken just after the executions, gives some idea of how great was the struggling of the men who were not killed by the first blows. The man lying nearest the tree was still alive, struggling, and calling on some one to come and kill him, when the picture was taken. Two of the committee, examining each of the men just after the photograph was taken, found this fellow alive. He was not mortally wounded: he had two sword cuts, flesh wounds only, running diagonally across the back part of the shoulder, Left alone, he had good chances of recovery. But his request to have some one kill him was complied with: the two members of the committee sent for an executioner—all the Chinese officials and executioners were now returned within the city walls—who soon arrived and decapitated the man.
380. Vast crowds of the Kutien people witnessed the executions. The photographs show but few, because taken in the first instance from the wrong direction to show the assembled crowds, while in the second photograph all but a few, as soon as the execution was over, had rushed back to their homes, to get away from such sights. The first executions, more grewsome [gruesome] than those which followed, made a scene of horror such as will never be forgotten by the Kutien people or by any others who were present.

CHINESE OFFICIALS DO ALL THEY CAN TO PREVENT FULL INVESTIGATION.

390. After the executions the committee returned to its work of investigation instead of leaving for Foochow, thus disappointing the Chinese officials, who, it seems, had been supposed the committee would quit Kutien just as soon as several Huashan criminals had been executed. This disappointment

16 See photographs of executions at Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister.

increased their efforts to prevent a fair inquiry; and it sufficed to array them almost as one man against the committee. Up to this time the investigation had been hampered by many impediments.

391. All through the trials it became more and more evident that the prisoners were being coached and carefully trained up to the time they were brought before the committee. Complaints to the officials about such abuses, resulted only in an evasive answer or in remarks making light of the affair asserting it would do but little harm and that it could not be prevented. Worse than this, when they were arraigned for trial, the

COURT INTERPRETER COACHED DEFENDANTS.

392. This interpreter, having been present through all the trials, was able frequently to know when the defendant during his examination was on the eve of giving corroborative evidence dangerous to himself and to other Vegetarians who had already been tried. In such instances he promptly cautioned the man. Cross-examinations were frequently thus interrupted.
393. It was a fact that prisoners were allowed freely to communicate with Vegetarians still at large, as well as to discuss among themselves what sort of tales each should tell when called to testify. Now and then the witness, by making the general remarks allowed him in a Chinese court, gave proof that he knew about matters which had been the subject of private conversation between the Chinese officials and the committee. The further the trial progressed, the bolder and more open became the coaching of the prisoners; and the more certain did it become that the officials themselves were directly or indirectly concerned in such disgraceful attempts to shield the Huashan murderers. The committee at all time would privately give to the Chinese officials information possessed by no outside parties. Frequently it was but a few hours before such information had become known to all the imprisoned Vegetarians as well as those outside.
394. Bribery, too, was playing a lively part in the magistrate's yamen. It was even charged by some that all the Chinese officials were being bribed, first by the relatives or friends of this or that prisoner, and, second, in behalf of the whole Vegetarian society through money it had collected and sent to Kutien City for the special purpose. It was believed that the prisoners turned loose without the knowledge of the committee secured their liberty by means of bribes in most instances. Some of those turned loose in the presence of the committee even were released on account of bribery. The interested parties would first find out if the committee had no evidence of its own against such Vegetarians; if there was no evidence by the committee there was an arrangement by which the officials would also have no evidence. So the prisoner, though guilty, sent forth as having been tried and found innocent.
395. Another audacious piece of business was the releasing of prisoners on a "straw Bail", and on Vegetarian security; and also the forging of names to petitions sent in to the committee by way of defense of some prisoner. Whenever there was any doubt about a prisoner being guilty, after having had a fair trial, though his absolute innocence could not be established, it was customary to let him be turned over to approved bondsmen who undertook the obligation of returning him to court if ever occasion therefor should arise. Now, in China the obligations of a surety are rather severe: if he fails to produce the person for whom he has gone security, then he stands liable to the same fines and penalties as such person himself would be if tried and found guilty of the charges made against him not only before his admitted to bail but afterwards as well. Therefore, it was no pleasing prospect to go on the bond of a Kutien Vegetarian; and so bondsmen were scarce. But this was got over by the officials allowing irresponsible stragglers to go bail for prisoners: also by Vegetarians from the country districts rigging themselves up in the guise of petty officials and presenting themselves as proper sureties for their imprisoned brethren, being accepted as such by the officials who pretend to consider them well known and reliable persons. Their identity was in most instances known to the yamen subordinates; and where it was not known, the parties must certainly have been strangers and hence not well qualified to be sureties.
396. As a matter of course, such things as these could not have gone on without the aid of wholesale bribery somewhere in the yamens of the Chinese officials.

HOW THE COMMITTEE SECURED INFORMATION AND EVIDENCE.

397. In the early part of the inquiry it became plainly manifest that the Chinese officials, instead of aiding in disclosing the true facts concerning the Huashan tragedy, were trying to conceal them from the committee; instead of securing evidence they were trying to destroy it. In many instances it was seen that outside witnesses were needed in the court. Propositions to the officials to have such witnesses brought before the court, met with refusal: they considered it quite sufficient to rely solely on the statements of the criminals themselves. Therefore the committee quietly commenced an independent line of investigation.
398. Outside witnesses were examined by members of the committee. The most of these were native converts to Christianity, but many were non-Christians belonging to the better element of Kutien people. These examinations for the most part were held at night, for several reasons—among others, the fact that the daytime trials took up nearly all the attention during the day, and the fact that it was deemed most prudent to prevent the identity of witnesses being known either to the Vegetarians or to the Chinese officials. The examinations of such witnesses were conducted as thoroughly as in formal courts; and all information thus obtained was regarded as if worthless until tested by careful cross-examination and corroborated by other evidence. If there was the least doubt about the truth of a witness' testimony, it was thrown out.
399. Circumstances greatly favored the secrecy of such examinations. The houses occupied by the committee were somewhat removed from the city proper, and at the same time so situated that they could not easily be watched by parties from the outside; while all the servants around the premises at night, being Foochow men, could not tell the names of Kutien people. Two or three of the most conservative and trustworthy native Christians were employed the whole while in looking up evidence among the various Kutien villages. There were unceasing in their important work; and in all instances the evidence brought forward by them turned out to be true, except in cases where they cautioned the committee beforehand to be on the watch for unreliable statements.
400. The non-Christian Chinese who were aiding the native Christians in securing testimony, were actuated thereto by motives of fear as well as by a desire to see lawless characters punished. They knew full well the manner in which the officials were protecting the Vegetarians, they feared what this would bring on when the committee returned to Foochow; and so they came to the conclusion that it was best to place information in the hands of the committee that would enable its members to crush out the power of the Vegetarians, not with the aid of the Chinese officials, but in spite of their contrary actions.
401. The committee had, to a certain extent, an intelligence department, and were enabled thereby to secure much information that was most valuable. This was a great mystery to the Chinese officials, who have never yet been able to discover how a great many of their secret words and acts reached the ears of the committee in an incredibly short time.¹⁷ The knowledge that the committee had such unknown sources of information, was at first an incentive to stir the Chinese officials into action. Later on, in the progress of the inquiry, they never seemed to be at all disturbed when they found the committee had secured some information about this or that breach of good faith on their part. The attitude of the viceroy, it will be observed, was to them an assurance of protection from what ought to have been the consequences of their dishonorable conduct.
402. It may be remarked that the Chinese officials, especially at first, declared themselves highly pleased at the success the committee met in securing testimony through outside sources, and were lavish in the praises of the committee and the native Christians engaged in the work. But, when it was seen that these methods seriously interfered with the concealment schemes of the officials, it was plainly manifest that it was the cause of great anger and resentment on their part: nevertheless, their

17 Given the various anti-Christian actions taken by officials, not least the proclamation referred to by Consul Hixson, it is difficult to accept at face-value Hixson's statements that the Chinese officials did not know the source of information supplied to the foreign committee by Chinese informants. Note his comment in para 402. This is only one of a number of occasions where Hixson appears to contradict himself.

hypocrisies still led them to indulge in fulsome approbation; and Hsu took occasion now to inform the Consuls that the viceroy was highly pleased at their activity in hunting out the Huashan criminals and was desirous of expressing his appreciation of the energy thus displayed.

THE VICEROY INVOKES CLEMENCY FOR THE HUASHAN CRIMINALS.

403. After the execution of the seven Vegetarians mentioned in paragraph 384, the officials made tremendous efforts to have no more sentences carried out except in the case of the leaders—and they had been eager from the start to behead every leader as soon as he was caught, hoping thereby to destroy testimony which incriminated others and thus added to the already large list of criminals. These efforts were not confined to Kutien, or even to Foochow, if reliance is to be put in apparently trustworthy statements; but the Tsungli Yamen had its share in them.
404. Under the Chinese laws all those present at the gathering at Kungshan-ch'i had to suffer death, much less the fiends the who went on to Huashan and committed the outrages there. This being Chinese law, it were a mockery of justice for a Chinese official to claim the right of mitigating the deserved penalty of any Vegetarian who took part in the massacre. Yet that is what the viceroy did. During an interview following the first executions Hsu said the viceroy held that clemency must be shown, and that there must be “commutation of sentences”; and that for this reason he had not affirmed all the sentences passed on the 13 criminals. To this it was replied that the committee only wished to see Chinese laws carried out, and that it would be time enough to talk of “commutation” when the viceroy approved the death penalty passed on the murderers of the missionaries: moreover, that clemency was a matter for the consideration of the foreign governments concerned; and that the viceroy had no right to endeavor, as he was doing, to prevent a correct application of the Chinese laws.
505. Here Hus again severely took the viceroy to task, saying he had never before dealt with any important cases, and that his foolish conduct on the present occasion was due to this. “The viceroy,” he added, “is a mere scholar, not a practical man; and so he has some kind of sympathy for these murderers, as he is easily led; therefore you should excuse him.” Though called upon to do so, Hsu did not explain just what he meant by such remarks about the viceroy’s having sympathy for the Vegetarian criminals.

THE SIX REVERSED CASES AGAIN REFERRED.

406. The committee insisted that the cases of the six criminals whom the viceroy deemed “not guilty of a heinous crime” be sent back to him with fuller statements of the evidence against them. This action brought no results. Hsu claimed to have duly referred them. Whether he really did it or not, is uncertain. He reported that the viceroy would not consent to their receiving the death penalty: the viceroy may have so informed him, or Hsu may have only been carrying out the previous instructions to yield only when further resistance was impossible or absolutely unsafe. Still, the matter of the execution of the six men was pressed with all energy, since if they were allowed to escape their just deserts, the same thing would have happened in a number of other cases.
407. The Chinese officials were growing more and more eager to have the Vegetarian leaders executed’ while the committee strongly opposed such action. The viceroy, so Hsu says, was also constantly insisting on the leaders being first dealt with. Finally the viceroy wrote a despatch to him lamenting imminent

TROUBLE FROM VEGETARIAN GHOSTS.

408. According the viceroy’s omens, great calamity was sure to fall upon the country unless the Consuls consented to the immediate execution of the three or four leading criminals, instead of pressing for the carrying out of sentences passed against the less important Vegetarians. This was thus explained: After a certain number had been executed the hearts of the foreigners, he said, would become softened, and they would relent and cease to insist upon the Huashan murderers being beheaded; and in this way some of the criminals more guilty than the ones already executed, would be turned loose without any punishment whatever, whereupon the spirits of the dead, seeing that penalties had not been inflicted according to the various degrees of guilt, would wax exceedingly wroth over the unjust discrimination. Consequently, the spirits would be so restless and angry they could not remain in the other world, but

must needs return to wreak vengeance, not only upon the officials, but also upon the people tolerating such actions. They would accomplish their work of revenge by first attacking and destroying the province's fungshui (good luck, but literally wind and water), and then sending upon individuals and communities various disasters and famines and plagues.

409. These dreadful forebodings were made the subject of a formal despatch from Hsu Taotai to his colleagues and assistants. The committee were also made acquainted with the viceroys' views, Hsu discussing the matter with apparently great seriousness and solemnity. The officials were actually foolish enough to use such stuff in an attempt to influence the committee. They went so far as to assert that the viceroy's prediction had already been verified in part, since "on the night of September the 17th the spirits of the executed Vegetarians were awfully strong, rattling the doors, and shaking the houses" where the officials were stopping, and creating such disorder that sleep was out of the question.
410. The officials were asked to explain why the spirits never raised any row about the protection some of the criminals had obtained by bribery, especially in the case of those recently turned out of prison; and also what motives prompted the silence of the spirits when there was a cessation of arrests, accompanied by other schemes concocted for the purpose of aiding Vegetarian criminals to escape. These were subjects to which the viceroy could have also applied his skill as a demonologist, instead of confining his researches solely to what would happen in the remote possibility of the foreigners relenting, towards the end of the investigation, and through sympathy permitting a few Huashan murderers to escape their just deserts. He might also have given his serious attention to the conduct of Magistrate Yi-Chien for endeavoring to circulate a

REISSUE OF THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN PROCLAMATION.

411. In paragraph 326 mention was made of an objectionable proclamation issued by the Magistrate. This was accompanied by secret instructions directing the heads of the various home-guard organizations how to interpret it, the instructions themselves being worse than the proclamation. The committee made many efforts to have all these injurious documents recalled. Numerous promises on the part of the officials resulted in nothing but the usual breaking of the promises.
412. On September the 19th Hsu Taotai again promised to make an effort to counteract the effects of the proclamation and its instructions by issuing a proclamation revoking both. He agreed to submit a draft of his proclamation in order that the Consuls might suggest any changes they deemed necessary. When this draft came it was found to be almost as objectionable as the proclamation the magistrate had issued. It did not revoke the magistrate's proclamation—never even referred to that—but it contained the then stale narration of the Huashan tragedy, the same being given as news; and it was well nigh full of double-entendres so cleverly constructed that a few secret instructions would have sufficed to make the whole proclamation appear in the light of being the complement of the one which the officials pretended it was designed to counteract. The Consuls declining to approve the draft, the same was revised and remodeled until it was satisfactory. Hsu promised to have the proclamation prepared and issue at once.
413. On the following day he sent the Consuls a completed copy of the proclamation, which turned out to be utterly worthless as the paper it was written on. It contained nothing that could be deemed objectionable, and nothing worthy of approval. In preparing it Hsu had entirely ignored the draft which he promised the Consuls he would follow, and had purposely issued a document devoid of any signification one way or the other. He had so little opinion of it that it is almost certain he only issued one copy at first—the one which he sent the Consuls.
414. However, the pressure on the taotai had been so great that he had been compelled to actually issue some private instructions ordering the magistrate's proclamations and instructions to be sent in. But such instructions only applied to places where it was certain the committee would be informed if there had been any failure to have the same issued; and no reason having been given for the issuance of the recalling instructions, the people were left to conclude that the proclamations, having served their purpose in showing the attitude of the officials, had been privately recalled to make way for other

similar documents. The magistrate himself seemed to consider it in that light; yet he undertook to counteract what little effect the taotai's proclamation might have on the people.

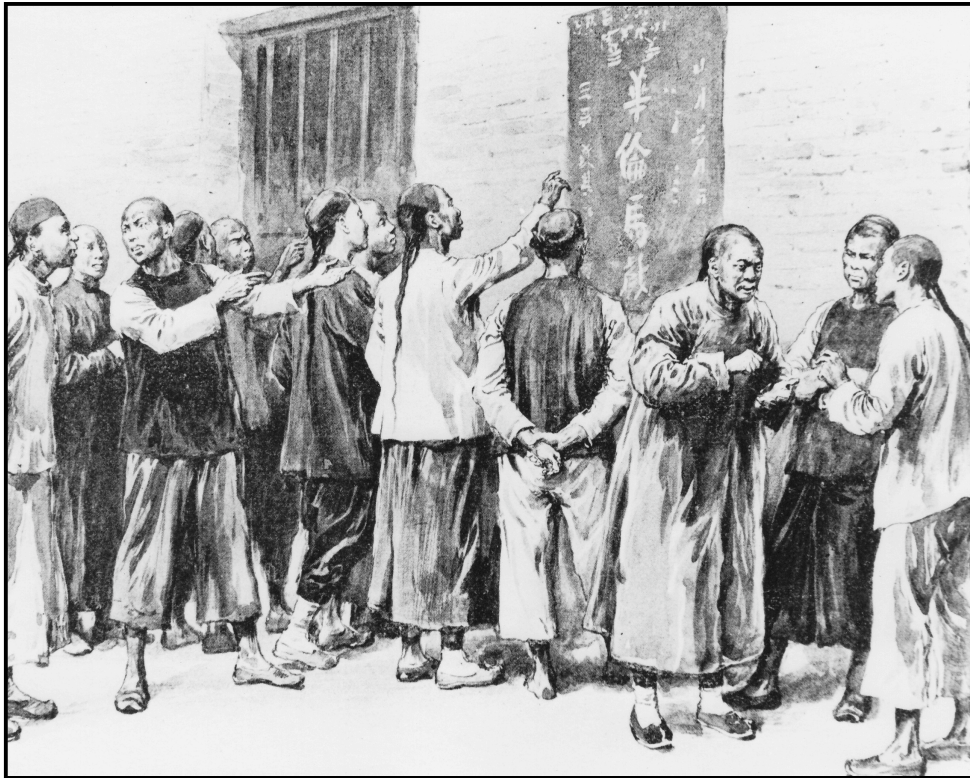
415. About 8.30 on the evening of September the 24th, one of the committee's informers brought to them a copy of a new proclamation Magistrate Yi Chien had just commenced to issue. It was accompanied by private instructions, as was its predecessor, and was of the same highly objectionable nature, prepared on almost the same identical lines of hostility to native Christians. The committee had a copy made from the original one and at once sent the letter back to its custodian. The Consuls wrote a brief despatch to the taotai, enclosing the copy of the magistrate's proclamation along with a copy of the one the taotai had promised to issue, and requested him to make some explanation of the double-dealings. At the same time they proposed to call on the taotai at 9 o'clock the following morning.
416. The receipt of the despatch created considerable excitement among the Chinese officials. The magistrate at once suspected that the Consuls had possession of one of the two original proclamations he had issued. He accordingly despatched a crowd of his runners to arrest and bring before him the two men who had been entrusted with the safekeeping of the proclamation: the runners were also to demand the production of the proclamations. Both the men were found apparently asleep: the proclamations were forthcoming at once. The committee expecting the magistrate would adopt just the course he did, had taken the precaution to return the original proclamation before sending the complaint to the taotai as stated. This act saved a lot of trouble for the informers.
417. Before visiting the taotai next morning, the Consuls were informed of the magistrate's efforts to discover who betrayed him. At first the taotai sought to make believe that there were no such proclamations issued at all, and that some designing parties had imposed upon the credulity of the committee by sending them a copy of something that really did not exist. He was told that the copy was made from an original bearing the imprint of the magistrate's seal, which seal was well known to the committee, and that the copying was done in the presence of the Consuls themselves. Other statements to the taotai soon made it evident to him that it was useless to deny the existence of the proclamations. The Consuls insisted then that the magistrate should be held to strict account for his conduct; and this brought forth Hsu's promise to deal severely with the magistrate.

THE TAOTAI AND THE MAGISTRATE WERE IN LEAGUE.

418. Though he was a bold man, it is hardly probable that the magistrate would have issued his second proclamation directly opposed to the pretended wishes of the taotai, unless the latter had given assurance that he would not take offense as such defiance of his authority. The facts rather make Hsu a part to the act: As soon as he received the Consul's despatch on the night of the 24th of September, he wrote a brief personal note to the magistrate. It contained no copy of the Consul's despatch, and could not have been more than a sentence or two in length. Yet it had the effect of causing the magistrate to set out to gather in the proclamations. Without an understanding between the taotai and the magistrate regarding the proclamations issued by the latter, the former could not have so briefly explained to the magistrate the nature of the charges made against him in the Consul's despatch. However, the committee could never succeed in obtaining a copy of the note, or in even discovering the nature of its contents. It is presumed that the magistrate burned it soon after receiving it. But this much only is positively known. A note was written by Hsu to the magistrate. It was hurriedly written and was short.
419. When the Consuls called to interview the taotai about the matter the magistrate was inside the yamen: he and Hsu were discussing something of evident importance while the Consuls were kept waiting in their chairs outside. One of the doors being slightly ajar, the magistrate was observed to leave off talking to the taotai, and pass out by a side door stealthily, in hopes, apparently, that he would not be seen by the committee. Neither the taotai nor the magistrate seemed to be in a bad humor— notwithstanding the fact that the taotai afterwards claimed that he was at that very moment severely reprimanding the magistrate.
420. Just as the magistrate was leaving he raised his voice loud enough to be heard to say to the taotai: "Well, that is a mystery to me, I do not see how it was possible for them to get it so quickly: they must have had a copy (of the proclamation) within less than an hour after it left my own hands."

421. The taotai pretended to be greatly aggravated at the magistrate's proclamation; but he claimed that the magistrate never issued it. Some subordinate, he said, had done a mean trick just to involve the officials; and the magistrate was then investigating. (?) to discover the guilty person or persons. Hsu said he would have a full report of the results of the investigation sent to the Consuls later in the day.
422. The question of the issuing of proclamations was again reverted to, and in the conversation that followed Hus was asked to give the places at which he had posted up his own worthless proclamation already mentioned. He could not give them. A copy of the proclamation itself was called for; but not one was to be found. Not event the original draft could be produced. Hsu finally admitted that he only issued five of these proclamations—one of which he sent to the Consuls, and the other four, he claimed, were posted up at the four main gates of the city—and excused himself for not issuing the proper proclamation by saying it would not be treating the magistrate right for him, the taotai, to issue new proclamations before all the magistrate's proclamations and instructions had actually been gathered up and returned to the yamen.
423. In reality only two proclamations had been posted up by the taotai—one on a gate through which the committee sometimes passed, and on the wall of the compound where the committee were living. It is believed that the former was posted up that very day when it became known that the committee were investigating to see if any proclamations were issued. This was ascertained by an examination of the gates where Hsu said they were posted up. He had sent the Consuls a copy of the proclamation just to deceive them into the belief that he was actually trying to counteract the effects of what the magistrate had done. As the committee had expressed great indignation over the bad faith shown by the Chinese officials, the latter decided it was necessary to do something; and accordingly the taotai and magistrate conspired to have

Reading a 19th Century “Big Character” Poster.



Collection: Ian Welch.

A Judicial Whipping



Collection: Ian Welch.

A SECRETARY WHIPPED AND CANGUED.

424. In the afternoon of the 25th of September, the Consuls received a despatch from Hus Taotai purporting to clear the magistrate of all blame in connection with issuing the proclamation. It briefly stated that Magistrate Yi Chien had discovered that the whole business was done by his secretary; that he had caused the said secretary to be publicly beaten; and that he had also ordered him to be cangued ¹⁸(neck encased in large square board preventing the prisoner from lying down) on the streets, where his appearance would serve as a warning against other secretaries doing evil deeds.

425. The Chinese officials at Kutien did few, if any, acts meaner or more disgraceful than the public whipping and canguing of this secretary. It was a worse outrage than that committed by Wang Yu-yang, who, as mentioned in paragraph 40, caused his secretary to receive similar treatment on complaint of the Vegetarians; whereas in the present instance Yi Chien himself falsely charged his own specific crime upon his secretary and forced him to receive its penalty. All Kutien City was stirred up over the way this magistrate had treated his secretary. Every one knew the latter was innocent,—if guilty of using the magistrates seal as charged, he would have been beheaded instead of being permitted to



go about wearing a cangue around his neck. The magistrate himself had prepared the draft of the proclamation, and ordered his secretary to make the good copies, and when two of these were completed the magistrate himself read them over and put his seal on them.

426. The bad treatment of the secretary was not a fake, but a reality—the magistrate, foiled in the proclamation scheme, charged the secretary with betraying him, and proceeded to take revenge accordingly.

427. The committee were appealed to be relatives of the secretary, and by some of the Kutien gentry, to intercede and put an end to the inhuman persecutions that were being inflicted on the man. The committee disclaimed any right to interfere in the affair; nevertheless they gave the officials to understand that, in the sense of humanity in general, the facts of the case would be laid before the authorities in Peking unless the secretary were released and assurance given that he would not again be molested. He was turned loose the following morning. Afterwards he several times manifested some gratitude for the kindness shown him by the committee.

428. By this time the various acts of bad faith on the part of the officials had very nearly caused a complete cessation of the actual inquiry concerning the massacre. Apparently there was now but little if any effort made to arrest the criminals whose whereabouts the committed had pointed out to the officials. At this juncture the committee decided to make

A VISIT TO HUASHAN.¹⁹

429. The committee desired to visit Huashan soon after arriving in Kutien City. But the Chinese officials having announced that the Huashan villagers had precipitately deserted their homes through fear of there being truth in a report that the foreigners were coming into the district with soldiers, intent on razing the village and punishing all the inhabitants, it was decided to postpone the trip till the excitement had died away. Moreover, there was nothing to be gained by it at that time.

430. On the 26th of September the committee made a trip to Huashan. They were accompanied by the

¹⁸ Foreigners in China claimed to be appalled by the use of the cangue. A very similar technique was used in New South Wales—the Sudds-Thompson case— see online 1 August 2010 http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/justice/sudds/index.html

¹⁹ See Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister,

prefect and several deputies, and were escorted by about 100 soldiers.

431. Within a few hundred yards of the burned missionary houses the committee found the heads of the seven criminals who were executed on the 17th September. These were in wooden crates, swung up in pine trees—two in one tree, and five in another. Contrary to Chinese custom, there was no notice on the trees, or in the vicinity, telling the people why the heads were thus displayed to view. The prefect's attention was called to this, and he promised to have the customary notice prepared and posted up. But up to the departure of the committee to Foochow in the last of October, the promise remained unfilled. It has since been learned that the officials seriously objected to putting up such a notice, but the cause of the objection is unknown.
432. Arriving at the ruins of the burned missionary houses, the committee found that the kitchen utensils, ironware, and whatever survived the flames, excepting the bricks and stones, had been carried off. This plundering of the ruins is unquestionably the work of the Huashan native villagers. They commenced it immediately the Vegetarians left the scene, notwithstanding the presence there of some of the missionary victims, and it was kept up as long as these remained.
433. There was not excitement among the villagers at the arrival of the committee. There was no reason for any: they had already learned that the Chinese officials were doing much to protect the criminals engaged in the massacre, and that there was no need for fear the committee.
434. It had been repeatedly suggested to the officials to call in and examine witnesses from Huashan village, but they always declined to do it, giving first one excuse and then another to justify the refusal. At Huashan the subject was again presented—with the same results as before: and so there has never been any effort made by the officials to find out who of the Huashan villagers participated in the attack—some assisted at the massacre—or to discover the names of those who actually did the robbing and plundering after the Vegetarians left.
435. The committee made a careful survey of all the surroundings, and prepared plans of everything that would be of any use in cross-examination of prisoners. Photographs were taken of different approaches to the houses. This data proved to be of great value in the investigation, especially in the matter of estimating the number engaged in the massacre.

VICEROY DENOUNCES PREFECT.

436. In paragraph 335 mention was made of the prefect's and magistrate's construction of the Chinese laws as applied to the Huashan case, namely, that those who planned the attack, and those who were in the crowd which left Jungshan-ch'i for Huashan the evening preceding the massacre, as well as those actually engaged in killing the missionaries or in burning and plundering their houses, should all receive death penalties. Hsu Taotai, too, had affirmed that construction of the law, as far as one may affirm a thing by not objecting to it. Nevertheless, in response to his views on the matter, the viceroy sent a despatch to the taotai denouncing Prefect Ch'in Ping-chi as being ignorant of law and 'precedents' and therefore incompetent to say what was the law in the Huashan case. Hsu was instructed to pay no attention to the previous ruling of the prefect. He appeared actually elated over the fact of the prefect's having being overruled—so much so that he even sent the Consuls a copy of the viceroy's despatch.
437. The prefect himself is said to have received a scorching letter from the viceroy arraigning him for announcing the law in the case. He was greatly chagrined. He supposed Hsu Taotai was at the bottom of it, and so has ever since been his bitter enemy, though compelled to treat him politely.

VICEROY'S CONSTRUCTION OF THE LAW.

438. Hsu informed the Consuls that the viceroy held the Huashan massacre to be an ordinary case of murder so far as concerned the punishment of Vegetarians who took part therein and with their own hands inflicted death-blows: those who did not inflict death-blows were not to be considered within the operation of any laws relating to capital punishment. This misconstruction of the law was an open bid to future riots and mobs, since parties concerned in them were not to be severely punished unless they gave death-blows to those against whom the attacks were made; and, as a matter of course, every

member of such a mob would count on his escaping the law because of want of proof that he actually inflicted such blows.

439. More than that, such a distorted application of the law in the Huashan case were an absurdity, besides being a grave miscarriage of justice. It was easy enough to find out some of those who inflicted blows on the missionaries, but impossible to say just who gave the specific blow or blows causing death: many different Vegetarians attacked the same missionary, giving a wound or two and then passing on to the next victim. Thus it happened that a dozen or more Vegetarians, after their return to Kungshnn-ch'i, reported to Cheng Chiu-chiu that each one of them had killed from three to six missionaries.
440. Attached hereto as Appendix No. 1 may be found a synopsis of Chinese laws directly and indirectly applicable to the Huashan case.

THE COMMITTEE TEMPORARILY WITHDRAW FROM INVESTIGATION.

441. On their return from Huashan the committee received information convincing them of the treachery Hsu Taotai and all the other Chinese officials concerned in the investigation. The soldiers had all been recalled from the country villages where formerly they were engaged in arresting Vegetarians. All indications showed the Chinese considered the case ended.
442. Appeals to Hsu were useless. The main only laughed and said his actions were according to instructions from the viceroy. He said he did not know why the soldiers and their officers had given up hunting the criminals and come into Kutien City, but he had been told that they came in to attend a festival. Instead of Hsu having utilized the evidence which the committee gave him concerning criminals still at large, he had deliberately set to work to destroy it. Nothing evil will come to him on account of his bad action in the beginning, and that fact had emboldened him to become less careful about his outward acts. He even grew rather insolent in his interviews with the Consuls. Told that unless the course of affairs changed in Kutien the committee would telegraph to the Ministers in Peking, he said nobody cared how much telegraphing was done, and the committee could spend as much money in that way as they wished.
443. It also developed that he had attacked the Consuls in his reports to the viceroy, attributing to them a desire to stir up "a rebellion of another sort."
444. The committee deemed it useless to continue further effort unless more pressure was brought to bear on the officials. Accordingly the Consuls wired the situation to their Ministers. They also wrote a despatch to Hsu Taotai declining to take any further part in the trials until there was some assurance given that the Chinese officials were intending to prosecute the inquiry with some degree of good faith, and that the best evidence of such good faith would be the renewal of efforts to effect the capture of criminals then at large. Of course this despatch brought forth from Hsu a general denial of the intimation of bad faith on the part of the Chinese officials: he also requested the committee not to withdraw from the investigation.
445. The soldiers were again ordered back into the country to search for criminals. But it was plain there was little reliance to be put in the professions of sincerity made by the officials: they were making mere pretences.

MORE NAMES SENT TO VICEROY.

446. On the 30th of September the United States Minister in Peking sent to the United States Consul a telegram containing, among other things, the following: "Viceroy of Szechuan has been degraded and made forever incapable of holding office: subordinates will be punished. Quote the example." When the telegram was quoted to Hsu he at first took it as a hoax, then as a game of bluff, since he supposed there was no truth in it.
447. When inquired convinced him that the telegram had not only been received, but that the statements therein were true, Hsu was a greatly frightened man. His colleagues were equally frightened. Previously the whole crowd had been relying on the viceroy saving them from coming to grief on

account of their misdeeds. That portion of the telegram stating the subordinates would be punished, was to the Kutien officials an indication of great danger; and after a consultation, they decided it best to send

A TELEGRAM TO THE VICEROY.

448. This telegram is said to have contained something over 300 words; but it was despatched in cipher, and so its contents have to be inferred from its results. When the viceroy first received it he was furious at Hsu for joining with the foreigners in what he called an attempt to frighten him. Later on he thought better of the warning sent him, and he called together his advisers. In order to decide on what course to pursue. The opinion was unanimous that the viceroy would have to give way to demands, and allow more executions to take place. On this account

THE PREFECT VISITED FOOCHOW.

449. Ch;in Ping'chih left Kutien City for Foochow on October the 4th, carrying with him for the viceroy's consideration the evidence in the cases of 34 Huashan criminals on whom the Kutien court had passed sentence of death. Among these were included the six men whose sentences the viceroy had formerly refused to confirm.
450. About this time there was a movement of foreign war vessels towards Foochow, which caused alarm among all classes, some of the Foochow residents leaving their homes and hurriedly moving into the country for fear that the city was to be bombarded. The officials, too, were worked up to a state of great excitement. On October 12th there were in the port of Foochow seven men of war: The U.S.S. Detroit, the French cruiser Forfait, and five British vessels, namely Alacrity, Archer, Linnet, Pigmy, and Undaunted. On board the Alacrity was the British Admiral Buller; he had come prepared to demand the plenary execution of the convicted Huashan criminals.

THE VICEROY GIVES IN.

451. On Saturday October 12th, Mr. L. C. Hopkins, British Vice Consul in charge at Foochow during Mr. Mansfield's absence, called on the Viceroy to present an ultimatum, if necessary, demanding immediate action on the 34 cases. Aware that there was an ultimatum at hand, the viceroy was most compliant and assured the Vice Consul that he would immediately sentence all the criminals to death. A memorandum of the names of these sentenced to death was handed Mr. Hopkins by the viceroy. The prefect made ready to at once return to Kutien City carrying with him orders to execute all the 34 except such as the Consuls wished to be reserved for more thorough hearing before the high authorities in Foochow. The Chinese officials, having yielded at last, all would have gone well enough but for the

STRANGE CONDUCT OF THE BRITISH CONSUL.

452. Mr. Mansfield left Kutien City for Foochow on the morning of October 11th, without any instructions from his Minister to that effect (Mr. Mansfield's word for this), and without being able to give any reason for his departure except to say he thought he "could hurry up things be going down". The prefect was already in Foochow; and so there would not have been any Chinese official left in charge of affairs in Kutien, except officials of small rank, had Hsu gone away. Therefore the United States Consul, finding out the scheme late in the night of the 10th, wrote to Hsu strongly protesting against his proposed plan. The protest had such an effect that the taotai immediately replied saying he had never even thought of going away; and he dismissed the 45 coolies he had engaged to take him down to Shuikou the next morning.
453. Mr. Mansfield invited Rev. W. Banister to accompany him: otherwise the committee remained intact and continued its investigations as though all the members were present. Arriving in Foochow, Mr. Mansfield learned of the viceroy's promise to have the 34 criminals executed. However, he made arrangements to call on the viceroy on the 14th of October; and from that date till his final departure from Foochow in November, he was, to all appearances and effects, allied with the Chinese authorities in trying to prevent a thorough investigation of the Huashan affair, and in delivering some of the

criminals from the hands of the executioner, laying his plans secretly with the Chinese officials, at the last moment thrusting them upon the rest of the committee in hopes of forcing them to give their assent. After that date the British Consul signed his name to several strong despatches to the Chinese officials, protesting against their course; but those despatches were words, and only words.

454. When the committee was about starting for Kutien the British Consul proposed to the United States Consul that the two should act jointly in everything so long as their instructions permitted, and the United States Consul accepted the proposition. An agreement was also made that neither should adopt any particular line of policy in dealing with the case before consulting with the other; that all instructions received from the Ministers in Peking should be made known to both Consuls, unless they were of such a nature that the Consul receiving them would be officially bound to keep them entirely to himself—but if such were likely to interfere with any joint policy, then the Consul receiving such instructions should, without divulging their nature, inform the other Consul of the fact of such probable interference; and that either Consul, but giving due notice of his intentions, might at any time withdraw from the compact and pursue the investigation upon his own independent lines.
455. There was no trouble to keep all these agreements, as both the American and British Committees were working to the same purpose. With two or three unimportant exceptions for which he offered explanations on his attention being called to them, the British Consul appeared to respect the agreements up to the time of his trip to Foochow. Before he left Kutien City particular attention was called to the agreements; and these were renewed.
456. It was understood that Mr. Mansfield would take no other steps in the case except to press for the passing of sentence upon the convicted criminals. If he succeeded in getting the sentences confirmed, he was to immediately write the fact to the committee in Kutien City. If he deemed it advisable to change in any respect the policy which had been pursued, he was to confer by telegraph with the United States Consul before expressing any opinion to the Chinese officials as to what he proposed to do. In short, Mr. Mansfield was to keep the United States Consul informed of every feature of the case as it appeared after his arrival in Foochow.
457. It was also agreed that Mr. Churchill, the United States Vice Consul, should accompany Mr. Mansfield when he called on the viceroy. But the way the latter acted in these several matters can be called

NOTHING ELSE BUT TREACHERY.

458. When he arrived in Foochow and arranged to call on the viceroy, Mr. Mansfield objected to having Mr. Churchill accompany him, preferring to see the viceroy alone. His visit to the viceroy was a very pleasant one—especially so, since Mr. Mansfield at once agreed that it was unnecessary to confirm the death sentences passed on the 34 criminals, saying he would be satisfied with the execution of only 17 of the lot. It was understood that besides the 17 there were to be no further executions, unless Yeh Hsieh, then at large, should be captured. The action was a most damaging concession to the Chinese officials.²⁰ The proposition which Hsu had made on his arrival in Kutien, had at last been accepted by Mr. Mansfield—accepted at a time when he was in a position to demand anything he wanted.
459. Not a word did Mr. Mansfield ever write to wire to Kutien City, from October 11th until his return there on October the 18th. The committee was entirely ignorant of what his actions had been; and for some while after his return—as long as he could—he kept them in ignorance of the true facts, meanwhile making secret preparations to close the investigation and return to Foochow.
460. As was agreed upon before his departure, the investigation proceedings went on without cessation during the absence of the British Consul, the committee trying 24 cases meanwhile—not 2 as has been reported—and three of the criminals had the death sentence passed on them by the taotai in open

20 As noted in the Introduction, Mansfield was implementing instructions from his Minister in Peking, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, conveying the British Government's desire to see only the planners and actual murderers executed. No American was killed at Huashan and the British had decided not to pursue a "bloodbath" with consequent wider effects on British relations with China.

court; while others were deemed guilty in a minor degree and held for banishment or lighter punishment, and some, being proved innocent, were released from custody. Needless to say, the arrangement Mr. Mansfield made with the viceroy prevented the execution of the three who were sentenced to death: they subsequently received minor penalties.

461. It took a great deal of patience to bear with such conduct as the British Consul was guilty of; but when he was remonstrated with, he insisted he intended no wrong, that he supposed the arrangements he had made with the viceroy were such good ones the American committee would have been too glad to agree to them, and so he had not considered it superfluous to previously consult them as he had promised to do. In undertaking to clear himself from blame he made numerous excuses, many of them utterly inconsistent with the truth. But they had to be accepted for the time being by the American committee; for, the committee, had it insisted on withdrawing from the agreement with the British Consul, would have been compelled to bear the onus of presenting to the Chinese the disgraceful spectacle of an open rupture between the two sections of the general committee, and that too at a most critical period.
462. The very time the British Consul was trying to smooth over his conduct during his Foochow trip, he was preparing to spring another trap on the American committee—the announcement of his intention to return to Foochow. The American committee, becoming suspicious of his movements, wired the situation to the United States Minister. The telegram left Kutien City at 3.31 a.m., October the 20th. That very afternoon Mr. Mansfield informed the United States Consul that he intended leaving for Foochow on the following Thursday morning—three days from that time. When the announcement was made the two Consuls were having a joint interview with the Chinese officials: it turned out that the British Consul had previously informed the officials of his intentions.
463. He stated, in explanation, that he was acting under telegraphic instructions from his Minister in Peking to transfer the whole proceedings to Foochow. That statement of his now known to be wholly untrue.
464. Much space has been given the subject of Mr. Mansfield's conduct because his actions undoubtedly prevented the investigation from attaining desirable results it would have otherwise attained; and because his course after the return to Foochow was even more censurable than in Kutien, resulting as it did in the destruction, it is believed, of important testimony. He himself had been foremost in wishing the leaders of the massacre sent to Foochow for thorough trial previous to execution. Yet, when they reached Foochow, he planned with the officials to have them executed without any further trial. This will be reverted to later on. We come now to

THE SECOND EXECUTIONS IN KUTIEN CITY.

465. On the 21st of October 14 more Vegetarians were executed. These are their names:

CH'EN K'AI-LIANG;
CHENG HUA;
CHIANG CHIN CH'UAN;
HSIEH K'AI-T'AI;
HSUE TS'ENG-HUI;
HUANG NEN-TI;
KAO-HSUEH;
LIN HSIANG-HSING;
T'ANG CH'UN;
TU NEN-TI;
YAO PA-CHANG;
YEH MING-YUNG;
YEN CH'ING-MING-TSAI;
YEN TSSUNG-CHING.

It will be noticed that of these T'ang Ch'un, Yeh Ming-Yung, and Yao Pa-chang were among the six whose sentences the viceroy at first refused to confirm, as was mentioned in paragraph 385. The

remaining three of that lot, namely, Chou Neng-t'iao, Hsieh Kuo-sung and Lin Ti-tsai, were never executed.

466. The second executions were better conducted than the first ones. There were three professional executioners employed for the purpose. The head of each criminal was cut off at the first blow. Commencing at 8.43 a.m., the executioners completed their work in exactly 24 seconds. The criminals were beheaded one at a time, to prevent the mistakes that occurred at the first execution.
467. During these executions it was raining steadily. (Refers to photographs)
468. The heads of the criminals were sent to Huashan and exposed to view along with the other seven. But, as was the case with the others, no notices were posted up telling why they were executed. After the executions the committee busied itself with plans for

THE RETURN TO FOOCHOW.

469. Under the arrangement which the British Consul had made with the viceroy the investigation in Kutien was to close when the executions took place. Out of the 17 criminals the three leaders had been reserved to be carried to Foochow. These were sent away from Kutien City on the 23rd of October. The Chinese officials themselves began to make arrangements for leaving simultaneously with the British party.
470. It would have been nothing short of folly for the American committee, breaking with the British committee, to have undertaken to remain in Kutien with a view of continuing the investigation. Nothing remained but to yield to circumstances and return to Foochow. The American committee requested the United States Minister's permission to do this, and the request was granted.
471. But before leaving Kutien many things had to be attended to. Agreements with the Chinese officials as to the future conduction of the investigation were made. These should all have been put into writing—which would have consumed considerable time—but the British Consul insisted on its being unnecessary, as "the Chinese would undoubtedly keep their promises". They subsequently broke every promise made; and in this they were encouraged by the British Consul, directly or indirectly. Had these promises been put into writing, they could not have been so easily evaded. As it was, Hsu, by offering this or that excuse for not carrying out the agreements, for a long while successfully evaded his verbal promises—and then, at last, flatly denied having made them at all. That man has no respect whatever for truth.

HSU'S FINAL ATTEMPT TO SETTLE HUASHAN CASE.

472. On learning the committee intended to withdraw from Kutien City, Hsu Taotai made another effort to come to terms regarding the final settlement of the whole Huashan affair according to instructions which the viceroy had given him when he first went to Kutien. He seemed to think that the committee should be under great obligations to him for many things, among others his

RECALL OF THE MAGISTRATE'S PROCLAMATION.

473. The proclamations and instructions which the magistrate had issued on the 7th of September, were gathered in finally by Hsu on the 7th of October,—after having been allowed to serve their anti-Christian purposes for over a month. He then issued a document pretending to correct the bad effects of the magistrate's course, but it was only a pretension.

THE TACHIEN FRAUD

474. Hsu became more and more anxious to minimize the number of Vegetarians who attacked Huashan. But some of the data gathered by the committee in the course of private independent investigation, presented some undesirable facts which he could not well get around while he was claiming that Mr. Phillips, as stated in paragraph 202, only saw 40 or 50 men, and that the whole number could not have exceeded that estimate. Mr. Phillips, of course, never saw the actual attack, as he only arrived on the scene in time to observe the stragglers carrying away their plunder. But this made no difference: the officials wanted a small number.

475. Finally the committee insisted that Hsu Taotai send out his deputies to make investigations at certain places. It was suggested that one of these give especial attention to the village of Tachien, where, on August the 1st, a crowd of Vegetarians returning from the massacre in a body, had stopped to cook and eat their midday meal. Here the leader, Liu Hsiang-hsing, undertook to prepare him a new muster roll. The roll being called, 110 Vegetarians answered to their names. The villagers say there were over 130 in the crowd.
476. Chang Wen and Liu His-chu, were the deputies selected to go to Tachien and investigate. They arrived in that village a little after 6 o'clock in the evening, having been preceded by an interpreter and other subordinates they left the following morning a little before 9 o'clock. No real investigation was made. The interpreter just mentioned was the same that had been so energetically coaching witnesses before the court. His visit with the deputies to Tachien was for the object of coaching testimony. He stated to the inhabitants generally that the officials would soon be in the village; that they would ask them about the number of Vegetarians who passed through the village on August 1st; that the officials would be highly displeased if any one gave a large number; that it would go hard with the whole village if it were reported that more than 40 or 50 Vegetarians were in the crowd; and that it accordingly behooved the village elders to get together and determine upon the small number. When some objected to such an arrangement, intimidation was successfully employed.
477. That night the deputies lodged at the house of one Wu Kao-nien. After supper some of the villagers were asked one or two questions about the Vegetarians; but the deputies made no real efforts to hold an inquiry. Meantime, the interpreter was busy securing data, and directing what sort of data it should be, too. He had a resume of the evidence prepared which, being signed by the villagers, was to be presented to Hsu Taotai by the deputies for the purpose of disproving the estimate made by the Consuls. Some few of the home guards were persuaded by the interpreter to sign the document.
478. However, the deputies were most anxious to secure the signatures of some of the native Christians. Two of these were intimidated to sign it; but other Christians declined to do so. Hard run for signatures of Christians, some one of the subordinates with the deputies forged the signature of a Christian named Wu Jin-chih.
479. The documents containing the false allegations and the forged signature were not mentioned to the Consuls by the Chinese officials, these latter having heard that the Tachien native Christians had complained to the committee. The officials, though urged to do so, wisely refrained from submitting any written report of the actions of the two deputies; and their verbal statements concerning the same were very cautiously framed.
480. These same two deputies, it may be stated, while subsequently going through the farce of passing from village to village seeking information concerning Huashan criminals, were guilty of more duplicity similar to that shown in the Tachien matter.
481. The Chinese authorities must have been aware of the fact that the committee had learned something of the duplicity and deceit that was being practised on every hand. Still they had the brazenness to say they took pleasure in pointing out that their activity had resulted in the capture of all but one or two of the Huashan criminals and in the crushing out of the Vegetarian Society. And so much confidence did Hsu have in himself that he prematurely caused notices to be sent out among the people that the committee and the Chinese officials, having satisfactorily concluded their investigations, were preparing to celebrate the event with a sort of love feast. A day or so later the committee all received invitations to attend a banquet. Straight upon this, Hsu made

RENEWED EFFORTS TO CLOSE THE CASE.

482. It was on the day the committee attended court in Kutien for the last time that Hsu, without any previous intimation, invited the Consuls to retire with him into one of the inner rooms of the yamen to "hold a private conference". He assumed an air of great mystery while showing the Consuls into this sanctum sanctorum of his.
483. The room had been prepared for guests,—and evidently for some business that did not take place.

Writing tables and desks were arranged in order; and foreign pens and ink were to be seen. When prevailed upon to disclose the object of the “conference”, Hsu said he desired the Consuls to now close the case by signing up certain papers which both sides might agree upon beforehand. He was led on for some while just to give him an opportunity to show why had desired this ‘conference’. Finally, when it came to the real issue, the British Consul said he was anxious to close the case, and therefore would sign papers looking forwards to that object, especially since he was still eager to see the lesser criminals have their sentences imposed on them before the committee left for Foochow. The United States Consul, besides generally discouraging any such attempt to cut off future investigation of features of the Huashan massacre, also declined to sign any documents in the nature of a settlement. Hsu was told to submit in an official despatch any propositions he might have to make on the subject, and that these, whether accepted by the committee or not, would be considered and in due time answered in writing.

484. The position taken by the United States Consul broke up the ‘conference’. It never came out just what terms Hsu was prepared to offer, as he never again referred to the subject. But it is said he intended making the same terms he contemplated offering during his first interview after his arrival in Kutien City, the chief feature of which terms, aside from the number of criminals to be executed, was the limit of Mexican \$10,000 to cover all damages, claims and indemnities growing out of the massacre.
485. The United States Consul also declined to concur in the sentences passed on the minor criminals, just as he had previously refused to concur in the sentences imposed upon the criminals whom the Chinese officials named for decapitation.
486. Hus was greatly chagrined over his failure to get the Consuls to agree to his way of terminating the investigation. He is also said to have fallen in the favor of the viceroy who had insisted that he settle the case in Kutien.
487. As the Chinese, by ceasing all real efforts to apprehend criminals still at large, gave the committee the impression that they intended to close the investigation anyhow,

A RESUME OF EVIDENCE AS SENT TO THE OFFICIALS.

488. All the evidence which the committee had secured through independent investigation was carefully gone over, and a list made out showing the names of known criminals then at large and giving various data respecting the evidence against them and also their whereabouts. Completed, it contained 205 names. Of those mentioned, about a dozen were already in custody: they were included in the list because the officials gave it out that there was want of evidence sufficient to convict them. The paper was sent in to Hus Taotai on the 24th of October.
489. While a good deal of the evidence set out in the list was the result of the committee’s efforts of inquiry, there was no small part of it that was known then by the general public, and had been known for some time; and the committee had previously placed a large part of the same data in the hands of the officials, who on each occasion successfully mislaid or forgot the same. The list, therefore, was no surprise to the officials. They promised to have investigated each individual case.
490. The promises were kept by placing the list in the hands of Deputies Chang and Liu of the Tachien fraud fame, to whom “stringent orders” were openly issued to go from village to village and arrest the culprits, while secret instructions were given to them not to make a single arrest.
491. In addition to the list mentioned, which is attached to this report as Appendix No. 2, the committee gave the officials a great deal more data, both before and after the 24th of October. For instance, on the day after the list was submitted another list, containing names of 23 Ping-nan men who went to Huashan, was handed to the officials. But as in the other cases also in this—no arrests resulted [but see para 497 below].

THE COMMITTEE RETURN TO FOOCHOW.

492. At 6.31 on the morning of October the 26th the committee left Kutien City. On the evening of the same day they reached Shuikou; and at 1.20 on the afternoon of October the 27th the committee reached

Foochow.

493. The expedition returning from Kutien was even more impressive to the Chinese than it was in going there, since in China all things are largely estimated in accordance with outside show. The baggage and general supplies which for three months had been accumulating in Kutien, required an extra large number of coolies to move them to Shuikou. Hsu Taotai himself accompanied the committee: with him were several deputies and other subordinated officials, having their attendants and servants.
494. The crowd of foreign and native officials and their servants and baggage stretched out to seven or eight miles in length as it moved along the narrow pathway. It has all the appearance of an army marching in single file. Every burden [ding dang] coolie in Kutien City had been pressed into service; and some of the farmers from the surrounding villages were also employed as baggage coolies, receiving a big price for the work. Even then some of the interpreters, and a quantity of baggage, for want of coolies, had to remain over a few days.

LEADING VEGETARIANS BEHEADED WITHOUT THOROUGH TRIAL.

495. The important criminals Cheng Chiu-chiu, Liu Hsiang-hsing and Tu Chu-i, sent away from Kutien in advance of the committee, reached Foochow in safety. With these were also Chang Chih.
496. The committee disclaimed having any interest in prosecuting Chang Chih when it was shown at trial, as mentioned in paragraph 138 and elsewhere, that he sought to prevent the attack on Huashan. He was dealt with by the Chinese of their own accord, and it was they who caused him to be sent to Foochow for reexamination.
497. Yeh Hu-tieh, alias “Butterfly”, the most important of the known Huashan criminals then at large, was arrested—or, at least, brought in to Kutien City: he was captured several days before—on the eve of the committee’s departure; and so he had no regular trial before his arrival in Foochow, which he reached two days later than the committee did, through the Chinese officials in Kutien carried him through a searching preliminary examination previous to sending him away from there. At this preliminary trial he had no hesitation in telling all about the Huashan affair. In fact, he told so much that he was then and there coached as to exactly what he should say when arraigned in Foochow for regular trial before the committee.
498. Notwithstanding the fact of the agreements to have the leaders all retried in Foochow, no such trial took place before the committee. There were trials before the provincial judge and other Chinese officials in attendance. But they were secret. Yeh Hu-tieh alone was tried before the committee. This failure of the Chinese officials to keep promises made in Kutien, was all due to the fact that the British Consul made a private arrangement with the officials which undoubtedly resulted in

THE DESTRUCTION OF EVIDENCE.

499. On Wednesday morning October 30th Hsu Taotai called on Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul. The two soon came to a private understanding that the remaining Huashan leaders then in custody were to be executed on the following Monday, November the 4th. Hsu Taotai did not call on the United States Consul, and so the American committee were entirely ignorant of the arrangements the British Consul had effected. However, that same evening the Consuls had a conference on the situation, during which the British Consul volunteered the information that nothing of importance took place that morning between him and Hsu; that in fact the Huashan case was not discussed at all, but that the visit was purely a social one—statements diametrically opposed to the truth.
500. During this conference the British Consul was asked when it would suit him to have the leaders tried. He answered: “We have plenty of time for that,—there is no hurry” let us take a breathing spell before thinking of more trials.
501. Saturday evening the British Consul in writing a note to the United States Consul concerning the settlement of the Kutien joint expense account closed the same with this significant sentence: “I suppose you know the officials are going to write over and propose to execute the Huashan leaders on Monday morning”. The Foochow Daily Echo, receiving its information from the British Consul, came

out the same evening announcing the executions would take place on Monday. The United States Consul went to the British Consul for an explanation of the sentence just quoted.

502. After he had made the arrangements on Wednesday with Hsu Taotai, Mr. Mansfield told a personal friend about the the date set for the executions. This friend meeting the United States Consul on his way to see Mr. Mansfield told him how well he had been keeping ‘consular secrets’, never dreaming then that the United States Consul had all along known nothing of the programme for the execution.
503. Mr. Mansfield could give no explanation that was a straight one. He floundered about trying to deny having had any information except what he got through general rumors. When confronted with the fact that he had made the arrangement himself with the officials, he saw denial was out of the question; and so he excused himself by saying he really had intended to inform the American committee of the arrangements: but thinking they would be quite agreeable to all parties, he had not been particular, he said, to charge his mind with them, and therefore he had forgotten to inform the committee. Mr. Mansfield knew better: he had not forgotten. As before stated, the United States Consul discussed the case with him the very evening after he had seen the officials. There was no forgetfulness about it: his feigned forgetfulness on this occasion, and on others subsequent to his visit to the viceroy the 14th of October, was really cooperation with the Chinese instead of cooperation with his colleagues composing the American part of the general committee of investigation—a line of conduct pursued with a method and a purpose.
504. Although he had at first tried to deny by that the officials intended having the executions Monday morning, still when he found that the United States Consul objected to that plan he earnestly beseeched him to agree to it; and finally was very much excited when the United States Consul told him he would wire a protest to Peking. Mr. Mansfield then wanted to know if it would suit the United States Consul to have the executions Tuesday morning, instead of Monday, and then Wednesday. These facts are mentioned only as showing that the British Consul had now really become the spokesman for the Chinese officials. This is further evidence, too, by the fact that in finally arranging for the executions to take place the British Consul represented the Chinese in coming to a preliminary understanding with the American committee.

PROTEST AGAINST EXECUTIONS.

505. The American committee protested against the precipitate, untimely executions; and a strong despatch was forwarded to the officials. The despatch was answered to the effect that the Chinese officials had never thought of having the exeutions take place so soon, and that there was no truth in contrary reports. These assertions were, of course, absolutely false, and Hsu’s squirming in this instance is a parallel of his conduct cited in paragraph 452 when he was endeavoring to slip away from Kutien City and follow the British Consul to Foochow.
506. A telegram was despatched to the United States Minister acquainting him with the situation. Mr. Mansfield had agreed to take no steps whatever pending the receipt by the American committee of instructions from Peking; but there is every reason to believe that he at once went to work to persuade his own Minister to insist on the exeutions, and at the same time employed all possible means otherwise to stengthen the plans he had made with the Chinese. In the face of Mr. Mansfield’s denial that he was communicating with Peking, it is remarkable that

THE BRITISH MINISTER URGED THE EXECUTIONS.

507. Minister Denby wired that the British Minister was importuning him to consent to the executions. It was thus that the British Consul and the British Minister placed the United States Minister and the American committee in the peculiar position of standing out in opposition to both the Chinese and British Governments wishes, if the refusal to consent to the executions was persisted in—a position which, under the circumstances attending it, could not have been maintained to any advantage, not to mention its embarrassing features. The American committee, therefore, pursued the only reasonable course by yielding to the joint insistence of England and China, and consenting that the leaders be decapitated on Thursday, the 7th of November.

508. The arrangements were first made with Mr. Mansfield and afterwards with the Chinese officials. Pending the day of execution, the American committee followed up some clues thending to show that the prisoners could give correct testimony directly connecting the officials with the Huashan massacre; but efforts in this line proved unavailing, as nothing reliable was obtained.
509. One of the conditions of the withdrawal of objections to the executions was that the Chinese authorities should furnish the committee with the complete record of the evidence obtained during the Foochow trials of the leaders—they now claimed that the criminals had been tried in Foochow—and this was to be handed in before the date on which they were to be decapitated. But the officials contrived to misunderstand this part about the date, saying tgehey supposed any time soon after the executions would suffice for submitting the documents. But on Hsu Taotai promising to have it done as soon as it could be written out the proceedings were not interrupted. However, the promise was an empty one, no effort having ever been made by Hsu to carry it out.

EXECUTION OF LEADERS IN FOOCHOW.

510. The leaders Chang Chih, Cheng Chiu-chiu, Liu Hsiang-hsing, and Tu Chu-i, and the quasi leader Yeh Tu-tieh, were beheaded at 9.20 a.m. on the morning of November the 7th, in the centre of the place d'armes just without the south gate of the city of Foochow, in the presence of a vast multitude of people.
511. Some 2,000 soldiers were on hand to preserve order. No demonstration of any kind was offered by the populace, who seemed to be overawed by the spectacle; and the soldiers busied themselves trying to prevent the mass of human beings from forming jams and thereby crushing one another to death. {reference to photographs included}. The open space represented in the picture was only maintained by the soldiers and policemen engaging in a continual struggle with the pressing thong—the soldiers could not hold the ground without employing force, and so they used their spears, swords and guns freely on the heads of the people many of whom were wounded.
512. The ceremony of passing final sentence upon the criminals just before turning them over to the executioners, took place in a pavilion specially erected on the grounds for that purpose and for the accommodation of the committee and the attending Chinese officials. This arrangement was quietly effected, to avoid the difficulty that would have attended the long march of the procession had the ceremony taken place according to custom at the yamen situate about a mile distant within the city walls; and it was a most fortunate arrangement, too, since the people, by crowding, had entirely blocked up the streets leading from the yamen to the execution grounds.
513. {Further references to photographs} Attention is drawn to the prisoner who is looking back over his right shoulder and towards the officials in the rear. He is Yeh Hu-tieh, or “Butterfly”. The officials in coaching this man to keep back all the damaging facts he knew, are said to have promised to set him at liberty when the ceremony of final sentence occurred. Therefore, when he appeared before his judges he was smiling and confident, expecting to be then and there pardoned and turned loose. But when the usual death-sentence was pronounced he saw that he had been duped, and becoming terrified he vehemently repudiated his confession, denying all connection with the massacre. Something was said to him by the attendants which at once calmed him: it is reported he was told his pardon was all redy, but that it was not intended to announce it until after the prisoners were in position for execution. Whether or not such a thing was really said to him cannot be vouched for; but he immediately quieted down, and his cheerfulness returned. During the two or three minutes that the criminals were on their knees just before being beheaded, Yeh Hu-tieh was constantly turning his head to look longingly at the officials: he thus attracted a good deal of attention both from the audience and from his fellow criminals. The man on his right, Cheng Chiu-chiu, having been beheaded, the executioner with drawn sword approached Yeh Hu-tieh—and not till that moment did the latter lose his look of cheerful expectancy. There can be but little doubt that the officials has promised him freedom—it is a common trick of theirs, and was practised on some of the criminals executed in Kutien City.
514. The executioners accomplished their work without incident except in the case of Cheng Chiu-chiu. This would-be emperor had proved himself an arrant coward from the day on which the attack on

Huashan was first conceived. So when it came his time to die he endeavored to dodge the blow from the executioner's sword, and consequently received a ghastly cut diagonally across the shoulder. But the executioner quickly mended his stroke with another which completely severed the head from the body. The heads of the remaining criminals were each cut off at a single blow.

515. No such large gathering of people as witnessed the executions had ever before occurred in Foochow—certainly not in recent times. The miscarriage of the attempt to have the leaders beheaded on the previous Monday had caused a lot of comment and some wild unfounded rumors of explanation, thus widely advertising the date on which the event did finally take place. Still in spite of the thousands and thousands of Chinese who were present, there was

MUCH RESPECT SHOWN FOREIGNERS.

516. In Fuhkien it is a common occurrence for foreigners to meet with numerous insults, especially in cases where foreigners are thrown among a crowd of natives. Even on ordinary occasions one rarely, if ever, gets through the streets of the native city without hearing a number of offensive epithets applied to him. But on the day of the executions the natives seemed to vie with one another in conducting themselves properly towards the large number of foreigners who were present as spectators. It is believed not a one was in the least insulted. What is better than this, the common people have ever since continued to manifest increased respect for foreigners, and that notwithstanding the fact that the conduct of the Chinese officials has meanwhile been such as would naturally encourage and nourish the growth of bitter anti-foreign sentiments among all classes, and especially among the middle and upper classes.
517. The heads of the leaders were sent to Huashan to be put on view with those of the other executed Vegetarians.

ERROR OF EXECUTING THE LEADERS.

518. In protesting against the execution of the Haushan leaders the American committee made no mistake, as will be shown by the considerations which led to the protest.
519. In the first place neither Cheng Chiu-chiu, Liu hsiang-hsing nor Tu Chu-i ever had any regular trial before the committee. The examination of these men in Kutien had been superficial, mostly concerned with incriminating evidence which they gave against other Vegetarians. The committee, seeing the attitude of the officials conducting the case, knew too well that it would be useless to ask prisoners questions tending to connect the Chinese authorities, high or low, with the Vegetarian movement generally or involve them in the plan to massacre the missionaries at Huashan. It was therefore agreed by the committee that none of its members would ask such questions in court.
520. However, so far as concerned the leaders themselves, there was no need of any trial; for. Long before some of them were captured they had been convicted over and over by evidence secured from a dozen different sources. In fact, none of them ever pretended to deny his guilt except the fellow Cheng Chiu-chiu; and he soon saw the folly of making any defence, and so feely confessed a part of his share in planning the massacre. But every one of them studiously concealed what he could touching the guilt of other Vegetarians. It was too evident that no Vegetarian leader would voluntarily go far to incriminate his accomplices.
521. This sort of a spirit was especially strong in Lin Hsiang-shing, alias Min Ch'ing-ch'i; and for this reason the committee permitted him to be included along with the second lot executed in Kutien City. He was of such a negative character that he successfully defied all attempts to extract evidence from him against others. At the same time he willingly, boastingly, told of his own connections with the massacre and lamented in court that he had been unable to kill more people at Huashan. As he answered "no" to all questions not concerning himself, cross-examinations were of no avail.
522. The other prisoners were of a different nature—they would talk generally; and so with unlimited cross-examination privileges it was always possible to draw out evidence. The trials which were intended to be held in Foochow were not designed with a view of ascertaining the guilt of the prisoners, but with the idea of

INVESTIGATING THE CHINESE OFFICIALS.

523. In Kutien the officials had always appeared to be uneasy when one of the leaders was on the witness stand, taking the keenest interest in whatever he would say—and they, the leaders, were on the stand a number of times for the purpose of giving incriminating evidence and for identifying prisoners brought up for regular trial. If any attempts were made by the committee to examine the leaders on such occasions it brought forth strong remonstrances from the officials relative to the great danger of the prisoners repudiating the confessions they had already made—which claim, of course, was the merest pretence, having no foundation in reason. Frequently the officials had asserted in open court that prisoners found guilty would be executed anyhow, confession or no confession; and several were executed though loudly, but falsely, protesting innocence.
524. Not even the most foolhardy of the prisoners would have dared in Kutien City to give any evidence against the officials, as such an act would certainly have resulted in his slow death by the most inhuman tortures which could be devised for the occasion. Lin Hsian-hsing himself, bold and reckless as he was, and courting death, would not have risked testifying in the Kutien court against any Chinese official.
525. But the committee had reason to believe that in Foochow the leaders would divulge the names of mandarins concerned in the affair, a guarantee having been first given them that the exposure would not result in their being tortured. The committee might easily have devised ways and means in Foochow to give the prisoners a guarantee of protection from torture; but this was rendered unnecessary by the Chinese authorities, who thoroughly believed in the theory that

DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.

526. With the Foochow executions passed away all the chance the committee ever had of securing proof that Chinese officials were the instigators of the massacre. The executions over, all the Chinese authorities appeared to breathe much easier—the leaders supposed to know the inside history of the attack on Huashan were now beyond reach of the foreigner's cross-examination.
527. There is no doubt that there existed a motive for speedily putting all the Huashan leaders out of the way. As stated elsewhere, the Chinese officials in Kutien were eager to execute the leaders immediately they came into custody. But there was never any great effort made to capture leaders—they were captured in spite of the officials until these latter got bold enough to issue secret instructions to have no more arrests made. Other leaders were at large when the committee left Kutien, although the officials had been informed of their whereabouts; and they are at large today, boldly going about from village to village propagating the doctrines of the Vegetarian Society. The Chinese have not moved a hand to have them brought to justice—in fact they never did appear to care about inconveniencing a leader until he had foolishly permitted himself to be caught and placed at the mercy of a cross-examination by the committee, whereupon they wanted him instantly decapitated. In a less degree the same spirit was manifested towards some of the ordinary criminals who seemed to be the most knowing ones beside the leaders.
528. There was nothing to lose by postponing the Foochow executions—they might have even been delayed for several weeks after the proposed trials had been held in good faith, much less the unseemliness of hurrying on without them. On the contrary, there was everything to lose by haste—especially the criminal haste which resulted in the beheading of the leaders before the investigation of their cases was concluded.
529. One of the several groundless excuses given by the British Consul for advocating the precipitate executions would appear to one ignorant of the facts to have some reason in it; this was to the effect that the prisons here were unsafe, and therefore there was great fear of the leaders escaping. The Chinese joined him in this—possibly were the originators of it—thus making themselves occupy the unique position of being greatly exercised both to forestall the escape of the prisoners they had in hand and to prevent the capture of equally guilty criminals still at large, secret orders having been issued to make no more arrests. But every one who knows anything at all about them knows

THE FOOCHOW PRISONS ARE STRONG.

530. Perhaps nowhere in China can there be found prisons better constructed and better arranged than those in Foochow. The prisons here are far better than many foreign prisons which are considered perfectly safe. Criminals incarcerated within the interior cells of the inner dungeon are utterly without hope of ever escaping by any sort of means: they must remain there until the officials themselves order them taken out.
531. By a complex system of prisons within prisons, cells within cells, doors within doors and locks within locks, so to speak, protection is secured from the corruption of bribers. It should be remembered that the prisons of Foochow are the prisons of a provincial capital, and that they were built to hold the most desperate characters to be found within the borders of Fuhkien and Chekiang—as well as in Formosa which was formerly an integral part of Fuhkien province. Therefore they are not to be compared to such prisons as those in Kutien City and other smaller towns.
532. One splendid feature of the Foochow prisons consists in the arrangements devised to successfully defend them against the assault of mobs bent on rescuing prisoners—an advantage sadly wanting in most of our own prisons.
533. The observations here offered regarding the Foochow prisons, are based on an inspection of them personally made by the United States Consul, some time before the executions, with the special object in view of ascertaining whether or not there was any truth in some rumors to the effect that the prisons were unsafe.
534. The motives that led to the hasty decapitations did not arise from any fears that the Huashan leaders might escape the penalty of their crime: they rose from considerations of quite a different nature.

A RAID ON VEGETARIAN HEADQUARTERS.

535. On the morning of his execution Yeh Hu-tieh divulged some secrets regarding the Vegetarian headquarters situated on the island called San Hsien Chou, or, in the Min colloquial, dialect—Sun Hseng-sien, which island, as mentioned already in paragraph 27, is near the United States Consulate in Foochow. The character of the information he gave out is not known. It certainly was something more than a mere locating of the place; for the committee, by its own inquiries, having ascertained its location had informed the officials thereof not long after the investigation commenced.
536. Acting on what had been said by Yeh Hu-tieh, the officials quietly sent Ch'i Yang, the then Houkuan magistrate, with a small number of his police force, to investigate. The temple in which was the Vegetarian headquarters, was surrounded, and three men found therein arrested. Some proclamations were torn from the walls by order of the magistrate, and among them was the one referred to in paragraph 27 as being favorable to the Vegetarians. The raid was made with great caution, almost absolute secrecy—quite contrary to the usual Chinese method of alarming a whole neighborhood when arrests are being made—and the magistrate had finished his work and returned to his yamen almost before the people near the temple knew what was going on.

VEGETARIAN REGISTER DISCOVERED.

537. While making the raid the officials discovered nothing less than the Vegetarian register, a book containing the names of all the leading Vegetarians in the province. In the hands of the committee this book would have been of the greatest service. But the Chinese officials—it is not certain which one—concealed the book and denied it ever had existence at all. All efforts to obtain it, or to learn whether or not it contained the names of officials who were Vegetarians, have alike proved futile.

SOMETHING OF THE MEN ARRESTED.

538. The officials were not quite so successful in keeping the committee in ignorance concerning the men arrested in the temple, though it was at first declared no such men existed.

539. Employing its own methods, the committee discovered the names of the men to be Chan Hsiu-ting (詹秀廷), Chu A-yu (朱阿有) and Li Tien-hui (李天輝). They were natives of the sub-prefectural district called Lung Yen Chou (龍巖州), situate in the lower part of this province, within the Amoy (興泉永) circuit, and about 150 miles northwest of the city of Amoy (廈門). They were examined in secret by the officials, and nothing can be learned as to what information, if any, was obtained during the investigation. But it is known that they were afterwards told they could not be allowed to remain in Foochow under any consideration.

540. During their experience at the yamen all three men were well treated. Instead of their being shut up in prison with the ordinary criminals, it was permitted them to live outside and have their headquarters at the house of a yamen attache, where nothing was wanting for their comfort.
541. The committee's first information about the raid having been made, was rather indefinite; but it was sufficient to cause the committee to inquire among the officials for the details. The officials called the whole thing a mere idle rumor except the fact that the doors of the temple had actually been closed and officials seals placed thereon to prevent them being opened again for Vegetarian meetings. No sort of an arrest, they said, had been made in connection with the closing of the temple.
542. Finally, on learning the committee had obtained the names of the mysterious prisoners, the officials were convinced that it was not worth while to make further denials; and so they explained that, as "the arrests had no connection with the Huashan case or with the Vegetarians", they, the Chinese officials, "did not at first suppose the inquiries of the committee had reference to these men who were only guilty of some trifling misdemeanor".
543. The next effort of the committee to get at the bottom of the case disclosed the fact that the men, having been turned loose, had disappeared from Foochow.
544. This whole affair is a most mysterious one. The magistrate himself goes out to arrest "misdemeaners". His work accomplished, the whole thing is denied. But the prisoners are treated well and given extra privileges at the yamen. The magistrate finds the Vegetarian register; but it is denied most positively, and the register is still in hiding. By dint of hard work the committee find out a few facts about the prisoners; the officials learning this, the prisoners disappear from Foochow.
545. The temple is still sealed up, though no proclamation or other form of notice is posted thereon to tell the people why it has been closed. Every circumstance in connection with the affair places suspicion

of some sort on the officials; and one is led to conclude that the mysterious trio arrested in the temple were guilty of other things besides “some trifling misdemeanors”, and that the officials found it greatly to their own interests to protect them.

CAPTAIN NEWELL JOINS HIS SHIP.

546. On the 19th November Captain Newell left Foochow for the purpose of resuming his duties on the U.S.S. Detroit then at Hongkong. The American committee was then virtually dissolved, so far as concerned the work of the investigation. However, the United States Consulate has ever since been engaged in continuing to a certain extent the task the committee had in hand, and its efforts have been rewarded with success in some instances.

SOME FACTS BROUGHT OUT DURING THE INVESTIGATION.

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY.

547. Beside the references already made to the subject something may be stated here of the nature of the Vegetarian society. The antiquity of its origin is unquestioned. While it purported to be, in the beginning, a society for the encouragement of virtuous living and the dissemination of doctrines pertaining thereto, it was a secret order and therefore its outward garb of charity could not prevent it from the wrath of those high in authority; not could it prevent the organization from being placed under the ban against all secret societies.
548. Its real origin is doubtless to be found in some cabal or political intrigue in which its reputed founder, Hwa-sing, was interested; for, in China, it may be accepted as a rule that selfish motives and sinister purpose, mostly of a political nature, constitute the foundation of all secret societies; owing to this very reason they thrive in spite of the Government's interdiction.
549. One of the broadest of its tenets is the doctrine of vegetarianism, whence its name, the Vegetarian Society. Numerous other dogmas had their place in its practices and ceremonies, often varying with the locality in which the branches of the society happened to be established. Besides being forbidden to eat animal flesh, its members were enjoined not to smoke opium or tobacco; or to use them in any other form; nor could they drink wine, or partake of other intoxicating liquors. Some religious ceremonies peculiar to the society were obligatory upon the members.
550. The society claimed to have a cure for the opium habit. This cure, however, was of the kind often employed by outsiders; and its successfulness depended principally upon the character of the patient. Nevertheless, it drew into the society many of those who were victims of opium.
551. The teachings and doctrines of the society recognize no precise bounds for their exercise, but touch more or less upon all the relations of life. Indeed, some of its members have at times endeavored to dignify their doctrines by asserting them to be a system of religion superior to all other systems.
552. The society even sought to lay down rules to be observed by members in their home circles and family relations. Some of these were not bad. A notable example both of special local laws of the order and of their application to the family circle is met with in Kutien. The navies of Kutien have a curious custom akin, in some respects, to the practice of polyandry—this custom is the farming out of wives. A husband enters into a contract for a valuable consideration to share his wife with another man for a period of years, in rare instances for life. The lessee and the husband enjoy between them all the rights and privileges of the husband, these being especially stipulated and defined in the contract.
553. An important feature of such contracts is the provision for the ownership of the sons and the dowering of the daughters born during such alliances—daughters, of course, being always esteemed in China as most unwelcome burdens—and many strange obligations are thus incurred. In some cases the lessee is to own all the sons; in others, he must own the daughters, while the husband proper owns the sons; and there are numerous other variations.
554. Against this practice the Vegetarian Society placed itself squarely on record, opposing it as being

unbecoming to civilized people. But many of the influential people had, before the coming of the Vegetarians, opposed the same custom; and it looks as though the Vegetarians only opposed it for the sake of policy.

555. In fact, there seems to be much policy in all the Vegetarian dogmas. Their doctrine of Vegetarianism was already held by a vast number of the Chinese people to be part of their religion. Consequently, its incorporation in the tents of the society would make the latter popular among the vegetarian religionists, besides invoking the sympathy and aid of their priesthood, which, contrary to the general belief among foreigners, was, and still is, a powerful and wealthy body having great influence. The regulations against opium and wines, are popular ones; while the alleged cures of the opium habit, have special attractions for different classes. The wealthy classes wish to be rid of the opium habit because of its baneful effects; the poor desire to be relieved because of the evil in it, and because they cannot afford to buy the drug in quantities demanded by their appetites without entailing absolute poverty upon themselves and their families.
556. As the society made a pretence of establishing a sort of judicial system of its own, many thought that by becoming Vegetarians they could rid themselves of the extortions practiced in cases carried before the regular magistracy; and, as has already been seen, there were good reasons for such hopes. Strange to say, there exist among the Chinese as many old lawsuits as can be found among any other race of people—probably more, seeing that in China no statute of limitations seems to obtain. Parties interested in lawsuits sought membership in the society in order that they might more effectually prosecute their side of the cases. In one instance noted by the committee, a party joined for the express purpose of bringing to a successful issue a lawsuit which had been dragging along for more than 20 years.
557. As a large number of the respectable people supported the Vegetarians in their crusade against the polyandric practices in Kutien, deeming the custom both disgraceful and degrading, it would appear that the having of a plurality of wives, and the renting out to the use of another one or more wives, are matters to be viewed in very different lights, if considered according to Chinese ethics.

ELABORATE RITUALS AND CEREMONIALS.

558. Are other features of the Vegetarian Society which cater to the popular favor. The spectacular ceremonies attending the initiation of members, the mysterious orgies on such occasions, were well calculated for the purpose of capturing the superstition-loving Chinese mind. The regulations governing the executive features of the order seem to have been designed to also cater to the taste for the superstitious. In both instances success was attained.
559. The secret nature of the society unquestionably attracted many, and not least among these the politicians who came into it to recover lost influence, or to increase their power.
560. One becomes a probationary member of the Vegetarian Society by invitation or upon his own solicitation: both methods seem to be approved. A few copper cash are required as an initiation fee. Promises have to be given to adhere to a vegetable diet—the keeping of which, however, does not appear to be of much importance—and if addicted to the opium habit the candidate must give assurances that he will drop it while undergoing the Vegetarian course for its cure.
561. After some while, which seems to be a variable period, the probationer becomes a full-fledged member of the first degree, and is then known as a Yinching, (introducer, propagator), For receiving this degree he has to pay 33 Chinese cash, approximately equal to one and three-fourths cents United States currency. He is now clothed with all authority necessary to the initiation of probationers, and goes forth to engage in that business. From that time on the yinching seems to derive his support from the contributions of his probationers; and it is therefore greatly to his benefit to initiate the largest possible number.
562. At certain intervals the regular meetings are held for initiation purposes. Under the guidance of their yinchings the probationers attend these and submit to the ceremonies. For seven days the probationer is shut up in a separate compartment and allowed to see no one but his yinching who meantime

administers to all the material wants of his protégé. The would-be-yinching remains in bed the greater part of the seven days except when performing sacrifices and making offerings to propitiate the gods whom he calls upon for inspiration. Other weird, uncanny features are connected with this part of the proceedings.

563. Having gone forth and proved himself a good Vegetarian by engaging in an active proselytism, the yinching becomes eligible to the next degree, that of Yuankuan (literally meaning passing round). The ceremonies attending the initiation into this rank are much the same as those of the yinching initiations. There is this special distinction, it seems yuankuans may initiate members into heir own rank, whereas yinchings are not permitted to initiate yinchings—they must be initiated by the yuankuans.
564. The term yangkuans is also employed in an abstract sense to designate the periodical meetings of the yuankuans.
565. All agree that above the rank of yuankuan there are many other degrees in the Vegetarian Society. But efforts of the committee to obtain information on this line were futile. However, it is fairly certain that none of the Huashan criminals brought before the committee were of a higher degree than that of yuankuan, with the possible exception of Cheng Chiu-chiu, or “Long Fingernails”. He claimed not to be a Vegetarian, but some believed him to be a Vegetarian of very high rank.
566. The committee obtained one of the society’s Book of Rituals. It is a large book, and bears the marks of constant usage. It is well nigh unintelligible to any one but a high degree Vegetarian, though it seems to set out the creed of the order to a certain extent. But by far the greater part of the book is concerned with enigmatical combinations of geometrical figures and diagrams of intricate construction. The pages containing these puzzling sections are all well thumbed, showing that the owner had devoted much time to their study.
567. The society being secret, of course has its password and grips. Some of these were very blunderingly devised, having no counterparts or cover-keys to guard against fraud.
568. The officers of the society appear to be very numerous, and they have all sorts of outlandish titles. Some of these officers have work of an itinerant nature, probably the superintendence of the many branch chapters of the order, and general proselytizing. Some positions are very lucrative, for instance, the presidency of a Yuankuan meeting: it appears the president received all the initiation fees besides some of the regular dues. This office, as well as that of treasurer, was elective by the popular vote of the yuankuans and yinchings, and was much sought after. The yuankuans continue in session for about 10 days, bringing in considerable revenue to the pockets of the officers in charge.
569. After the breaking up of each meeting, whatever its nature, the records pertaining to it are reputed to be burned, the register alone being reserved. This, indeed, was the theory, but it was not always the practice. The committee secured a goodly number of paper sin Kutien which are of the nature of minutes. Some of these relate to meetings held after the Huashan massacre and indicate that the division of the spoils and the best course to pursue were the subjects under consideration.

ALL VEGETARIAN REGULATIONS VIOLATED

570. The rules and regulations of the Vegetarian Society were violated whenever it suited members—even on the occasion of initiations. Just before the massacre the yinchings themselves initiated members promiscuously. From time to time the members even indulge in the eating of meats, and break with impunity the anti-opium rules.
571. Once in a while some are turned out for violating this or that Vegetarian law, but as a rule, such members are vagabonds who are burdens to the society. The one thing for which there is no overlooking is disobedience to a superior Vegetarian. Superiors must be implicitly obeyed. This accounts for some of the desertions which took place from the Vegetarian ranks on the march from Kungshan-ch’i to Huashan: the men not caring to refuse to follow their yinchings, watched for an opportunity to escape into the darkness.

KIUKIANG THE VEGETARIAN HEADQUARTERS.

572. It is well established that the Vegetarian headquarters for all China is at Kiukiang, on the Yangtse Kiang, in the northern part of Kiangsi province. In that province, which joins Fuhkien province and forms its western boundary, the Vegetarians are very strong.

NOTHING GOOD IN THE SOCIETY.

573. The Huashan affair brought out not a few apologists who claimed the Kutien Vegetarians were not recognized by the “real” Vegetarian Society, and that the Vegetarian Society proper had nothing to do directly or indirectly with the massacre or any even connected therewith. Among these apologists were some foreigners who indulged in eulogizing the “real” Vegetarians. The Chinese defenders of the sect had good reasons to disown the Kutien division, and thereby avert, if possible, a general condemnation of the order; while the foreigners seems to have acted without due information. There is nothing more certain than that the Vegetarian Society has no claim for the respect of honest people, although its members include many from the official class. Its pretensions to charity are a subterfuge and fraud to cover up the real nature of the organization. Being allied with the Kelaohui and While Lily sects, it seems that it has absorbed many of the worst features of these notorious societies. The Vegetarian Society is bad in every respect.

EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE MASSACRE.

574. The attack on Huashan was really a miscarriage of the Vegetarian’s plans for a general uprising throughout the province, and perhaps the adjoining provinces, which was to have taken place in October 1895. The precise nature of the intended uprising, and what it was expected to accomplish, cannot be ascertained. Those leaders who were arranging for it profess to know nothing of its real nature, claiming the movement was inaugurated by those high in authority and whose identity was not known to them.
575. The letter which Cheng Chiu-chiu wrote from Kutien to the Foochow Vegetarians was evidently based on his knowledge of this general plan, and upon his belief that he could successfully bring on the uprising at an earlier date than October. But he was mistaken in counting on the other branches of the order: none went to the relief of the Kutien crowd. The massacre created too much stir.

FAILURE OF HUASHAN PLANS.

576. A large part of the plans connected with the movement of the Vegetarian’s plans concerning Huashan, had to be abandoned by Cheng Chiu-chiu and his fellow conspirators. It was on the programme to first kill the missionaries at Huashan, and plunder and burn their houses, after which the Vegetarians were to return to Kungshan-ch’i, carrying their booty, where they were at once to prepare for an attack on Kutien City. This attack was to commence by the sacking and burning of the American mission’s property, the residences and the hospital...both a long distance from any Chinese houses—in fact, quite isolated from the city. The burning of the mission property, they had calculated, would draw the magistrate to that portion of the city, where the Vegetarians hoped to capture him.
577. Having been successful in all this, the Vegetarians assigned to then burn the magistrate’s yamen and also the English mission’s property, the latter situate without the walls about half a mile southeast of the city. The magistrate’s yamen is located a short distance inside the walls on this same side of the city, in a very thickly populated quarter.
578. The culmination of this elaborate scheme was expected to be the permanent occupation of Kutien City and the establishing therein of Vegetarian military headquarters.
579. The killing of the foreigners residing in Kutien City does not appear to have been an item in the plans of attack. It was only the Huashan foreigners who were to be killed. This, and other features, brings one to the conclusion that two separate and distinct

PLANS WERE MIXED UP.

580. Chang Chih’s plan for the Vegetarians going on the warpath embraced all the features noted above

except the attack on Huashan—this he considered quite out of the question, saying it would give the city notice to prepare for the attack. Cheng Chiu-chiu insisted on killing the Huashan missionaries. Now, on this point it seems that the two men disagreed, as already mentioned, finally becoming bitter enemies. But the mass of Vegetarians at Kungshan-ch'i supported Cheng Shiu-chiu in his plan to attack Huashan.

581. Cheng Chiu-chiu appears to have taken the plans of Chang Chih without change except to incorporate therewith his scheme to first attack Huashan. The two did not fit in with one another any better than did their respective authors. The original plans devised by Chang Chih to attack the city were good ones from a military point of view, considering all the circumstances; and the Vegetarians might have captured Kutien City but for the massacre. However, there was an

ATTEMPT MADE ON THE CITY.

582. The night of August the 3rd was the time fixed on for attacking Kutien City, and on that night several bands of Vegetarians assembled, according to the prearranged plan, in the neighborhood of the bridge crossing the river and leading over to the northeast city gate. But soldiers, by order of Ho ting, had been placed there to guard that approach. The Vegetarians who came expecting to see at least 3,000 of their men massed ready to march on Kutien City, found themselves only a mere handful, not even strong enough to think of attacking the 25 soldiers who were holding the bridge. Therefore they slunk away to their homes.

ASSAILANTS OF MISSIONARIES IDENTIFIED.

583. The Vegetarian who attacked Miss Hartford was the notorious Lin Hsiang-hsing, alias Min Ching-chi, the one who headed the march from Kungshan-ch'i and led in the general assault. Before attacking Miss Hartford, he had killed Miss Hessie Newcombe and aided in killing Mrs. Stewart.
584. Ch'en K'ai-liang, Huang Nen-ti, Lin Nan-min, Li Koa-hsueh, and several others, together killed Mr. Stewart; but Huang Nen-ti, who led in assaulting him, probably gave the mortal wound—a downward stab and slashing cut which disemboweled him.
585. Without going too far into the details, it may be stated that Ch'en Chin-shu, Chiang Chin'chuan, Hsieh K'ai-t'ai, Lin Hsien, Liu Chin-su, Tai Nu-lang, Tu Nen-ti, Yeh Hu-tieh, Yeh Ming-jih, and yen Ch'ing-ming-tsai, were all directly concerned in the murder of the other missionaries. Ye Hu-tieh made himself particularly conspicuous by his ferocity. Lin Hsien, in a confession relative to the way they surrounded and killed the ladies outside the houses said, "We just shut our eyes and cut and hacked the foreigners promiscuously". There were others who participated more or less in stabbing the missionaries, in some cases after their death.
586. The man mentioned by the survivors as carrying a flag and waving it while he shouted orders to the Vegetarians to kill the foreigners, was Tu-Chu-i.
587. The firing of the gun as a signal for the onslaught was the work of Yeh Hu-tieh.
588. The leaders in setting fire to the houses were Yeh Hu-tieh and Liu Chin-su. They piled up in the center of each room the debris left over from the plundering, saturated it with kerosene oil, and fired it. Some of the kerosene oil thus used was discovered on the premises, and some had been purposely brought by the Vegetarians, who used bamboo jugs to carry it in, these being made from joints of a very large bamboo.
589. Attempts by the committee to discover the assailants of the Stewart baby were of no avail. No evidence at all on this line could be obtained.
590. Miss Codrington in her statement makes mention of an old man who begged the Vegetarians not to kill the ladies. The committee earnestly sought to establish the identity of the one man who was kindly disposed to the missionaries. Many of those taking part in the massacre remembered the old man and the circumstance of his pleading with them in behalf of the ladies, but none knew him.

NATIVES ACTS OF BRAVERY AND ACTS OF COWARDICE.

591. Lin Hsian-hsing's attack on Miss Hartford was a most ferocious one, and her escape from death seems almost miraculous. Had the point of her assailant's spear gone so much as half an inch further to the right it would have passed into the brain through the orbit of the right eye, and Miss Hartford would thus have been instantly killed by the first blow aimed at her.
592. The preservation of her life is directly due to a common man servant of hers named Ch'en Shan-chi, pronounced Tiang Siong-tek in the local Foochow dialect. When Lin Hsiang-hsing made his appearance Miss Hartford's teacher named Ch'en Wen-ch'en, called Ding UngTien in the local dialect, precipitately jumped over the fence bordering the yard. Looking back he saw his wife and Miss Hartford engaged in the struggle with Lin Hsiang-hsing, and he saw the latter kick his wife in the stomach, disabling her for the time, and then knock down Miss Hartford; but he ran all the faster to make good his own escape. Just at this juncture Ch'en Shan-chi rushed in and attacked the assailant of the two women, and used him up very badly, notwithstanding his reputation for great strength.
593. Ch'en Shan-chi finally threw his antagonist bodily down a steep embankment, disabling him and leaving him lying there unconscious. Lin Hsiang-hsing was never afterwards able to stand erect. He received severe spinal injuries by the fall he got. Yeh Hu-tieh (though he denied it) and others had to carry Lin Hsian-hsing from Huashan in one of the Stewart sedan chairs. As the preceding picture shows, he could neither stand nor kneel, but had to rest on all fours. The clotted blood on his right sleeve is the result of a severe cut he received in that arm while savagely fighting his captors from whom he could not run away.
594. It should be remembered that when Ch'en Shan-chi attacked Lin Hsiang-hsing he did it in the face of almost certain death from the maddened fiends at that moment holding bloody revels over the carnage they had made at the near-by houses of Mr. Stewart and the English young ladies, and who were scattering out looking for more victims. Lin Hsiang-hsing, being a very proud man, was ashamed to call on his fellow Vegetarians for help: had he cried out for assistance, Ch'en Shan-chi must certainly have lost his life. This pride of Lin Hsiang-hsing's was evinced in a really amusing manner during his examination in court—he never could be made to acknowledge that the servant alone had placed him hors de combat, but steadily maintained it had been done by 'seven men cooks' who attacked him simultaneously and compelled him to let Miss Hartford escape.
595. The conduct of Chen Shan-chi was bravery in the highest degree, deserving of all public praise as a splendid example of self-denial and heroism worthy of emulation among the people of any nation. But the Chinese officials evidently thought quite differently, and acted as though they were sorry Ch'en Shan-Chi had saved Miss Hartford's life. They knew all about the circumstances from common report; and then all the facts were again brought before them in the trials of the criminals. When they had been silent on the question for three months, it was suggested to them in general terms that a failure to approve such conduct might look like a disapproval and that something should be done. After two month's deliberation they privately

OFFERED THE SERVANT A \$1.00 "DECORATION."

596. The thing which Jsu Taotai offered Ch'en Shan-chi was one of the so-called "decorations" that are kept on sale by the hundreds, and which, it is said, can be bought by any one for about one dollar in United States currency. Deeming it a piece of irony, the servant, without previous advice from others, declined to accept the belittling reward.
597. In this matter there seems to be a good deal to show the feelings which the viceroy and his subordinates held towards native Christians and foreigners. Ch'en Shan-chi, it should have been stated, is a native Christian.
598. When Miss Hartford was attacked, her teacher's wife also acted a brave part and in some measure made up for the cowardice of her fleeing husband. Mrs. Ch'en Wen-ch'ou, or Ding Tung Tien, who is a "small-foot woman", did not hesitate to rush out and seize on to the queue of Lin Hsiang-hsing, thus, until she was finally kicked down, seriously interfering with his efforts to kill Miss Hartford. Not

many women anywhere would have done such a deed. The committee met her in Kutien and were greatly impressed by her high character and by her perfect self-possession among strangers. She is one of the few Chinese women whose features give out any real expression; and but for her complexion her face is quite European in appearance.

599. All the servants attending the English missionaries acted most disgracefully, taking flight without even notifying their employers of the Vegetarian's approach. In some instances they passed right along through the rooms in which the missionaries were without giving them a word of warning.
600. Close to where Miss Hartford lives was a house occupied by Huashan natives. When she first got loose from Lin Hsiang-hsing she ran to this house to take refuge. The occupants shut the door in her face, positively refusing to let her enter. She was therefore forced to seek safety by concealing herself in a neighboring wood thickly set with underbrush and brambles.

MASSACRERS ACTS OF INGRATITUDE.

601. Many of those in the gang that attacked Huashan had formerly received kind attention from the missionaries, and should have been grateful for the favors shown them and their families. That they murdered and robbed their benefactors is a sad commentary upon gratitude as practiced among the Chinese.
602. One notable case is that of Yeh A-nang. He was too poor to support his family. Miss Hartford's attention was attracted to his condition: she accordingly undertook, at his request, to provide for one of his children, paying for the child's board and clothing out of her own funds. The arrangement had worked well, and all parties often expressed themselves as being grateful to Miss Hartford. The child was still living on Miss Hartford's bounty when the massacre occurred.
603. Yeh A-nang knew that Miss Hartford, who had so kindly aided his family, was at Huashan; and he knew the Vegetarians were determined to kill her and all the other missionaries. On trial, he expressed deep contrition for what he had done, saying he felt mean all the way to Huashan and was particular to guard against being seen by Miss Hartford or her servants during the attack.
604. Another display of the same sort of baseness is seen in the case of Tu Fan-tsai, a youth of 18 years, who made himself conspicuously energetic at the massacre. In the spring of 1895 he was a beggar on the streets of Kutien. His father and mother were dead, and he seemed to have no other relatives. He was a victim of congenital scrofula; and when noticed by Dr. Gregory, Superintendent of the American hospital in Kutien City, he was well nigh dead from the disease, necrosis having already destroyed much of the bone of his left leg.
605. Dr. Gregory became interested in the case and took the boy into the hospital as a free patient. He was put under a course of regular treatment, and nursed by foreign nurses for about three months. At the end of that time he was dismissed as cured, and evidently was cured; for, when he was brought up for trial, the only signs left of the disease were three or four scars on the leg at points where diseased bone had been taken out during the treatment.
606. Miss Hartford was among those who had shown the youth favors while he was a hospital patient. On trial he said he was thankful for what the missionaries had done for him; and excused his presence at Huashan by saying he was coerced into going. But the excuse is worthless; for he afterwards loudly boasted of the bloody deeds he had performed at the massacre.
607. A natural death cheated the law of its vengeance—Tu Fan-tsai died in prison from dysentery, a disease which he had when arrested.

LEADERS TAKE SMALL PART IN MASSACRE.

608. It is noteworthy that the men who got up the expedition to Huashan, took little part in the actual killing of the missionaries. Liu Hsiang-hsing, it is true, was very active in the killing; but he may be considered rather as an executive officer of the other leaders than as a leader himself.
609. Cheng Chiu-chiu and Chang Chih never went near Huashan. Liu Hsiang-hsing and Tu Chu-i were both on the scene direction the work of their subordinates, Tu Chu-i carrying the banner; but neither of

the two is believed to have done actual violence to the missionaries: the same may be said of Yao Pa-chang, keeper of the records and seals of the society, who was very active as a leader. But Tai Nulang, a quasi-leader, was among the foremost of the murderers in his bloody deeds.

SOME INCIDENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE.

610. In the early part of 1895 several attempts were made by the secret societies to import arms and ammunition into Foochow, which met with more or less success. The Customs officials of the port made a seizure of a quantity of firearms that had been brought from Hongkong on a British vessel. It was regarded as a very serious matter, and the Customs guarded the secret of the seizure so well that the general foreign public knew nothing at all of the event until long afterwards.
611. It was said that after the seizure such sharp lookout was kept for firearms that none could be smuggled into port except in small quantities.
612. Owing to this strictness, it is said, some of the subordinate Chinese officials in Foochow who are interested in the Vegetarian Society, approached M. E. Frandon, the then French Vice Consul here, with propositions to him to give them assistance in securing arms. M. Frandon, owing to his health being completely broken, has since returned to France; and it should be understood that the statement above made has no confirmation from him, there being no opportunity for obtaining such.
613. While none of the missionaries had any warning of the massacre, it seems nevertheless that for two or three days the natives in villages east and northeast had knowledge that the attack was to be made on Huashan and the foreigners all killed. The wonder is how the public "secret" was kept from getting to the missionaries. Mr. Stewart's servants appear to have had an inkling of what was coming, it being a fact that men known to them as prominent Vegetarians were observed surveying the surroundings of the foreign houses, and heard asking if the foreigners had guns with them. Not a word of these suspicious circumstances was mentioned to Mr. Stewart. None of the Stewart servants apparently knew enough to bring them under suspicion of being accessory before the fact. This was especially the case with the cook; and some of the committee were of the opinion that he should be subjected to a rigid examination. However, the missionaries were so sure of his innocence, and insisted so much on no action being taken, that the committee let the matter pass, bearing in mind also that any proceedings against the man would have been a cue for the Chinese officials to indiscriminately seize and throw into prison all the servants of foreigners at Huashan when it was attacked—and possible others who were native converts—under the pretext that the servants and native Christians were concerned in planning the massacre and rebelling against the Government. The officials were none too good to commit such persecutions, especially after Hsu Taotai arrived in Kutien City.
614. After the massacre, Tu Chu-i, one of the leaders, went to Foochow. It is not known what his purpose was; but it is supposed he was in quest of aid and reinforcements for the Kutien Vegetarians then vainly attempting to gather an army at Kungshan-chi. Other prominent members of the society also journeyed towards Foochow.
615. The Huashan native residents treated the Vegetarians right royally, supplying them with food and drink after the carnage had ended; and some of the Vegetarians remained over by invitation to take dinner. The village of Huashan as a whole is accessory after the fact to the massacre.
616. One of the Huashan murderers, Huang Nen-ti, on hearing of the effort that was being made to arrest him, undertook to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a razor. He cut squarely across the front of his throat, and, of course, missed the jugular vein; but the trachea was almost severed, Feeling certain of death, he made no further attempt to kill himself or to avoid arrest. When he was brought in to Kutien City, the wound, which was several days old, had received no attention, and, as a result of unchecked suppuration, sloughing had set in. The man could not talk any, all the wind from his lungs escaping through the wound. The committee discovered his importance as a witness able to tell just what took place at Huashan. Dr. Gregory was put in charge of Huang Nen-ti, and by a skilful operation temporarily patched up the hole in his windpipe, enabling him to do a little talking. But during conversation it was necessary to keep pressure applied to the wound in the trachea. No

supposed the man would get well. From the attention given to him by the foreigners, augmented by the false promises of the mandarins, he concluded that he was to be liberated on condition of his turning state's evidence. This brightened him up; his wound continued to yield to treatment. In ten day's time he could talk without much difficulty; and at the end of three weeks he was well. Meantime he had received all he wanted in the way of food, and had grown fat and hearty. During the while, besides giving out what he himself knew, he had done some detective work among the other prisoners that was useful. Being so well treated, Huang Nen-ti was very happy until the second Kutien execution took place, when, to his horror, he was included in the list of those to be beheaded. The executioner's sword, strange to say, cut through the center of the scar left on his throat by the wound which he had made in his attempt to commit suicide.

617. One of the Huashan survivors brought in was disguised as a Buddhist priest when captured. The disguise caused his arrest: a real priest discovered the fictitious one knew nothing about the priesthood, and this fact caused suspicion that the fictitious priest was a Huashan fugitive.
618. During the journey to and from the yamen in Kutien City while in attendance at the trials, the committee was always accompanied by a guard of Chinese soldiers, varying in numbers at different times from 20 to 75. The same guard was utilized in making official calls. The Chinese officials did not relish the idea of thus providing a guard for the committee; but the matter was insisted upon. However, from 50 soldiers at first the number dwindled down day by day. Enquiry as to the cause of this brought the response that the men were dying of cholera. All at once there was such a falling off that only 12 men reported for duty—it was the same tale about the men being down with cholera. An examination proved the cholera excuse without foundation. The men were being withdrawn and sent out to fill place of temporary recruits composing the army roundabout Kutien City. But there is no proof that the salary of the dismissed soldiers ceased when they were dismissed. However, the committee would have no such trifling and thereafter there was generally a full number of the guard on each occasion.
619. Some think the cholera subterfuge was specially chosen in the belief that the committee, fearing cholera, would want no guard at all. It may be mentioned that at the time there was cholera in Kutien City; but it was not of the worst type, and so the mortality was not great.
620. The ludicrous and the pathetic were jointly manifested on many occasions during the investigations. After the prisoners were executed there was, in some instances, no one to take charge of the headless bodies, the relatives of the executed one considering that a headless corpse was no account for anything. But in other cases it was different: the relatives set to work and made ahead to replace the one the law had taken away, and the false head was duly fastened on the head before burial. The motive for this is found in the well known Chinese superstition to the effect that a mutilated corpse makes a mutilated spirit in the other world, if, indeed, it does not also prevent the spirit of the mutilated body entering heaven.
621. The aged mother of Tai Nu-lang was wild with grief over the fact that her son had been disemboweled in addition to being beheaded. She reverently prepared a false head for him, and had him all sewed up nicely before burial.
622. Just as soon as the executions were over each time the whole crowd of native spectators vigorously clapped their hands, as in the act of applauding. It was considered applause by the committee; and some of the newspapers laid great stress on the event. But the clapping of hands on such occasions is done for the purpose of warding off the evil spirits, which, according to Chinese superstition, leave the body at the moment of dissolution and seek new homes in the first person they chance to reach: but a clap of the hand is a sure protection, the spirits being afraid of the noise. However, there is no doubt that the best Kutien people were really greatly rejoiced because of the executions: this was manifested in a number of ways. There is not much question but that the people of Kutien today have feelings of gratitude towards the committee, who, they devoutly believe, saved them from the rule of the Vegetarians.
623. When Prefect Ch'in Ping-chih first went to Kutien City, in fact before he arrived there, he conceived

the idea of having the people laud him to the skies, and make him appear so popular that he would be sure of a promotion on his return to Foochow. To this end he bent all his energy and spent a lot of money, it being claimed that he had hired many Kutien citizens to preach his praises among the people. Some say it cost him several thousand dollars. Now when Hsu Taotai came to Kutien City he received no demonstration whatever except the usual perfunctory one from the Chinese officials. When he left it was the same way. The Prefect did not leave Kutien City at the same time, alleging he was too much interested in looking for the Huashan criminals. He had another reason: he could not receive any demonstration while his superior, Hsu Taotai, was present. So he remained over for two or three days. When he left he received one of the greatest demonstrations ever given any official of his rank. The people, besides making numerous and costly presents, almost bodily escorted him to Shuikou, and distance of 33 miles.

624. It seems that when the committee left, the prefect, besides the use of money, employed other means to court favors. He gave it out that but for him and the magistrate the foreigners would have razed the city to the ground and caused innocent people to be put to the sword. He and the magistrate had averted the disaster. That absurd and false tale was taken up and believed by the people, greatly to the glory of the prefect.
625. After the prefect left the magistrate proposed to have his ovation. It took but little trouble for him to get it up after the credence given the tale about him and the prefect saving the city. A banquet was given him, at which there were seats for 300. During the festivities the magistrate took occasion to add emphasis to the story about how he and the prefect had saved all the people from the fury of the foreigners, as well as to manifest his hostility to the Christians and the missionaries in general.
626. The jealousy of Hsu Taotai made him grow furious when he learned of the treatment received by the prefect from the Kutien people.
627. When the burial of the murdered missionaries took place in Foochow, none of the officials were present nor any of their representatives.

TORTURE USED AT THE TRIALS.

628. There seems to have been efforts made by some to keep from the public the fact that torture was used upon the criminals tried for complicity in the massacre. The matter belongs in the report of the proceedings, and for that reason is brought forward.
629. The shrieks and howls of the tortured criminals rendered presence in the magistrate's yamen almost unendurable at times. While as man was being regularly tried before the committee there were often several preliminary trials going on in the halls or courtyards adjoining the yamen. The deputies in charge of those trials applied torture whenever they deemed it necessary.
630. The partiality shown prisoners in other respects was also present in the matter of tortures. Many of the worst of the lot got off without receiving any punishment; while others were shown no quarter. This discrimination was certainly due to bribery which was carried on almost openly, and unquestionably under the connivance of the officials.
631. The committee, while recognizing the right of the Chinese officials to conduct the trials as they generally pleased, nevertheless at first personally intervened and requested there be no torturing permitted. The officials, at this time apparently eager to accomplish something, informed the committee that without torture no results would be attained. Still they were willing to try the plan just to show that it was impractical.
632. What they said proved true. It was useless to undertake to get on without torture. This sounds strange to those unacquainted with the way of Chinese trials. However, it should be borne in mind that among Chinese the effect of torture bears some slight analogy to the effect of our oath. If a Chinese witness voluntarily tells what he knows about a case, unless he be giving testimony for the defendant, he dishonors himself; but application of torture absolves a witness from all blame for divulging all he knows, and, like the man placed under oath, he may testify against a friend. So deeply rooted is this custom of torture in China, that we find it invoked every day in the most trivial cases. A show of

torture is often sufficient to bring out all a witness knows: this was frequently the case in the Kutien trials.

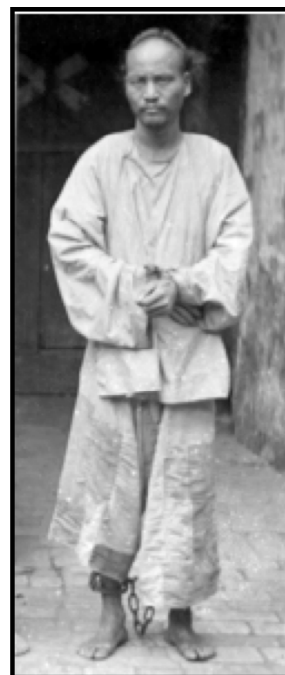
633. The torture used in Kutien City was not of the worst type. The criminal was placed kneeling on chains and compelled to remain in that position until he was ready to talk. Some times pressure was put on his legs to render more painful the operation of kneeling. If the criminal still declined to talk, his trousers were rolled up and he was whipped on the forepart of the naked thigh while he knelt on the chains. The whipping was done with a long piece of bamboo about an inch wide and thin enough to be quite pliant. The lictor would give 10 blows at a time, counting them out in a loud singsong fashion, and then stop to see if the tortured man would agree to tell what he knew.
634. If the criminal proved unruly or unduly stubborn, he was placed in a machine constructed so as to pinion his arms and keep his knees on the chains. While in this position the officials would question him. Know that a confession of guilt, whether he was guilty or not, would bring temporary relief from pain, a prisoner who was innocent would often confess to having committed dreadful deeds at Huashan. Such a confession of guilt sealed his doom so far as the Chinese officials were concerned. But not so with the committee: the committee—at least the American part of it—not only declined to put a single question to a prisoner held under torture, but also refused to accept as truthful any statements brought out by the examinations made by the officials under such circumstances.
635. When the application of torture ceases, and the Chinese had concluded their examination of a prisoner, the committee took him in hand and subjected him to cross-examination just as though he had never made any confession; and there is not the slightest doubt that this action saved innocent parties from being beheaded. The Chinese officials, seeing they had to behead some men, were not over particular whether such should be really guilty or not so long as they belonged to the lower classes and had no money to employ in bribery.
636. The committee considered the matter of retiring from the court whenever torture should be applied in their presence. But it was deemed best to remain and hear and see all that too place; otherwise, the committee would have had to rely solely upon the unreliable accounts of the officials. It was well for the prisoners that this course was pursued. However, it may be here stated that Rev. W. Banister, for special reasons, considered it his duty to avoid, as far as possible, seeing any torturing.
637. Although an outrage upon humanity, and a disgraceful proof of China's claim to being a civilized nation, the employment of torture during the Kutien trials was an absolute necessity—a necessity growing out of the long-standing corruptible and corrupting methods which are forced upon the people by the mandarins, who pretend that such a shameless mockery of justice constitutes a judicial system. In its general practice, the primary object of torture is the extorting of money from the prisoner, his relatives and friends; and the torture applied at trials is often by a small indication of what the victim has already suffered, and will suffer, in private at the hands of the inhuman keepers and attendants who have him at their mercy while, figuratively speaking, they are demanding his money or his life—and if the money be secured, the mandarin gets the lion's share.

CHARACTER OF THE VEGETARIANS CONNECTED WITH THE MASSACRE.

638. The great majority of the Vegetarians engaged in the attack on Huashan, were ignorant, illiterate men whose previous individual reputations had been mostly indifferent, but some times bad, and in rare exceptions, good. For the most part they belonged to the lowest classes of the working population; but among them were also to be found farmers, and artisans above the ordinary. There were a few professional vagabonds—the profession of vagabond is recognized in China—and there were also present some professional thieves.
639. It is seen then that on the whole the criminals came from an irresponsible class, incapable of shaping or directing public opinion on any matter. Therefore they were particularly susceptible of having their sentiments and actions controlled by a few designing men. This is exactly what was done. We may briefly consider some of those more prominent in the Vegetarian movement, and we first take up

CHANG CHIH

640. This man was a native of Ngan Chang village, where he was engaged in farming when not occupied working for the Vegetarian Society. He was 41 years old, married, and the father of three sons. He was at one time head runner or policeman in the Kutien district magistrate's yamen, from which position he was dismissed a year or so previous to the Huashan affair. He was tall and of a magnificent physique. His head was especially noticeable for its great size and development.
641. His whole bearing during the trial and his execution was marked with a calm but superb dignity that strangely contrasted with the conduct of the cowering wretches around him. It was a dignity without the slightest sign of self-conceit.
642. Chang Chih had received the rudiments of an education, and could read and write the Chinese language, and speak the mandarin, or official dialect. He had the brains of the crowd. On previous occasions he had proved himself to be a bold and fearless man. He was leader in cowering the Kutien magistrate in March, as already mentioned—for which reason the officials were ready to torture him unmercifully. But he forestalled them, by answering all questions most readily, freely admitting his own guilt and telling of that of the people who had already been convicted. Further this he knew nothing; not did the officials care to have more incrimination at that time. [further photographic comment omitted.]



CHENG CHIU-CHIU- "Long Fingernails."

644. In all the Vegetarian gang that attacked Huashan there was not one more cowardly than Cheng Chiu-chiu. He claimed to be 32 years old, and a soothsayer by profession. It has been said that he was a native of Lin-li village situated near the west gate of Foochow; but the assertion lacks proof. His previous history is largely a mystery—and one which he himself seemed not anxious to clear away.
645. However, in delicate physique, in his light complexion, and in his small hands, he bore proof that he did not belong to the working class; and neither did his parents, in all probability. He was educated fairly well in the Chinese classics. To a certain degree he was conversant with the mandarin dialect. There is no question about his having had more than the customary amount of intelligence, which he made use of in everything except in the matter of planning the death of the missionaries.
646. The investigation unearthed a very clever poem written by Cheng Chiu-chiu in his efforts to stir a spirit of enthusiasm among his dupes. He possessed a certain amount of magnetism, which he made the best of in his pretensions of being gifted with supernatural power; but this means, it seems he overthrew Chang Chih and took command of the Vegetarians. Superstition bore a great part in aiding him to secure control.
647. He vehemently resented the idea that he was a Vegetarian; and it could not be proved that he was one, though all Vegetarians appeared to consider he was a high member of the society. There is every reason to believe that he was such a high member, and that he was especially sent to Kutien to do just what he did do—turn the Vegetarians against the missionaries.
68. His terror of death was great, and he showed it on all occasions. He suffered from fright while in prison so much that after a few weeks he could scarcely be recognized as the man that was third to be put on trial. The photograph was taken long after he was imprisoned. At first the suit of clothes he has



on in the picture, was snowy white, and the twisted nails observed on his fingers were quite straight, being inclosed in cases and receiving every attention. Until torture was applied to him—or rather, was made ready for him—he doggedly denied knowing anything about the Huashan massacre and positively claimed to not know a single Vegetarian. When he did commence to tell what he knew it was only to incriminate the other leaders and endeavor to exonerate himself. He was, of course, the bitter enemy of Chang Chih and appeared also to hate Tu Chu-i. But beyond the mere act of incriminating the leaders he would not go; so nothing of the inside history of the case could be learned from him. His refusal to talk about himself was quite a contrast to the conduct of Lin Hsiang-hsing.

LIN HSIANG-HSING.

649. He was a native of Kung Chu village in Min-chan district, and was 47 years old at the time of his execution. Professionally, he was a boxing master and an all round athlete; but in going about over the country engaged in making converts to Vegetarianism he peddled medicines. He himself had been a Vegetarian for 21 years, having joined the order when he was 26. None of the other members of the committee had so wide an acquaintance with the lay members as this man had. He seemed to have gone over the whole territory lying along the Min river.



650. There was no trouble to get him to talk—in fact, he was proud of what he had done and never tired of telling it as song as he was permitted. However, he was unquestionably a fanatic, a times appearing light-headed—the result of the injury he received in his spine during the fight with Ch'en Shan-chi, Miss Hartford's servant. He discussed most freely his own actions, and also discussed the actions of others at Huashan if he knew the committee already possessed such knowledge. But he was most careful to speak of no matter that would give new information to the committee.

651. He was quite happy, he said, to know that he was going to die for the sake of the Vegetarian cause, and begged that his execution would not be long delayed. He repeatedly expressed great regret that he was prevented from killing Miss Hartford. His sentiments were not at all assumed—at least that was the impression he gave the committee.

652. He could read and write the Chinese language, and was endowed with more than usual intelligence.

653. On the morning of his execution, just after the ceremony of pronouncing final sentence upon his was concluded, he arose in court and heartily and profoundly thanked the Chinese officials and the committee for having him condemned to death, and wished all parties great happiness. He was certainly a crank after his spine was injured; but there was to proof that he was such prior to the injury. He was smiling when he lost his head on the execution grounds. His enthusiasm as a Vegetarian inclined to be less a planner than an executor of plans.

LIU HSIANG-HSING

654. This man was 43 years old, a native of Kanchou prefecture in Kiangsi province. For some years he had resided in Kutien City and followed the profession of a scale maker and repairer of broken crockery. He claimed to be illiterate; but the claim was doubtless a false one. He could speak the mandarin fluently as well as the Foochow and several other dialects. So far as the Kutien district was concerned, he was the high priest of Vegetarians.

655. At first he seemed willing enough to tell us what he knew. This was probably owing to the fact that as

he was arrested and brought to trial later than many others, he knew that what he was going to discuss was already stale information. However, cross-examination and pressure brought out many important details. Elsewhere in this report it should have been stated that Liu Hsiang-hsing informed the committee that one Yao Fu-ching is the chief of the Vegetarian Society and resides at the headquarters in Kiukiang. There is in Kiangsi province a noted Vegetarian hall or temple called Fu-ching which takes its name from his.

656. While claiming to be only a second rank member of the society, Liu Hsiang-hsing was able to tell much about the other ranks. He most likely a special agent of the society sent over from the adjoining province of Kiangsi.
657. He was rather uncouth in appearance; but impressed one at once as possessing great strength of character and a large amount of nervous energy. He was also robust in physique, though not above the average size. He was quite indifferent to death, and on no occasion did he evince the least excitement.

TU CHU-I.

658. Tu Chu-i was a native of Jui-yen, or Jui-han village, in the Kutien district. He was 52 years old and had been following the occupation of raising ducks by the wholesale. He was a man of great physical strength, and possessed a more than ordinary share of will-power. His intelligence was far above the average.
659. On trial he rivaled Chang Chih in point of coolness and self-possession under every circumstance. He habitually wore the same sinister smile noticed on his face [in photograph]. However, this is absent in photograph, taken upon his arrival in Kutien City, just after he had finished a four days' ride shut up in the cage in which he is sitting.
660. One of the torture racks mentioned in paragraph 634 is seen just behind Tu Chu-i's cage. It was not used in his case, there being no necessity for it as he made no effort to conceal the part he took in planning the massacre.



TAO PA-CHANG

661. Tao Pa-chang, mentioned before as the registrar of the society, was only 23 years old. A native of Chi-kou village, he was a lithe, active, fine looking young fellow. His regular business was that of a grocery merchant. He was educated better than most men of his class, and possessed intelligence of a high order.
662. Both before and after the massacre, in his outward acts he was the boldest of all the Vegetarians in Kutien, marching his men around in a body and concealing nothing. On his return from Huashan he publicly displayed his plunder in an effort to gather reinforcements to attack Kutien City. In his general character he was quite unlike

TAI NU-LANG AND OTHERS.

663. None of the others engaged in planning the massacre are worth separate mention, except Tai Nu-lang. He was 24 years old, and a native of Chien-kung village. By profession he was a manufacturer of earthen pottery. His intelligence was only ordinary, but his physique was good. Though his face was not a hideous one, there was something in its expression which distinctly reminded one of a beast.
664. Like Cheng Chiu-chiu, Tai Nu-lang was terrified at the thought of death. He came near dying in prison, and when executed was a mere wreck of his former self. There is no way of accounting for how this man happened to be admitted into the councils of the planners except upon the theory of the ferocity of his character making him acceptable as one who would carry out the most diabolical plans that could be concocted against the missionaries. The real leaders consulted him in order to flatter his vanity.

665. In the same category with Tai Nu=lang may be classed Yeh-Wu-tieh, and about a dozen others of more or less prominence.

THE LEADERS WERE NOT IGNORAMUSES.

656. From the foregoing it is easily seen that the men brought forward as the originators and leaders in the massacre, were not the fools they have been represented as being in some articles written by people who knew little or nothing of the subject. Not one of them was an ignoramus in any sense; and their aggregate intellectuality was vastly superior to that of average Chinamen. True, there were many weak, irresponsible coolies in the crowd, who blindly stuck to their oaths to implicitly obey the orders of their masters, the yinchings; but these latter were men quite capable of sober thought.

DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECT COMPLICITY OF CHINESE OFFICIALS IN THE MASSACRE.

667. Bearing in mind the distinction between complicity and culpability, it is well to state in the beginning that there is no proof of officials' complicity in the matter. It is firmly believed that such complicity existed. Cheng Chiu-chiu's death left the committee without a chance to obtain such proof; and so the belief rests purely upon theory.
668. It seems incredible that sober sane men, not to say intelligent men, would assume the responsibility of such a crime as that committed at Huashan and proceed to put themselves in a position to lose their heads if caught. That is what the Chinese officials would make believe was done. The officials, it should be noted, knew a great deal more about this case than the committee does—the reference is, of course, to legitimate knowledge—but never a word of their knowledge has been given to the committee by them. Their policy has been to ostensibly know no more than the committee and to keep the committee from finding out the facts about the case. To this end the officials have put forth all possible exertion, commencing with the day of the massacre when the viceroy concealed from the Consuls the news he had received about the missionaries having been killed, and continuing up to the present writing. This alone would be enough to arouse suspicions against the mandarins.
669. But the coaching of witnesses during the trial, the uneasiness, always, among the officials when any one of the several leaders was talking, the light penalties inflicted on the criminals, the apathy in making arrests, the refusal to allow the committee to be present at the trial, the failure to make any real efforts to put down the Vegetarian Society, and the thousand and one acts of deception which they perpetrated during the investigation, are matters to be recorded against the officials; and so, too, with the scheme concocted to make the committee believe that the massacre was the direct result of a quarrel between the Vegetarians and the missionaries, and so also with the viceroy's action, in placing 30,000 taels—something like \$44,500 Mexican dollars—at the command of Hus Taotai, about the 7th or 8th of October, 1895, to be used by him in bribing the Consuls to cease pressing for a thorough investigation.
670. Now, with the announcement of the news of the massacre came also from the declaration from the officials that it was the work of outlaws and rebels. That being the case, where was the reason for the viceroy's strenuous efforts in aiding the murderers to escape? Do viceroys look kindly on Chinese subjects engaged in rebellion? Another viceroy in Southern China once cut off the hands of 5,000 rebels in a single day. Viceroy Pien certainly was not much concerned about the lives of the Huashan criminals, seeing that he sent Hsu Taotai to Kutien with carte blanche authority to chop off any number of heads necessary to bring the investigation to a close and such was the case. After that, can any one be made to believe that he was trying to save the lives of his subjects when he went into his own pocket—that is where he had to go to get it—for 30,000 taels with which to bribe the Consuls to relax their efforts to discover the inside facts about the Huashan affair?
671. The Chinese provincial officials were not afraid to deal with the Vegetarian outlaws. A day or two after the massacre some parties, supposed to be Vegetarians escaping from Huashan, waylaid and robbed a petty official on the Min river, about half way between Foochow and Shuikou. The culprits

were speedily caught and beheaded. Six of their heads are still displayed to public view along the banks of the river when the committee returned from Kutien. There is quite a contrast between the Chinese methods of dealing with this case and the Huashan case; and the difference is all in favor of the theory that in the Huashan case the conduct of the officials were due to personal considerations vitally important—yes, important to the extent of 30,000 taels.

672. Not the least of the various suspicious circumstances in this affair is the manner in which the officials hastily put the leaders beyond the reach of cross-examinations, and the means that were employed, previous to their coming to Foochow, to prevent their being subjected to a thorough examination in presence of the committee. Add to this the notorious fraud in connection with the pretence of continuing the investigation after the committee left Kutien. Hsu Taotai received the list of 205 names of Vegetarians mentioned in paragraph 488, and pretended to despatch the viceregal deputies, Chang, Liu, La and Wang under strict orders to apprehend the criminals, whereas in truth, these deputies received secret instructions not to make any arrests at all, and were also told to get up a report making the total number of Vegetarians substantially agree with the minimized number given in depositions which the officials had falsified.
673. The deputies carried out their secret instructions to the letter. Not a single criminal was arrested; and they reported that, in addition to the criminals already arrested and tried, the total number of Vegetarians in Kutien district was 918, which alleged fact they said had been ascertained by their personal inquiries and investigations made during visits to 561 towns and villages of the district—a report which was a manifest fraud upon its face, seeing that the deputies were engaged in their pretences for only a few days before announcing their task finished, whereas in reality it would have taken months and months to even visit that number of towns and villages, much less stopping and making examinations. But the number of Vegetarians given in the report is in marked contrast to the declaration of the officials made before the investigation to the effect that there were in Kutien district 10,000 well armed Vegetarians in open rebellion.
674. No one doubts that the original plans of the lay members of the Vegetarian Society in Kutien looked only to rebellion against the Chinese Government, and that these plans included no extraordinary hostility towards foreigners. The Vegetarians were doubtless encouraged to this by the political scene resulting from the war with Japan. The strange part of the affair was the sudden turning of the Vegetarians against the missionaries. This, it has been seen, was accomplished through the machinations of Cheng Chiu-chiu. There is no question that this man was sent to Kutien on a special mission, and that special mission seems to have comprehended the turning of the Vegetarians against the missionaries with the intention to thus kill two birds with a single stone—to massacre the missionaries and also put an end to the rebellion.
675. But it may be said that Cheng Chiu-chiu was a member of the Vegetarian Society, and so would not be a tool to work its ruin. To this, it might be answered that few Chinamen are proof against bribery, much less such a Chinaman as Cheng Chiu-chiu. It has already been stated how the relatives of some of the Huashan criminals betrayed their kinsmen into the hands of the law for the sake of a few dollars. Such is often the case. If Cheng Chiu-chiu had not been assured of protection, why did he make no attempt to escape? It was only when he got into the hands of the committee that he seemed to fear trouble was in store for him. The Chinese officials could induce a man of his stamp to commit any crime.

WAS THERE SUFFICIENT MOTIVE?

676. The Chinese mandarins constitute in reality an immense league of slave-masters, holding in subjection a nation of slaves, and exceedingly jealous and hostile towards every movement that gives out any indication of being likely, sooner or later, to interfere with their power. All the missionaries in China and all their converts are busily engaged in digging the grave of this league, in freeing the people from its rule, and therefore in overturning the present corrupt system of Chinese government. Christianity itself inculcates in the native converts ideas that are dangerous to the existing state of affairs in China, since it is more less conducive to thoughts on individuality and personal liberty.

677. But the missionaries do not content themselves with simply teaching the doctrines of the Bible: they go further, and undertake to enlighten their converts in every possible way, and especially by filling their minds with whatever pertains to Western civilization. Many of them have taken great interest in supplying the Chinese people with improved implements and machinery of foreign manufacture. During the past year American missionaries have imported into this province from the United States a quantity of agricultural machinery and placed it in the hands of the native members of their churches. This is very objectionable to the officials because those using the machinery are benefitted by it, and are thereby led to regard foreigners and foreign methods all the more favorably.
678. The missionaries are zealous in their work of establishing schools and colleges for the education of the Chinese youth. Few students are graduated from such institutions without a great appreciation of the wrongs suffered by their country at the hands of the official classes—and this because of the fact that their mental powers are developed by the training they receive enabling them to think for themselves, and not because the missionaries make any effort to implant seditious thoughts in the minds of their pupils. Chinese youths trained in the mission schools are looked upon by the Chinese officials with a suspicious, uncertain sort of dread that is difficult to be described. Along with all this is to be placed the missionaries advocacy of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and many other similar improvements which the officials rightly consider as general educational factors, and which they therefore regard as being dangerous weapons in the hands of the oppressed people; for, be it understood, the mandarin opposes any and everything that would have a tendency to lift from the eyes of the people the veil of superstition and ignorance. Enlightenment of the populace would send the mandarin to its doom.
679. Somehow the impression has got abroad that China is a great country for equality of rights regardless of conditions of birth and social station, and that, excluding a few well defined classes, all men are eligible to appointment to the highest offices in the gifts of the emperor, and have chances, too, of winning such appointments. The facts prove quite the contrary condition of things. The officials in power form an aristocracy, and public office is handed down from generation to generation, or, rather, eligibility to appointment to office is so handed down. If a man rises from among the masses high enough to receive appointments, he must, as a rule, do so by aid of silver and gold—many buy appointments outright; and where there is a large corruption fund, competency or incompetency of the appointee is no factor in the matter: hence it is that some times illiterate men occupy high offices in China.
680. The mandarins form a sort of incorporated nobility, and are as one man in opposing whatever would seem to be a menace to their rule; and it makes little difference with them whether such menace be caused by action of the native Chinese or by that of foreigners.
681. Another wrong impression consists in the belief that the Chinese oppose the missionaries because the latter are attempting to overturn the “established” religion of the country. The opposition has no such foundation, there being great religious tolerance in China. A number of different religions have been imported into China, and have rapidly spread without any opposition. The greatest religion, in point of numbers, that exists in China today is a religion entirely foreign to the country. But the religions that meet with toleration are all peculiar to the Orient, and, unlike the Christian religion, contain nothing in their creeds suggestive of the broader principles of individual rights and human liberties. The cause of the opposition, then, is the particular kind of religion the missionary is teaching—and all the opposition comes, directly or indirectly, from the official classes.
682. Now, of all people, the Chinese officials, perhaps, have the least religion. It is true that they go through various religious ceremonies; but these signify nothing as to their belief. The greater part of the official classes and the literati in China are atheists, or infidels, or, at the very best, agnostics—and these terms are here used in their general sense. Many of the officials in private make fun of the very ceremonies and superstitions they are virtually compelled to outwardly recognize with so much solemnity.
683. As between the pressure from foreign countries concerning Christianity and the great necessity of the Chinese keeping their own people in darkness, the officials are in a most embarrassing predicament.

On the one hand they must make a show of favoring Christianity; on the other, if Christianity gets a firm foothold, the mandarin's occupation is gone. Therefore originates that toggle-joined style of diplomacy which induces a man like Li Hung-chang to go out in the morning before a multitude of ignorant Chinese natives, fall down upon his knees in hypercritical worship of a little green slimy snake, pretending it to be the incarnation of a mighty god, and finally ordering it carried in grand state to his yamen, there to be continually revered, amid most elaborate ceremonies, until the miserable thing dies of disgust, and which same diplomacy leads the same man to take a little time from his idolatrous performance and write, to be cabled to the United States and to other nations, the sycophantic message, 'Send more missionaries to China: she needs them.' The green snake performance is seen by the Chinese people, who are mightily impressed thereby and convinced beyond all doubt that the snake is surely a god, seeing that he is worshipped by so great a personage. But none of the populace hears of the pro-missionary telegram: it remains for the newspapers in distant lands to publish the message, as a proof of how China has reformed, and then proceed to eulogize the man who framed the message, believing of course that his act was one of sincerity.

684. Any one Chinese official who is able to cause trouble for the missionaries and to stop for a little time the progress of Christianity, it matters not what base methods he may employ in doing so, is regarded by his fellow officials as a great benefactor of their kind. However it is rarely the case that any one ever hears of such things being openly done. No official can well afford to openly devise plans for persecuting Christians, for it would call down upon him the severe censure of his superiors who would fully appreciate the bad reputation such acts would give China.
685. Motives for official complicity in outrages against missionaries have always been numerous, they are stronger today than ever before, and they bid fair to become stronger and stronger yet, in proportion as general education makes its impress upon the Chinese common people.

WAS THERE OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPLICITY?

686. As every Chinese official, small or great, is practically a king within the limits of the country or town covered by his jurisdiction, he is in the best sort of a position to do indirectly but surely anything that he wishes, carrying out his plans through his minions. It is not necessary to give any orders—Chinese are quick to take hints, the subordinate learning the wish of his master, hands it down to another subordinate, who in turn makes it known to his inferior, and so on and so on until the common people are reached. In this way the viceroy of Fuhkien province might sit in his palace here in Foochow at instigate, or even direct, a dozen Huashan massacres without his connection therewith ever being discovered save by the merest accident. Those unacquainted with the power of the yamen attaches and the dread in which they are held by the people, can scarcely appreciate what has just been said.
687. The yamen minions, of course, receive no compensation from their masters except in the nature of licenses to extort money from outsiders, which licenses are granted as favors or rewards. Evil will come to that poor man who will undertake to set himself in opposition to the yamen runners or policemen either by acts of commission or omission. A trumped-up charge against him of a serious nature soon suffices to have him in the yamen dungeon whence he may never emerge alive. There are plenty of instances of this nature where people have been charged with murder—in some cases even where there never existed the least evidence tending to prove the corpus delicti. What Magistrate Wang Yu-yang says of the Vegetarians in paragraph 54, is equally true when applied to the officials and their hordes of retainers. It is estimated by the officials that in Foochow alone there are connected with the various yamens 20,000 of the lowest class of those retainers known as "runners".
688. It was hardly to be expected that in the Huashan investigation any evidence would be adduced directly connecting Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan with the massacre, and this because of the facts already noted relative to the facility he would have in covering up all signs of his work. But it was considered quite possible that evidence would be obtained against minor officials, that is, was so considered until the Chinese authorities and the British Consul had Cheng Chiu-chiu and the other leaders beheaded; for, it often happens that in the various ramifications attending the putting into operation the plans secretly agreed upon in high official circles, the hands of the petty officials or underlings entrusted with them

are exposed to view. There is, however, always the greatest difficulty for even the Chinese to get at the real source of schemes and intrigues set on foot by any official, though some of his hirelings may be caught red-handed—never to be published: and from this fact comes the terse Chinese aphorism, “Water always runs down hill”, which expression the Chinese themselves have used in discussing the possible origin of the Huashan massacre.

689. It may be safely assumed that in nine out of every ten cases of missionaries having trouble with the Chinese populace about religion, about building sites and the style of buildings, about the “destruction of fungshui”, about the persecution of Christians, foreign or native, and about various other matters, the Chinese officials, great or small, are directly concerned as the real instigators, though nearly always operating indirectly so as to cover up their tracks.
690. In an affair like the Huashan massacre, there could be no lack of opportunity for officials acting as the secret instigators of the crime; and their complicity might remain undiscovered so long as investigations to disclose the same were conducted by foreigners who, instead of receiving assistance from the Chinese officials deputed to cooperate in the inquiry, were confronted by their most assiduous opposition, which at times nearly amounted to open hostility.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE MASSACRE IS A MYSTERY.

691. If the proposition that the Chinese officials themselves instigated the massacre be rejected, there would scarcely remain any other tenable theory accounting for that great crime. However, in the course of the inquiry several other explanations were suggested to the committee, some by the Chinese officials. A few of these may be briefly considered:—
692. In the beginning, the Chinese Government undertook to say the massacre was the work of outlaws engaged in rebellion. Now the rebellion was against the Government, not against the missionaries. But the viceroy, in the protection he gave the murderers of the missionaries, seemed to encourage that sort of rebellion which, for all time, removed from the province 11 foreigners! It is noticeable, too, that the rebels, on August the 1st, 1895, did no injury to non-Christian Chinese subjects, not even plundering the houses of the Huashan native villagers who were at their mercy. It was merely an accident that the murderers of the missionaries were rebels.
693. But some have said that the Vegetarians rebels attacked the foreigners in order to obtain supplies—an absurd proposition. There were no arms or munitions of any sort in the missionaries homes, and this fact was known to the Vegetarians; foreign food stuff is mostly worthless to Chinese, who will not eat it, and the much less so to those living on a vegetable diet; the general personal effects and household furniture of the missionaries would have been of but little benefit to the Vegetarians, since they could neither use them nor sell them; and as for money and jewelry, with reference to the first, it is almost universally known in China that foreigners keep as little money as possible on their persons or in their residences, while as regards the second it is known to all Chinese having any acquaintance with missionaries that they do not wear valuable jewels and do not have them about their premises—all foreigners are supposed to keep their money and valuable personal property in the banks at the treaty ports. Had the Vegetarians been in quest of supplies for the rebellion, they could have secured the same very easily by robbing wealthy Chinese families living close to their headquarters, as was provided for in the plans of the deposed leader Chang Chih.
694. Although they had at first declared the massacre to be the result of a rebellion pure and simple, the Chinese authorities, when the investigation commenced, considered it more to their advantage to ascribe it to quite another cause by saying the whole business grew out of a long-standing quarrel between the Vegetarians and the Christians relative to the virtues of their respective religions; the Christians being to blame therefor; and thus, contradicting their own previous assertions as done by them many times in this same case, the mandarins sought to lay at the doors of the missionaries and their converts the crime of stirring up an insurrection that resulted in the attack on the missionary settlement at Huashan: the officials strenuously held to this theory, and, as has been seen, undertook to support it by coaching witnesses and by falsifying court records of testimony. This explanation for the cause of the massacre has no foundation either in fact or in theory, as there never was any sort of

religious quarrel between the Vegetarians and the Christians; not was there any other trouble between them as members of different sects: and the assertions to the contrary were put forward with due knowledge of the falsity of the charge. However, Rev. Mr. Stewart, it seems, did have some trouble with a Vegetarian—it was only supposed he was a Vegetarian—who, several months before the massacre, approached him in a violent manner in Kutien City; but the man was lost sight of and so far as known had nothing to do with the Huashan tragedy.

695. The assertion has put forward by some that the missionaries were murdered because of the Vegetarians believing they had been instrumental in having soldiers sent to the Kutien—the 200 under the command of Colonel T'an Yu-te, who reached Kutien City the last part of July, 1895. There is no doubt about the leaders of the Vegetarians having put out such a false report among their men; and they used it as best they could to stir up among the gang all possible hatred of the missionaries. Now, in the first place, the Vegetarian leaders had means of knowing all that went on in the yamens; and, therefore, they knew that it was Deputy Ho Ting and other Chinese officials who asked for the soldiers, and also that the request for them was in nowise connected with the missionaries. In the second place, as already pointed out, the Vegetarian leaders were not fools, but men of more than average intelligence: and these leaders knew full well that, instead of the death of the missionaries rendering the Vegetarians safe from molestation by the soldiers, it could only result in making the situation extremely critical, since a large number of troops would be sent up as reinforcements. But the fact is the planning of the massacre was under way before the 200 soldiers started for Kutien. Moreover, had it been true that the missionaries caused the presence of the soldiers, that fact alone would never have induced the Vegetarians to move against Huashan. Calmer counsels would have prevailed; for, be it remembered, the carrying out of the designs against the missionaries was not the act of an infuriated mob, nor yet the work of men made unreasonable by the violence of sudden kindling or passion by an outburst of long-restrained hatred—on the march from Kungshan-ch'i to Huashan was a tiresome journey, consuming a whole night, and giving every opportunity for reflection: so that the massacre was in the highest degree a premeditated crime, the result of a fixed, determined purpose in the hearts of the leaders. The story of the soldier's presence causing the massacre must be relegated to the same category as the fraudulent drawing conducted by Cheng Chiu-chiu at Kungshan-ch'i when he made it appear that the gods decreed the Vegetarians should attack the missionaries at Huashan—that is, it was only a trick of the leaders, devised to nerve the wavering resolution of their ignorant followers whenever they protested against carrying out such a diabolical plot.

ANOTHER DANGEROUS SECRET SOCIETY.

696. There is the remotest possibility that the turning of the Vegetarians from rebellion against the Government to the massacre of innocent foreigners, was brought about by the ingenious machinations of a secret order having no direct connection with the Vegetarian Society, but which is a far more dangerous organization both as regards foreigners and the Chinese official classes.²¹ This society has its main strength in the southern provinces. It is said to have its headquarters at Hongkong. The name of the order cannot be ascertained, if indeed it has any definite name. Its prime object is the overturning of the present Chinese governmental system, and especially the breaking up of the mandarin autocracy, with the ultimate view of reestablishing the government upon occidental lines, and of instituting social and political reforms among all classes in order to fit the people for taking part in framing and enforcing the laws of their country. Despairing of securing reforms by pacific methods, and knowing the futility of a rebellion without firearms and supplies, the members of the society propose to use foul means to accomplish their purpose. It is said they advocate all manner of uprisings and insurrections, simply for the bad reputation these give China among Western Powers; and whenever by so doing they can seriously involve the Chinese officials, the members of the order proposed to have foreigners murdered. In this way they hope to make such anarchy in China that the Powers will, for self-protection, be forced to step in and put an end to the rule of the present dynasty

21 This appears to be a reference to the Tongmenghui. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tongmenghui>

as well as oust the mandarins from their offices. Whether the Powers might afterwards exercise dominion over China or not, seems to be a matter of indifference to the members of this particular secret society, since they regard it impossible to have matters made worse than at present. So it has been put forward that the society was represented in Kutien by Cheng Chiu-chiu who was sent there as its special emissary; and that the missionaries were murdered at its suggestion so as to involve the Chinese officials of Fuhkien. Now, there is but little doubt that such a society does exist; and there is not much question about its being responsible for revolutionary movements during the past year or so in Canton and other places. Some of its members are leading Chinese merchants, and it is said that there are minor Chinese officials belonging to it, just as is the case with the other anti-dynastic secret orders. But the proposition that it is responsible for the massacre is signally weak, for this reason: Had it instigated the murder of the missionaries for the objects intimated, the facts would have most certainly come to the knowledge of the officials, who would have at once publicly put the blame where it belonged, and who, besides that, would have taken most terrible vengeance on the criminals; but, on the contrary, the officials, from the viceroy down, shielded and favored the murderers at every opportunity.

697. Of the several theories advanced to account for the Huashan tragedy, the one making the Chinese authorities the real instigators, has by far the most plausibility—more than all the others combined—and the presumptive evidence going to support it falls but little short of being positive evidence when one takes into consideration the conduct of the officials before and after the first day of August, 1895. But, however strong theoretical conclusions may be, it remains a fact that absolute positive evidence is wanting, and so the actual cause of the massacre is at present unknown to the committee.

CULPABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL OFFICIALS.

698. Whatever doubts and vagaries there may be concerning the complicity of the Chinese officials in the Huashan massacre, there can be no uncertainty regarding their culpability, the latter standing out in a number of instances. Some instances of culpability have already been noted, and are repeated here only for synoptical purposes. In addition to the making of charges against various officials, a brief personal sketch will be given of each individual. The first for consideration is

VICEROY T'AN CHUNG-LIN.

699. This official, like many others who have served in Foochow, is a native of the notorious province of Hunan. He is now about 75 years old, but well preserved for a man of that age. His mind still seems clear and active. He has a more than usual executive ability, coupled with a certain disregard for the advice of any subordinate—which two qualities rendered him unpopular among Chinese official classes. His general bearing in the company of foreigners is dignified but haughty.
700. He assumed office as viceroy of Fuhkien on August 11, 1892. During his regime in Foochow the Chinese looked upon him as being an unscrupulous man. In 1894, the then Tartar General and he had a serious rupture, or a series of ruptures, which, it is said, grew out of the viceroy's rapacity and avariciousness. The Tartar General proceeded to prepare a memorial to Peking denouncing the viceroy for drawing and pocketing pay for an army that had no existence except on paper. One evening, before the memorial had been completed, the Tartar General, just after having partaken of a hearty supper, was suddenly seized with violent pains in the stomach. He commenced to vomit blood, became unconscious, and a few minutes later died in convulsions. His successor considered it wise not to finish the memorial denouncing T'an.
701. Viceroy T'an's administration was particularly hostile towards foreigners. He himself ignored the Consuls so far as possible; and, instead of answering their despatches he turned them over to some inferior official.²²
702. However, being a man of forceful character and feared by inferiors, he maintained fairly good order in

22 The status of a foreign Consul in 19th century China was equivalent to the Chinese rank of Taotai. The referral of despatches from a Consul to a subordinate officer of equivalent rank was not unusual in similar European jurisdictions.

the province, thus making up for many of his objectionable features.

703. His culpability in the Huashan massacre commenced in the latter part of 1894, when the British Consul brought to his notice the depredations of the Kutien Vegetarians. So far as discovered by the committee, the viceroy gave no serious consideration to the British Consul's representations, much less taking any active measures to suppress the lawlessness. There is not much doubt that the viceroy's officials informed him about the impending Vegetarian troubles in the early part of 1895.
704. Certain it is that, under date of March 31, 1895, Prefect T'an Pa0-chien submitted to him two separate reports received from Magistrate Wang Yu-yang, giving the details of the deplorable state of things existing in Kutien City as well as in the district of Kutien—for which reports see paragraph 52 et sequentes. The next day the British Consul wrote the viceroy a despatch and urged upon him the necessity of at once sending troops to crush out the Vegetarians. On the 27th of March, 1895, the United States Consul called on the Taotais of the Foreign Board, Tungshan-ch'u, representing to them the imminent danger in Kutien from Vegetarians, and requested that soldiers be immediately despatched to the scene. The substance of this interview must have been conveyed to the viceroy, since the viceroys regard this so-called Foreign Board as being a sort of cabinet to execute their orders and to keep them informed on all matters of interest, especially upon whatever concerns foreigners. Again, after receiving Dr. Gregory's letter of March 29th, the United States Consul called at the Tungshan-ch'u and not only urged but insisted that soldiers be sent to the relief of Kutien City then supposed to be besieged by the Vegetarian horde; and he obtained the promise that 400 soldiers would immediately be despatched there if the viceroy would but give his consent. This interview, too, must have been made known to the viceroy.
705. So, it will be observed, that Viceroy T'an Chung-lin had no lack of information on the Kutien situation; the information came to him from three different sources.
706. Yet he practically did nothing in the matter. However, two weeks after receiving the British Consul's despatch he replied to it, saying he had sent to Kutien a deputy, who, having investigated, had returned and reported that there was no disturbance there. This deputy as noted elsewhere, was one Li Ch'un-hui, a petty official of bad repute both among Chinese and foreigners; and the viceroy must have known that no confidence could be placed in a report from such a man. It transpires that Li Sen-sang remained in Kutien only one day.
707. Energetic action by Viceroy T'an during any part of the period between October, 1894, and April 19, 1895, would have effectually stamped out the Kutien lawlessness. His reasons for not taking steps to put down the trouble, were largely personal and pecuniary—he did not care to spend money putting in order a province which he was expecting to soon hand over to his successor, who for several months had been en route to Foochow: this same pecuniary consideration is too often the cause of inaction on the part of officials. In this instance the inaction was criminal, and T'an should be held responsible for it.
708. On April 19, 1895, Viceroy T'an Chung-lin handed over his office to his successor, and soon afterwards left Foochow for Canton, having been promoted to the viceroyalty of the two Kwangs—Kwangtung and Kwangsi—one of the most lucrative offices in China. He is still filling that position.

VICEROY PIEN PAO-CH'UAN.

709. A native of the province of Chili, Pien Pao-ch'uan is about 63 years old, weak in physique, weak in intellect and character, and is now in his second childhood. His constitution seems to have been broken by dissipation and debauchery. He has no moral character, and does not hesitate to resort to willful falsehoods and deceptions, even to carry a point temporarily, through he knows he is sure to be found out. Therefore any promises or representations made by him cannot be relied on.
710. Such a man of course is without any executive ability. Yet he was appointed viceroy to succeed T'an Chung-lin, taking charge of office April 19, 1895. Previously, in November, 1883, he was made governor of the province of Shensi, and in March 1889, he was promoted to the governorship of Hunan, from which office he was retired for some reason in June, 1887. He is a banner-man.

711. He perhaps never did have much knowledge of practical affairs of any kind. This is the reputation he seems to have always borne among the Chinese, who credit him with being a “literary fool”, that is, a man disregarding all else for the sake of spending his life poring over Chinese classics. As he held office so far away from the coast, he was never thrown in contact with foreigners at all, and hence personally knew nothing of their ways or customs. Yet his reputation for hostility to foreigners preceded him to his post.
712. He is said to have declared he would never receive a foreigner in his yamen. Whether such report is true or not, is unknown, but this much is known: up to the 3rd of August, 1895, he had successfully evaded all efforts of the Consuls to obtain audience with him, and he only yielded then when he saw the United States Consul would not submit to being put off with any excuse.
713. The character of Pien is a curious medley of infirmities and deficiencies. Usually weak and vacillating in administering the duties of his office, he is yet so stubborn now and then that all his subordinates have no influence over him. Bitterly hating all foreigners and holding Consuls in high contempt, he is yet afraid of the shadow of a foreigner and in the presence of one fawns and cringes with great servility. Still on occasions he was able to be most indifferent and unconcerned in the presence of foreigners; he was so when the United States Consul called on him to secure a launch to bring home the survivors of the massacre.
714. After the Consuls returned from Kutien, Pien resumed his old plan of avoiding seeing them. His despatches were evasive on all questions. As there were some important matters that needed attention the United States Consul represented the situation to the United States Minister at Peking, through whose efforts an appointment was made with the viceroy; and Commander Joseph E. Craig, U.S.N., and the United States Consul paid a visit to Pien, Saturday, December 14, 1895.²³ The interview was a notable one as throwing some light on the different phases of the character of a man whose power over a population exceeding 65,000,000 is almost that of an autocrat.
715. The viceroy had prepared himself for the interview by resorting to the old Chinese trick of surrounding himself with his subordinates, who were ready to talk, all at the same time, with the foreign visitors and thus prevent them talking with the viceroy or from carrying on with any one an intelligent conversation. But the viceroy, having never before seen anything of the kind, was considerably excited on viewing Captain Craig’s full dress uniform. The subordinates played their parts well, and permitted no one an opportunity to have a word with their master. Finally, it was necessary to inform the viceroy that the call was made for the purpose of talking with him, not with his subordinates.
716. The viceroy vainly tried to avoid issues by giving equivocal answers; and then, failing in this, he had recourse to the most patent falsehoods, so patent that his conduct humiliated his subordinates—which is saying a great deal, seeing that Chinese officials are not easily humiliated. When drawn to the point where he had to answer propositions in the affirmative or the negative, he sought to escape by means of a most ludicrous scheme, one that was wholly unexpected.
717. This was nothing less than feigning the necessity of having to retire to a private apartment to relieve himself. First clapping his hands to his stomach and to other parts of his body in a suggestive manner and going through a lot of needless writhing and contorting, he humbly begged his visitors to grant him permission to absent himself for a few minutes. In spite of his agonizing grimaces, it was too apparent that there was nothing the matter with him. He was playing a part: once out of the room, he would have been so prostrated (?) with his “bowel complaint”, as he called it, that he would never have returned; and so his visitors, seeing this, and considering the fact that he in a manner put himself within their authority by begging permission to retire instead of simply excusing himself and leaving the room, very firmly refused to grant the viceroy the desired permission. Finding his game would not work, he very promptly answered the proposition, and in the affirmative, too. His pretended

23 Commander Newell had resumed command of USS Detroit in Hong Kong. Commander Craig, from New York, was captain of USS Concord of the Asiatic Squadron. *New York Times*, 4 February 1895.

paroxysms vanished at once; and he settled down to make himself quite pleasant on general topics.

718. But his troubles were not all ended: he was speedily brought back into a business discussion which, as before, soon put him where he could no longer wriggle. Immediately he commenced the same tactics about his “bowel complaint”. This time his subordinates seconded his request for permission to retirement but to no avail—the result was the same as before, even to the viceroy’s returning composure after he had answered the proposition.
719. However, that miserable trick of his was tried for a third time—with the same result. A remarkable part about it all was that the viceroy seemed to possess not enough intelligence to continue his pretences beyond the moment he got rid of the troublesome question; and there is no better proof than this of his simple-mindedness.
720. During the conference, which lasted for over two hours, several points were satisfactorily arranged—that is, they were supposed to be so arranged. In each instance where it could be done it was insisted that the viceroy then and there issue orders to his executive officers, who were present, to carry out the arrangements. But it afterwards transpired that Captain Craig and the Consul had scarcely passed beyond the outer gates of the yamen before the viceroy, acting on the advice of Hsu Taotai, had issued secret instructions to his subordinates not to regard the open instructions given to them during the conference. Later, when confronted with the charge of having cancelled the instructions, he denied it—and later still he denied almost everything that took place during the conference, that is everything in the nature of a promise from him: and to this day not one of the promises has ever been fulfilled.
721. Lest it be supposed that some part of the viceroy’s conduct on this occasion was caused by coercion on the part of Captain Craig and the United States Consul, it is well to remark that such was not the case. The viceroy was treated with all due respect, special pains being taken to avoid even the semblance of a threat or anything in the nature of intimidation, much less coercion. In no matter was the slightest discourtesy shown him—unless, forsooth, it was in the refusal to grant him permission to retire to a private apartment when he falsely asserted the necessity therefor. His conduct was entirely due to the nature of the man—the result of his cowardice, covert hostility to foreigners, his fawning and cringing policy of avoidance, his weakness of intellect, his want of ordinary self-respect, his habitual insincerity and hypocrisy, his total disregard of the first principles of truth and honor and morality—and there can be no other cause for the disgraceful and disgusting spectacle he publicly made of himself and his office. The assertion is ventured that never before in any viceregal yamen has there occurred a scene at all comparable with the one which, on the 14th of December, 1895, took place in the yamen of Pien Pao-ch’uan. By the scene and its sequential let his personal character be judged.
722. Pien Pao-ch’uan’s culpability in the Huashan matter dates from April 19, 1895.—the day on which he took charge of his office as the successor of Viceroy T’an Chung-lin. True, he inherited a lot of troubles which had accumulated through the criminal apathy of his predecessor. About the time of Pien’s arrival here the body politic of Fuhkien was in a sad state. But it was his particular business to bend his energies to the task of rectifying matters and putting the province in order. So far as his investigations show, he did nothing towards quelling disturbance either in Kutien or elsewhere. He was careful however to decline to see the Consuls, always referring them to his subordinates. By thus secluding himself he placed himself at the mercy of his subordinates, and these, it is believed, really transacted the business of the yamen. The fact is established that in some of his correspondence with the Consuls despatches have been written without his knowing anything about their contents. In thus neglecting to personally superintend his official affairs he could scarcely expected to gain much information about the two provinces within his jurisdiction.
723. Previous to his arrival the prefect had place din record in the viceregal yamen a statement of the conditions in Kutien. It is certain, too, that, besides the reports set forth in the first part of this document, there were other papers in the case, though this Consulate has been unable to obtain them. The prefect ordered the magistrate to report at length regarding the Kutien disturbance, and the report must have been forthcoming. We know anyway that on May 2, 1895, the then Kutien magistrate, Wang Yu-yang, was dismissed from his post for inefficiency; and therefore it must be concluded that

the Chinese officials presented to the viceroy the facts of the Kutien trouble.

724. The pitiful appeals which Wang Yu-yang had made for soldiers were of no avail: not a soldier was sent to Kutien, and the local officials there were left to fight their own battles against the Vegetarian outlaws.
725. The murder committed at Cho-yang, in June, by the Vegetarians, as well as other acts of lawlessness on their part, caused Magistrate Wang Yu-yang to send an urgent appeal to Foochow for troops. Pien would not send any. Instead of that, he adopted the slow method of first sending up a deputy to investigate and report on the situation. This man was Ho Ting: and he at once called on the viceroy for 1,000 troops to be used in putting down the uprising.
726. The viceroy attached no importance to the matter; and so only sent 200 soldiers to Kutien under Colonel T'an Yu-te, which force was too small to cope with the Vegetarians, and were under the necessity of remaining within the walls of Kutien City. Had a sufficient force been sent, there would probably have been no massacre at Huashan.
727. The occurrence of the massacre was the signal for the viceroy to array himself on the side of the Vegetarians. His first act with a tendency in that direction was his concealment of the news of the massacre, Two days before the Consuls received any information he had a telegram from the Kutien officials giving the details of the tragedy.
728. When the surviving missionaries reached Shuikou early on the 3rd of August, 1895, they immediately sent a telegram to Foochow asking for assistance. This telegram was not delivered in Foochow until in the afternoon, after the United States Consul had arrived at the viceroy's yamen. It left Shuikou at 8 o'clock in the morning. The circumstances indicate that the officials must have had a hand in its delay. There is nothing to prove that the viceroy ordered it stopped; but that is strongly believed.
729. When called upon by the United States Consul to furnish a light launch for rendering aid to the survivors, he flatly refused to do so, and intimated he would prohibit a foreign launch from ascending the Min for that purpose; but, under coercion, he finally furnished the launch.
730. In every way possible he discountenanced the Consuls' going to Kutien to make investigations. When the United States Consul called on him for an escort, he refused it. He at last yielded and complied with the request when he saw it was useless to resist it any further.
731. When the Consuls arrived at Kutien City they found themselves shut out from the investigation. It is believed now that this was the direct result of Pien's secret instructions to the prefect and magistrate charged with conducting the trials. He despatched secret instructions of some sort to the prefect. This the official himself admitted; but the committee was unable to discover the nature of these.
732. When the Tsungli Yamen ordered him to send a proper commissioner to Kutien to cooperate with the Consuls, he treacherously appointed "a commissioner on the Foreign Board", and left the prefect to manage the Kutien complication. He denied in writing that he had received any instructions from Peking to send any commissioner to Kutien. He only sent the commissioner when he could no longer hold out against the pressure the United States Minister was exerting in Peking. In this instance there is a strong case of willful duplicity made out against the viceroy or against the Tsungli Yamen.
733. When Pien did finally give in and send a commissioner to Kutien, he chose an obscure official generally known among the Chinese as being unreliable and untrustworthy, and equal to the execution of any low trickery.
734. He charged the commissioner with instructions to make a barter with the committee as to how many Vegetarian heads they would require, and upon that being settled to come to terms; otherwise, to do nothing. It is believed that in the very beginning he also gave his commissioner Hsu positive instructions to arrest and punish the Huashan criminals only to the extent of his being forced thereto by the committee. It is known that he gave Hsu secret instructions at the start, and these he supplemented from time to time as occasion arose.
735. He twisted and warped the application of the Chinese laws so as to make them bear as lightly as

possible upon the murderers of the missionaries. Learning that the prefect and magistrate had publicly announced the proper construction of the law in the case, he proceeded to repudiate their action, and denounced the prefect as being too ignorant and too incompetent to pronounce on such a matter—which denouncement was only for the purpose of giving color of sincerity to the viceroy’s own conduct.

736. Without any due cause, he reversed six out of the first 13 sentences the prefect and magistrate had passed on the Huashan criminals: the men whose sentences he reversed, were more guilty than others whose death-warrant he readily signed. However, in this case of the first 13 men, there is the barest possibility that the prefect did not send him all the 13 cases he claimed he did, but deceived the committee. However, there are many other instances in which the viceroy assigned final penalties to this or that Vegetarian criminal without any due regard to the measure of guilt: in some cases criminals virtually turned loose upon the country, are far more guilty than those who were beheaded—and this assertion is made under advisement that there was not a Huashan criminal beheaded but deserved more punishment than he received.
737. In the first part of October, Viceroy Pien placed about 44,500 Mexican dollars in the hands of Hsu Taotai with instructions that it be used in buying off the pressure of the Consuls.
738. When the Kutien proceedings were brought to an untimely close the whole case was transferred to Foochow under certain conditions. The viceroy permitted all these conditions to be broken, even to the extent of having executed the leaders that had been brought to Foochow for trial.
739. It was pretended that deputies were to carry on the work which had been left unfinished in Kutien. Open instructions were given these officials to continue arresting criminals; but the viceroy caused secret instructions to be given to them not to arrest a single criminal.
740. The manner in which Pien caused the sentences of distant banishment to be inflicted on some of the Huashan criminals, has resulted in these guilty Vegetarians returning to their old stamping grounds in Kutien. No one can be made to believe that he has acted in good faith regarding the minor sentences.
741. As soon as he got the committee to leave Kutien, Viceroy Pien commenced to resort to every scheme to have the whole investigation ended for once and all; not has he since made any honest endeavor to stamp out the Vegetarian Society. He published a proclamation against (/) the order, it is true, but he could not have well devised a weaker document: its whole purport is, “The name Vegetarian is prohibited”. For these reasons Pien should be held to account for the fact that the Vegetarian Society is now flourishing in some parts of this province, notably in the northern and western sections of Kutien district and in the adjoining district of Ping-nan. It is only necessary for them not to make public use of the “prohibited” name “Vegetarian”. Any day there can be pointed out to the officials Vegetarians who were leaders in the massacre; but it is useless to do so—the viceroy has made it quite safe for them and they have no fear in openly going about reorganizing their society.
742. There are matters of a general nature, too,—some of them scarcely to be considered irrelevant to this report—, which should be brought home to the viceroy:—
743. When Pien entered upon his duties as viceroy of this province he found that Grain Taotai Ch’en Min-chi, on account of his having softening of the brain, was a hopeless imbecile. The office which Taotai Ch’en filled is one of the most important of the Foochow offices, both from foreign and native points of view: but it is particularly important as concerns foreigners, since the grain taotai has special charge of all matters relating to them, and hence deals with the numerous cases affecting missionaries and their converts. Though Ch’en was in such a condition that he could neither talk coherently nor clearly understand what was said to him, he was left in his position of grain taotai, the ex-officio president of the Foreign Board, or Tung Shan-chu. The viceroy could have had only one motive for such an action—he was perhaps able to extort from Ch’en Taotai, or from his family, more money for the taotaiship than he could have obtained from a man of sound mind.
743. But, after permitting Ch’en to occupy the office for over a year, the viceroy has now capped the climax by recommending him for promotion. The poor old taotai has actually been sent to Peking to

receive his higher appointment. Chinese officials who were present when he took leave of his family and friends, say the scene was a pitiful one, the taotai, on account of his feebleness of mind, being able to recognize the faces of very few individuals, even in the case of his family.

744. The retention of Ch'en in office unquestionably resulted in great harm. But the viceroy, for some unknown reason, is bent on keeping him in the public service.
745. Under the administration of Pien, matters purely Chinese have also gone badly awry, and corruption has increased to an alarming extent, greatly to the detriment of peace and order on the part of the common people; for the people become wrought up to a high degree of excitement wherever the officials go beyond certain limits in practicing their extortions upon them—and foreigners are not safe in localities where an unscrupulous mandarin is unmercifully bleeding the populace. Instances are not unknown in which the mandarins have announced to their victims that they were being bled to raise money for paying heavy tributes demanded from China by the “foreign barbarians”. The circulation of such falsehoods is not calculated by the mandarins to make the populace kindly disposed towards foreigners.
746. So far as general report goes, the administration of Pien is one increasing sway of corruptions; and no one can deny that the common Chinese people have greatly suffered by it.
747. However, the end of Viceroy Pien's iniquities does not seem to be near at hand. From the day on which the British Consul entered into a personal agreement with him as to how many Vegetarians should be beheaded, the viceroy regained confidence in his own ability to successfully prevent justice being done to the murderers of the missionaries: since that time he has taken advantage of every opportunity to strike a blow at foreign commercial and missionary interests within his dominions.
748. He learned no good lesson from the Huashan case. He counted the outcome as a great victory for him over the committee—and in most respects it was such. He flatters himself that the Foreign Powers were really afraid to have him or his subordinates properly punished. One effect of the Huashan investigations has been to greatly intensify his already bitter hostility to foreigners and all foreign institutions. This has been shown in a number of ways.
749. Shutting himself up in his yamen, he declines to see Consuls, by answering all propositions to call with his now stereotyped excuse of being “prostrated with the bowel complaint”. Nothing can be got out of him through correspondence—as he frames his replies so as to mean nothing at all. Meantime, by secret orders and secret instructions he undoes what little he does pretend to openly do in behalf of foreigners. Not a short while since the Tsungli Yamen ordered him to publish a proclamation embodying the provisions of the Berthemy Convention, which are favorable to the missionaries in purchasing lands, and which, enforced, would do away with disagreeable features at present attending real estate transactions. The viceroy objected to issuing the proclamation, and so wrote the Tsungli Yamen. He also carried on a large correspondence with other viceroys to induce them to also protest against the new regulations. But it was too late to avoid the agreement the Tsungli Yamen had made with the French Minister at Peking: so the viceroy was again instructed to put the new regulations in operation. He accordingly issued his proclamations in due form and sent them out to the various minor officials to be posted up. But note the nature of the man: right along with the proclamations he sent to each official his sealed secret instructions ordering him to pay no attention to the substance of the proclamation, but to adhere to the old disagreeable methods.
750. This base characteristic of taking secret action to counteract open action, is far more common in Pien than in the usual Chinese official—in fact, it seems to be his leading characteristic. And it is this feature which makes him such a dangerous official to deal with. Where a bolder man would answer you negatively and open act accordingly, Viceroy Pien will answer affirmatively, if not equivocally, and then adopt a plan of secret negative action. A Consul representing any matter to him, can never be sure of what secret course will be adopted; but he has not an opportunity to appeal to his Minister as he would have if the viceroy plainly said he would take no action in this or that particular case. It is easily seen how fraught with danger such conduct of the viceroy would be in an emergency, for instance, in the event of his being asked to send soldiers to protect missionaries from mob violence:

his deceptive acts might be the death of the missionaries.

751. He has another method peculiar to himself, of striking at the missionary interest. He picks out isolated sentences in the despatches sent him by Consuls when discussing cases with him, and makes these sentences appear as though condemning missionaries and native converts generally, quoting the same—as he does when instructing his subordinates—unexplained by their contexts, and twisted out of shape so as to have a general application instead of being confined to a particular case. Lately he was bold enough to do a most unexpected trick of a somewhat similar nature; One of the Consuls, in addressing him about native Christians being persecuted, employed a sentence, which, when used alone and apart from the substance of the despatch, appeared to be both an arraignment of the native converts and an assertion that they were never entitled to any consular protection. The viceroy took this sentence and incorporated it into a public proclamation, giving the name of its author, and making it out to be a correct assertion of the principles of the treaties, besides being a censuring of the native converts.
752. The posting up of such a proclamation was the signal for the commencement of persecution of native converts. Troubles arose in many places. When he learned of the viceroy's treacherous act, the Consul interested demanded that the proclamation be recalled, and received a promise that it would be done. Some weeks have passed; but at last accounts the viceroy's promise remained unfulfilled. The worst part of it is, the lower officials construed the proclamation in a much stronger sense even than that expressed on its face; and as it passed from one official to another it seems to have undergone some changes—but always such as made it operate more unreasonably against the Christians; whether or not these changes were based on some secret viceregal instructions, cannot be ascertained.
753. It is known that some despatches received by the viceroy from the subordinate officials are of a highly objectionable nature, attacking Christianity and native Christians on general principles and lamenting over the fact that the Christian religion cannot at once be destroyed. One magistrate in writing told of what unceasing efforts he had been making to counteract the work of missionaries and their converts. He spoke of the Christian religion as being a great calamity that the foreigners were inflicting on China. He then went on to compare it to this or that evil thing, among others to a young tiger (the Christian religion) before it got strong enough to be the terror of the land; and so on, and so on. The author of that outrageous document lost no favor with the viceroy: on the contrary, he most probably rose in the esteem of the viceroy, whose wishes, perhaps secret instructions, he was carrying out. When such things as these occur it is useless for the viceroy to claim that he is guiltless of the crime of instigating outrages against foreigners and foreign institutions.
754. Both before and after the massacre, Pien has been diligent in virtually trying to close Foochow to foreign trade,—actually asserting that the city of Foochow with its population of 1,250,000 is not open to foreign trade. He has sought to confine foreign merchants' privileges to a little village on the south side of the Min river; and even then extortionate likin duties are levied on the foreign goods the moment they are sold to the Chinese—very often the likin runners lay in wait for the customers and seize them and their goods as soon as they emerge from the door of a foreigner's place of business. Such a deplorable condition of affairs has not existed previous to the administration of Pien.
755. A little further on, it will be noticed that the viceroy has himself promoted, or recommended to Peking to be promoted, nearly all the subordinate officials connected in any manner with the Huashan case. It seems as if his desire to promote an official increases according to the degree of culpability attached to such official, as viewed from a foreign standpoint. The example which he thus set is already having its bad effects: officials consider it greatly to their interests to boldly array themselves on the side of the anti-foreign element. But why should they consider it otherwise, seeing the viceroy had made it the stepping-stone to preferments and honors.
756. The report has for some time been in general circulation in Foochow that Pien has for several months been trying to resign his office, but that he could not get the Peking authorities to accept his resignation. If he really tried to resign, it was probably due to his anticipation that his fate might be somewhat like that of the degraded viceroy of Szechuen province. Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan is a

menace to the safety of foreigners in this province. It therefore behooves Foreign Powers to lose no time in giving him all aid necessary to secure the acceptance of his resignation at the earliest possible moment, as well as to have him deprived of all opportunity to ever again being able to tender a resignation from any kind of office. His incompetency is as bad for the Chinese as his hatred is for the foreigners: subordinates really run his office; and hence it is perhaps that his character appears to present so many different phases, depending on the subordinates who for the time being are acting viceroy.

757. He ought to even be removed from office on account of physical inability to perform its duties, if what he says about his ills be true. If a viceroy be so badly prostrated with “the bowel complaint” that he is unable for a year to receive Consuls and discuss important matters with them, then it is high time for him to have a successor. Being responsible for the Huashan massacre and for the now disorderly nature of this province, Pien should be removed from office; and when that shall have been accomplished the leading instigator of anti-missionary riots and the chief conspirator against foreigners and all things foreign, will have received only a modicum of his just deserts.

GRAIN TAOTAI CH’EN MIN-CHI.

758. Ch’en Min-chi was born in Hunan province some 57 years ago; but he does not seem to be as hostile towards foreigners as most of his fellow provincials. On the 27th of July, 1890, he became grain taotai at Foochow and president of the Foreign Board, or Tungshan-chu, during the administration of Viceroy Pien Pao-tie. Being a man of mild disposition, obliging towards foreigners and attentive to his duties, he won the respect and confidence of the Consuls and the friendship of the community people, as well as a reputation with the Chinese for being the possessor of more than ordinary probity.
759. For some months in 1893, he was acting chief justice of the province, and he again filled that office in the autumn of 1894 during a temporary vacancy in the judgeship. But his proper office, since 1890, has been that of grain taotai. He held this position until June the 30th, 1896, when he gave up his office to go to Peking to receive a promotion on the recommendation of Viceroy Pien.
760. For the past two years, or more, Ch’en taotai has been an invalid; and for the past year he has been an imbecile from softening of the brain, for which reason he is hardly responsible for any of the recent shortcomings of his office. But, as we have seen, this did not prevent him from being kept in office by Pien nor from being recommended by him for a still higher position.
761. His culpability in the Huashan case dates back probably to the first part of 1895—that is, it does if a person of unsound mind can be help culpable for the affairs of an office conducted independently by his deputies and secretaries. Great responsibility in cases concerning foreigners always rests upon the grain taotai and his colleagues of the Foreign Board, since they are the special advisers to the viceroy. Ch’en Taotai was not to blame for inaction in his office during the period from September 4th, 1894, to December 29th, 1894, as he was then temporarily transferred to another office, that of the provincial chief justice. However, when he did resume his proper office, matters in Kutien were in a complicated state, and it was his duty to lay the facts before the viceroy and advise him on the situation. He does not appear to have done this at all. As the grain taotai has jurisdiction over the prefects, it was Ch’en’s particular business to see that Prefect T’an Pao-chien, in whose prefecture Kutien lies, bestirred himself to stop the disorders caused by the Vegetarians.
762. When the United States Consul called on Ch’en, in March, with reference to the Kutien situation the taotai did not take the vigorous steps he should have taken, but insisted that there was no trouble in Kutien. When a few days afterwards the Consul called a second time about the same subject, the taotai promised to send 400 soldiers to Kutien. A day or so later he sent a deputy to say the soldiers had gone: but in fact no soldiers had been sent, unless there were several in the escort of Li Sen-sng who went to investigate.
763. Owing to his mental and physical incompetency, the affairs of Ch’en’s office—at least as far as they concerned foreigners—became a jumble dup mess early in 1895. From the last part of April of that year up to the present time, he is clearly not responsible at all for the manner in which his office was

conducted: the viceroy and Hsu Taotai are responsible for that. As soon as Hsu had returned from the Kutien investigation he took charge of the affairs of the Foreign Board, the viceroy designating him as a “joint commissioner of the Foreign Board”; and thenceforward that office became a machine of obstructiveness in whatever concerned foreigners. Ch’en Taotai, though the nominal head of the office, had nothing whatever to do with it, notwithstanding the fact that up to the 30th of June, 1896, his name appeared on all the despatches: his mind was in such a state that he could neither write nor read official papers.

764. He is now en route to Peking to receive his promised promotion. If his family and friends have the money, or if they can secure him a “double”, there will be no trouble about his getting an appointment, unless the Foreign Ministers interfere. In case of his success, he is likely to be sent back to Foochow as provincial judge—an important official—and so continue to cause trouble by his incompetency. It were a disgrace to the Chinese Government for it to foist such a character into office and thereby commit an imposition upon the public, as well as to wrong the man himself. Ch’en Taotai, while idiotic, is yet as quiet and tractable as the most harmless simpleton.
756. He cannot live very long. He deserves no punishment for acts of omission or commission which rightfully are chargeable to the viceroy. But it would be an act of humanity, as well as an act of self-defence, for the Foreign Powers to insist that this poor old man be not appointed to any office. It would be no punishment to him—his mind is such that he himself would never know the difference.

EXPECTANT TAOTAI HSU HSING-YI.

766. Hsu Hsing-yi is a native of Hunan, and is about 45 years old. In point of real ability he is below the average Chinese magistrate. He has the rare Chinese defect of a bad memory. Among his own people he is considered a most indolent official. There are common to him many of the qualities that made the name of his native province a synonym for hatred of foreigners; but a smoothness and plausiveness of address enable him to largely conceal these.
767. His first appearance in Foochow was in 1884, during the French War, he having come from Hunan in the retinue of Tso Tsung-tang, the famous director of the Peking Board of War in the time of the T’ai-p’ing Rebellion, and Li Hung-chang’s great rival. As is well known, Tso Tsung-tang was also a native of Hunan, and exerted all his powerful influence against foreigners whenever he could do so, being their bitter enemy. After the French War he was an Imperial Commissioner for Coast Defences and Superintendent of Trade for the Southern Ports. While in that position, with headquarters at Foochow, he was really the head of the provincial government. But the official records of this Consulate show that he scorned to have anything to do with foreigners. In some way Hsu had wormed himself into the good graces of Tao, and becoming his protégé filled some petty office under him.
768. About a year after his coming to Foochow, Tao died. But before this he had succeeded in getting his special favorite and personal Hunan friend Yang Ch’ang-chun appointed viceroy of this province, and hence Hsu still had a patron.
769. It was thus that Hsu Hsing-yi came to hold an official position in Foochow; and it was from such anti-foreign men as Tao and Yang that he got the training which fitted him for being the very man for carrying out the designs of Viceroy Pien in the Huashan case.
770. But until the massacre investigation, Hsu never came into prominence. He was little known among the Chinese; while the Foochow Consuls had never heard of him at all. However, it seems that a year or two ago he temporarily filled some office in Amoy. When he was appointed Kutien commissioner no one of the Chinese officials in Kutien could be made to believe but that another man of the same name as his had been selected for such an important position.
771. Among his fellow officials Hsu bore the reputation of being a man of no moral character, and so was held to be unworthy of confidence. It is presumed that it was the very character of the man which won him the appointment of commissioner, the viceroy wishing to have in the position a man wholly without conscientious scruples to interfere with his carrying out all sorts of dishonorable schemes to obstruct the investigation proceedings. If that was the viceroy’s object, he made no mistake in

selecting Hsu for the place.

772. As he had no official position worthy of note there is, of course, no culpability attached to him, with reference to the Huashan case, previous to his going to Kutien,—unless, indeed, he was among those minor officials who were secretly connected with the Vegetarian Society. But his long list of culpabilities certainly commenced on the 12th of September, 1895, the day he first called on the Consuls. He at once commenced his policy of deception and trickery by informing the Consuls that he was clothed with full powers to do any and everything in connection with the Kutien case.
773. When he failed to secure his point otherwise, he undertook to make a sort of trade with the committee as to how many Vegetarian heads would be required to settle the case. Getting no satisfaction by such a disgraceful proposition, he repudiated his former remarks by saying all the great powers he had been boasting of were bestowed on him under the condition that before exercising them he must first make complete terms of settlement. He then endeavored to coerce the Consuls into coming to his terms.
774. Told of the anti-Christian proclamation issued by the Kutien magistrate he made pretence of recalling the same, whereas, in fact, there is no doubt of his having conspired with the magistrate to let the offensive proclamation remain as long as possible.
775. Though making pretence of being eager to cooperate with the Consuls for capture and punish all the Huashan criminals, he went to work covertly to oppose the Consuls and to favor the Vegetarians as far as possible. When he was made aware that his general course did not suit the committee, he claimed not to be surprised, saying that it was the result of the viceroy's instructions, and that he knew it was wrong although he himself could not help the situation. He approved most heartily the committee's plans of securing outside evidence through native Christians and other Chinese subjects, commending the energy of the committee. He on all occasions until towards the last, was given to denouncing the course of the viceroy.
776. How, while he was doing such things as just noted, he was busy sending to the viceroy false reports about the Huashan case and the investigation, charging the native converts with giving unreliable information to the Consuls, and denouncing the Consuls for pursuing methods which he said would result in "a rebellion of another sort".
777. The coaching of the criminals was done with his full knowledge, as was also the falsifying of their depositions. It was he who issued secret instructions to have not more arrests made in the Huashan case; and it was he who, arrival in Foochow, broke every promise he had made concerning the Huashan case, and secretly arranged for the execution of the leaders before they were tried.
778. Hsu is the man who had charge of the viceroy's bribery fund of \$44,500,000 Mexican, with instructions to utilize in silencing the Consuls. It would be interesting to have him tell where the money went to, as it is certain that he himself never pocketed all of it.
779. But, in the general body of this report, there are paragraphs after paragraphs which show wherein he is guilty of conduct of the most censurable kind and responsible for no end of difficulties placed in the way of the committee; and it suffices to state in general terms that no Chinese official is more culpable in the Huashan investigation than Expectant Taotai Hsu Hsing-yi. The only question admitting of argument is, whether the viceroy influenced his course more than he influenced that of the viceroy. Judging by events since the investigation, he exercised a most powerful influence over the viceroy.
780. Hsu's conduct after his return to Foochow is very bad. He at once took the full direction of the affairs of the Foreign Board, and conducted that office in a most anti-foreign manner. Taotai Ch'en, as we have seen, was unable to take any part in the affairs of the Foreign Board, though nominally at the head of it. Appeals from Consuls to Hsu to settle this or that case, brought no results. In some cases the bad conduct of magisterial officials made it necessary that they be reported to the higher officials: Hsu always sustained such officials, in spite of the protests of the Consuls. The viceroy came to look upon him as his saviour in the Huashan affair; and so he acquired more influence with the viceroy than all the other officials in Foochow combined. Therefore complaints made to the viceroy about the manner in which Hsu was conducting his office, had not more effect than if they had been made to

Hsu.

781. Pien put himself so much in the hands of his lieutenant that he permitted him to do corresponding with the Consuls in his (Pien's) name; and some of the correspondence purporting to come from the viceroy was never any nearer to him than the yamen of the Foreign Board. This influence over the viceroy may be largely attributed to the Huashan case, the viceroy believing Hsu to be a man of great ability in dealing with foreign matters; but it is a mystery, in the beginning, how Hsu had sufficient influence, or enough money, to secure the appointment to go to Kutien, or even to remain on the Foreign Board.
782. Hsu and the viceroy together are responsible for the Vegetarians being admitted, for the last several months, into the home-guards—contrary to the written agreements made with the Consuls; and he and the viceroy are together responsible for carrying out the banishment and imprisonment sentences of the Huashan criminals in such a manner that some of the criminals were soon back in their homes enjoying perfect immunity from punishment or rearrest, meanwhile engaging in reorganizing the Vegetarian Society.
783. The viceroy has shown his high appreciation of Hsu's rascality by recommending him to Peking for promotion: and Hsu is now preparing to go to the capital to receive his new appointment. His gaining promotion under such circumstances would be equivalent to his receiving a reward for his dishonorable conduct in the Huashan affair—in fact, that is exactly what it would be—which would operate in future to induce other Chinese officials to follow in his slimy trail, instead of learning to avoid such a dishonorable course. An example ought to be made of Hsu Hsing-yi—one that will not soon be forgotten by the mandarins. It will not do for him to be permitted to be raised to the rank of full taotai, and thus have his opportunity for doing mischief against foreigners largely increased. The Foreign Powers should insist absolutely upon this man receiving his deserts.
784. But, no doubt, the viceroy will be found strongly supporting him in Peking, as he has done here for the past several months. There is something unaccountable about the affinity between Pien Pao-ch'uan and Hsu Hsing-yi; and one would not have to strain one's imagination to a great extent to get the idea that both Pien and Hsu are High Priests of the Vegetarian Society, seeing that they have pensioned the Vegetarians who received less than capital sentences in the Huashan case.

PREFECT (NOW TAOTAI) T'AN PAO-CHIEN.

785. A fellow provincial of Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan, Prefect T'an Pachien was born about 59 years ago in the province of Chili. He has long been an intimate friend of the viceroy. As to his personal and official character, there is little to be said, since it is of an indifferent quality, neither good nor bad. However, it may be stated here that he is a very weak individual, possessing but little independence of opinion, and fearful of attempting to assert himself.
786. His successes in official life are mostly due, it is said, to the fact that he is well versed in the use of Chinese medicines, and so, in the capacity of physician, has often been able to win and retain the friendship and patronage of influential Chinese officials. But for his medical knowledge and the patronage of Viceroy Pien, he would probably have remained an obscure member of the literati.
787. After having been magistrate of a major magisterial district, T'an became, successively, Sub-Prefect of Amoy, Sub-Prefect of Foochow, Prefect of Yan-ping, lying just west of Kutien district, and, on September 30, 1892, Prefect of Foochow—which latter office he was filling in the spring of 1895 when occurred the first serious outbreaks of the Kutien Vegetarians.
788. Prefect T'an is guilty of gross negligence in connection with the Vegetarian movement. While in charge of the Yen-ping prefecture he must have acquired a considerable knowledge of the Vegetarian Society, even though he previously may have known nothing of it, since the Vegetarians are strong in that prefecture. As Kutien district lies within the Foochow prefecture, he had the general superintendence of its affairs, the magistrate being directly responsible to him for the good order of his district. When, in the fall of 1894, the British Consul reported to the high authorities the depredations the Vegetarians were then committing, the facts were certainly brought to the knowledge of the

prefect, since the high officials hold every subordinate official responsible for whatever occurs within his jurisdiction.

789. So far as known to the committee the prefect took no sort of action in the Kutien matter until March 31st, 1895, when he submitted a report to the then Viceroy, T'an Chung-lin. By reference to paragraph 52, it will be seen that the prefect really gave no heed to Magistrate Wang Yu-yang's request for troops to relieve him from the great danger he was in. Instead of supporting the magistrate, he proceeds in his report, in paragraph 70, to discredit the truth of the magistrate's representations; yet in paragraph 74 he takes the representation for truth itself and requests that the magistrate's "name be first marked for demerit five times", because, forsooth, he had not reported the trouble before it occurred! And in paragraph 71 he devotes himself to quibbling over the Chinese characters employed by the magistrate in designating the Vegetarians, as well as laying down some foolish propositions apparently for the sake of gaining time. Had he at once sent the soldiers, there might have been no Huashan massacre.
790. T'an's action in the Huashan case, after his March report to the viceroy, is entirely unknown to the committee, except that he never sent any soldiers to Kutien. But his acts of omission make him more culpable than either of the Wangs who held the Kutien magistracy.
791. The viceroy held quite a different view of T'an's conduct. On June 30, 1895, he promoted him to Acting Salt Taotai, a much more remunerative position than that of prefect. As salt taotai, T'an had no duties in connection with the prefecture. However, he is said to have had the ear of the viceroy, and to have advised him against the sending of soldiers in July, just before the massacre—but this cannot be considered authentic.
792. T'an grew higher in the favor of the viceroy and on the 30th of June, 1896, he was promoted to be Grain Taotai and President of the Foreign Board, or Tungshan-chu, succeeding Ch'en Taotai and Hsu Taotai who were sent to Peking for promotion. He thus holds the Foochow taotaiship most coveted among ambitious taotais, since its functions are largely concerned with foreign affairs, and it is therefore supposed to give its incumbents a better chance of securing promotion.
793. There is not much hope that his administration will be better than that conducted by Hsu Taotai. So far as T'an's personal policy may be concerned, it will not be the bitter opposition to foreigners such as was seen in the acts of his immediate predecessors. He has never given any evidence of such a disposition—his administration as prefect shows that as taotai his policy may be expected to be a negative or passive one. But in the weakness of his character lies the real danger; his policy may be dictated by his Hunanese secretariat; and, at least, he must be considered a tool of Viceroy Pien, though certainly not such a willing one as Hsu is. However, on the whole, it must be concluded that the grain taotaiship is still in bad hands; and this without consideration of the fact of the taotai's grave responsibility for the Kutien troubles.
794. Had the Huashan tragedy been only a crime against Chinese subjects or against the Chinese Government, the responsibility therefor, according to Chinese usage, would have been placed upon T'an Pao-chien, for his neglecting to quell the uprising in its incipiency; and if he had failed in having strong defenders, such as the viceroy himself, his various decorations and degrees would have been stripped from him as soon as the massacre occurred, and in a few days thereafter he would have been degraded, cashiered and forever barred from holding office. But the massacre was a crime against foreigners, and he had a personal friend in the viceroy; wherefore he has really made personal profit by virtue of his criminal negligence, having thereby become a great official, while some little of the punishment that ought to have been his, has fallen upon Wang Yu-yang and Wang Ju-lin, the magistrates who vainly appealed to him for assistance.

ACTING PREFECT CH'IN PING-CHIH.

795. The successor of T'an Pao-chien in the office of Prefect, is Ch'in Ping-chih, who, four or five years ago, came to Foochow from Peking where had previously been a secretary in the Board of Work. He is about 51 years old, a native of Hunan, and is of a weak physique, and by no means mentally strong.

His attitude towards foreigners, not considering his Kutien record, has not been one displaying any great antipathies.

796. He has a local reputation of being quite a coxcomb—as was also the case with Hsu Taotai: otherwise his reputation is about that of the average mandarin. His original appointment to succeed T'an is said to be due to influential friends in Peking.
797. Prior to his assumption of office as acting prefect, on the 30th June 1895, he had no duties in connection with the Kutien disturbances. But he fell heir to the fruits of his predecessor's negligence, and, as has been already observed, when he came into office the Vegetarians were masters of the Kutien situation. It cannot be ascertained what steps, if any, were taken by Ch'in Ping-chih to right the affairs of his prefecture. It cannot even be ascertained whether or not he had any hand in dispatching Ho Ting to Kutien, or the 200 soldiers who followed him. However, it is presumed that he did have something to do with these matters, since, in the usual run of affairs, the higher officials would certainly have given some consideration for his wishes.
798. If the small number of soldiers sent there in spite of Ho Ting's request for 1,000 men, be due to Ch'in, then the latter has to shoulder a grave responsibility—and he certainly must be in part responsible for it. But his conduct after the massacre is the chief subject to be considered.
799. When the viceroy learned about the massacre he despatched Prefect Ch'in, with a launch, to make an investigation. Before he arrived at Shuikou the prefect met the missionaries coming down the river in ordinary native boats, bringing their wounded with them. As the prefect was near the end of his journey by water, he was asked to lend his steam launch to the missionaries and continue the trip in his houseboat which the launch had in tow. The prefect would give no assistance at all at first, and only yielded when Dr. Gregory boarded the launch and virtually took it away from him. The prefect's refusal to assist the wounded to reach Foochow is to be attributed more to his conceit than to his animosity—he was too proud to travel without having his houseboat towed by the launch.
800. On his arrival in Kutien City he seems to have set out to gratify his conceit rather than to busy himself with apprehending the murderers of the missionaries; and in this way he spent both time and money endeavoring to make himself popular with the Kutien people. He sent back vague reports,—according to statements of Foochow officials made at the time,—to the effect that the Vegetarians were organized into an enormous army; whereas the truth was that nearly all Vegetarians in miles and miles of Kutien City had disbanded and fled to other districts. Reports kept coming in of a number of arrests being made; but when the committee suddenly appeared in Kutien City it was found that the prefect and magistrate could only claim to have arrested 16 criminals (?0, all told; while, by their own reports, they had been unable to prove the guilt of any one of these—and that, too, when more than half a month had passed away since the massacre. It clearly shows some one had been at fault.
801. But it is believed some of the 16 men arrested were imprisoned for the mere sake of making a pretence at really trying to arrest Huashan criminals, since against some of them there was no suspicion of evidence.
802. When the committee proposed to be present at the trials, the prefect refused to grant the privilege. He claimed there was no precedent for such a thing; but when told it was in the treaties, he still refused, saying he had never read the treaties. Precedents were cited which occurred in Foochow, and these were proved then and there by his own deputies and interpreters—but to no avail, as he insisted he must first secure the viceroy's consent for the committee to be present during the investigation. He still did not wish the Consuls to appeal to Peking, and, aided by Deputy Chu Tsung-ping (who will be referred to shortly under a separate heading), he resorted to dilatory tricks to prevent telegrams being at once despatched.
803. Ch'in was evidently a party to the coaching of prisoners, to make it appear that the missionaries themselves caused the massacre; and he could not have been ignorant of the bribery that was done in behalf of the prisoners. His attention was time and time again called to the coaching being done even in the presence of the court.

804. The falsification of the first court records must have been done with his knowledge and consent—as was doubtless also those falsified after Hsu assumed the management of the case—for his attention was called to this fact.
805. He, with Magistrate Yi Chine, is chargeable with allowing misappropriation of funds designed to serve as rewards for securing the arrest of criminals.
806. But one of the heaviest charges to be brought against him consists in the shameless manner in which he secretly set at liberty a large number of guilty criminals, including one, if not two, of the actual murderers of the missionaries. This was done premeditatively, and after he had entered into an agreement with the committee not to release any prisoner, guilty or innocent, until such prisoner had been tried in presence of the committee at a regular sitting of the court. It was believed at the time, and it is believed yet, that bribery had a lot to do with inducing the prefect to resort to such a procedure.
807. When asked about the releasing he was ready to deny it, but admitted it as he found the committee about to call on him to produce some of the parties released. Being requested to order the rearrest of the men, he pleaded it was not necessary, as he had let them go only upon their bringing forward good and approved securities, who would produce them at the shortest notice, if, said he, it should happen that the parties were wanted any time in court. Being called on for a list of the names of the securities, he could not produce any—in fact, there was no such list ever in existence, and the prisoners, contrary to Chinese custom even in trivial cases, had been released without sureties being required. The prefect wrongly misrepresented the facts when he said the men had been released only on security.
808. Some of these same guilty criminals, indeed the majority of the 38 who were secretly released, are still at large. The committee demanded the prefect have them all rearrested. After refusing at first to comply with the demand, he finally agreed to do so, when he saw that his persisting in the refusal would lead to the committee's withdrawal from the court. Then and there details were all arranged about the time in which all the liberated men were to be returned,—but with what result, we have already seen.
809. The proclamation which Magistrate Yi Chien issued against the Christians, and in favor of the Vegetarians, were most likely the joint production of the magistrate and the prefect. Unquestionably, these were issued at least with the knowledge and consent of the prefect, since under the circumstances the magistrate was bound to submit the proclamations to his superior officer for approval before sending them out to be posted up. But the prefect not only denied all complicity, but claimed he had denounced the magistrate to the viceroy for his bad conduct. Still he shilly-shallied over recalling the proclamations, trying all means to get around it. So, in this way the proclamations were in full force when Hsu Taotai arrived the 10th of September.
810. So far as can be discovered the prefect's assertion of his having denounced the magistrate for issuing the proclamation, is without the slightest foundation of truth.
811. The arrival of Hsu Taotai, of course, nominally put an end to the prefect's management of the case. But he still remained, and evidently performed the same duties as before, making himself rather active in the investigation. He and the magistrate were apparently fast friends, were cheek with jowl with Hsu Taotai in forwarding any scheme that looked to the miscarriage of justice, and were the originators of the Ta-chien investigation.
812. In paragraph 795 it was stated that Ch'in had not show anti-foreign sentiments except in his Kutien record—but the exception is important. In Kutien he showed enough hatred of foreigners and native converts to last him for many a year. His course in this respect was undoubtedly due largely to Yi Chien, whom he feared,—but much of it is to be charged up to no one but Ch'in himself. What instructions the viceroy gave him, is not known. His own reports to the viceroy really showed nothing; they do not even contain much information of any sort. He might have remained in Foochow and written the same kind of reports.
813. However, in the case of the prefect, as in the case of other leading Chinese officials connected with the investigation, it must be remembered that he had free recourse to the telegraph, most of the

communicating between him and the viceroy having been carried on by that means—and this Consulate has never succeeded in getting any deciphered copies of the telegrams that passed between the viceroy and his Kutien officials.

814. The cessation of making arrests among the Vegetarian criminals, whether done at his instigation or by the order of Hsu or the viceroy, was well known to the prefect.
815. When the committee left Kutien City Ch'in remained behind ostensibly to investigate the matter of so many Huashan criminals being then in Ping-nan district—a matter which certainly needed careful looking after by him. Instead of attending to this business, he devoted himself to preparations for the grand farewell demonstration the Kutien people were preparing for him on account of his having saved (?) the city and district from the wrath of the foreigners. The result of this piece of duplicity on his part is that Ping-nan district is now a Vegetarian stronghold and the magistrate there is likely to be caught in the same trap that Wang Yu-yang was caught in. Vegetarians known to have been prominent in the Huashan affair, are able to laugh at the magistrate's efforts to arrest them. A few weeks since the United States Consul sent to the prefect a list of the names of several of the most noted of these criminals. But nothing has come of it, though the Ping-nan magistrate admits the men are in his district: they have been causing trouble at an American missionary chapel and among the native Christians.
816. It is uncertain just what part the prefect took in devising means to carry out the sentences passed on the minor criminals convicted during the investigation in Kutien, but much of the arrangement was doubtless due to him: whoever is responsible for it is guilty of criminal neglect of duty, many of the criminals being given opportunity to escape and return home unmolested, while others have been given pensions by the Government of 30 cash a day—a thing never done in any other case.
817. Ch'in is in part also responsible for the false reports sent by the deputies sent out ostensibly to hunt down criminals remaining at large when the Kutien proceedings came to an end.
818. AS also happened with his colleagues, the misdeeds of Ch'in Ping-chih have brought him handsome profit. His master, Viceroy Pien,—the same man who, when it served a purpose during the investigation, denounced Ch'in as being an ignoramus unfit to interpret law—has succeeded in securing him very high promotion, indeed a series of promotions. Only an expectant prefect, he is to continue as acting Foochow prefect with full powers until he receives his commission at prefect; and the Foochow prefecture ranks all the other Fuhkien prefectures. Meanwhile his name has been jumped over that of other expectant prefects and made first on the list, thereby insuring his early appointment as full prefect. As though these rewards were insufficient, he is given a promotion in futuro: it is ordered by the Peking Board of Civil Appointments that as soon as he receives his commission as prefect he is to be made an expectant taotai, and his name placed at the top of the list of expectant taotais, in order to secure his appointment to the first available taotaiship. And this is the man who was an ignoramus when he construed Chinese laws so as to make them apply to the murderers of foreigners!
819. It will be observed that Ch'in, in receiving rewards, has far outstripped his associates in the investigation—but it remains yet to be seen how Hsu Taotai will come out in his journey to Peking for the purpose of having an audience with the emperor. Considering the way in which prefect Ch'in has come out of the Huashan affair, no one should be surprised on finding him highly in favor of killing more missionaries. A few more massacres, it would seem, might make him a viceroy.

ACTING KUTIEN MAGISTRATE YI CHIEN.

820. Yin Chien was despatched to Kutien to take the place of Wang Ju-lin, removed, arriving at his post some five days after the massacre. One would judge Yi to be about 48 years old. A native of the city of Canton, he is endowed with mental and physical powers rarely seen in any oriental. He has more brains and more executive ability than all the other Chinese officials in the Kutien investigation put together; and during the investigation he displayed qualities of energy and endurance which were marvelous, frequently working all night during the first part of the investigation, and that, too, without

apparently suffering any bad effects.

821. He is absolutely fearless as men get to be, besides being independent in the same degree. Every Chinese official in Kutien seemed to dread him more or less; and when he was really intent on prosecuting the Kutien criminals he was also a terror to them. Having the keenest of analytical minds, he has few Chinese equals in the consummate art of cross-examining witnesses. But unfortunately he cherished a most intense hatred of foreigners and native converts to Christianity; and he made no effort to conceal such animosities. From the very first, he was most insolent towards the committee. Several times during the investigation his conduct bordered on being grossly insulting.
822. Personally, he perhaps had a great dislike for the Vegetarians; but having a still greater dislike for the Christians, he sided with the Vegetarians and became their friend as against the Christians.
823. Yi Chien's most notably had conduct in the investigation was his issuing the anti-Christian proclamations, which he repeated when Hsu made a pretence of recalling them. In this connection it is worthy of note that the magistrate himself refused to offer any excuse for his bad manners. He made no denials nor explanations, but left Hsu and Ch'in to do the lying for him. He is said to have declared that he would suffer dismissal before apologizing for the proclamations, or before he would try to counteract their effect.
824. However, his whole conduct in this matter was more or less with the approval of Prefect Ch'in, in beginning, and later on, with the approbation of Hsu Taotai. The injury done to the investigation by his defiance in issuing the proclamations, is well nigh incalculable, since the home guards at once became afraid to arrest fugitive criminals; and the people generally were alarmed and excited over the prospect of the Vegetarians being defended by the Chinese officials.
825. As for Yi Chien's other culpabilities in the Huashan case, it is only necessary to refer to what has just been said of Prefect Ch'in's Kutien record. The magistrate was concerned in what the prefect was concerned with—the releasing of the prisoners and all else, except in making representations to the viceroy. Besides this, he, of course, remained in Kutien, after the prefect's departure, to perform the duties of magistrate of the district, and in his administration has gone as far as he dared in his opposition to the Christians.
826. As Kutien magistrate, self-defence compelled him to refrain from persecuting the Christians as much as he desired. He had to be careful for pecuniary considerations: as serious trouble had already occurred in the district, soldiers would have been again despatched there upon prospects of any uprising against the Christians—and the sending of the soldiers would have financially ruined Yi, as he would have been called upon to foot the expenses of the expedition. Something is seen of his own favorable attitude towards the Vegetarians in the fact that he has not arrested a single Huashan criminal since the committee left his district, not even those criminals who, having been sent away for pretended imprisonment or banishment, have escaped (or been turned loose) and returned to their old haunts.
827. The viceroy has duly rewarded Yi's efforts against the committee and in favor of the Vegetarians by promoting, several times since, to a much more lucrative magistracy than that of Kutien, besides giving a promotion in futuro. He is now acting magistrate of Chien Yang district, situate in the prefecture of Kienning which lies northeast from Kutien district; and it is ordered that he be made an expectant sub-prefect as soon as he receives his commission as magistrate. His successor in Kutien in Sung Shih-yin, of whose characteristics the committee knows little or nothing.

DEPUTY MAGISTRATE HO TING.

828. This official is a native of the city of Canton. He is about 50 years old. He is of weak physique, having been in bad health for some years; but he is nevertheless a man of considerable intellectual and executive ability. In his disposition towards foreigners he is just the opposite of his fellow townsman Yi Chien.
829. He served some years as magistrate of Kutien district; but he was relieved from duty before the Vegetarian troubles became of any importance, being succeeded by Wang Yu-yang, about the first

part of 1894, it is believed.

830. While magistrate of Kutien Ho Ting won the esteem and respect of both natives and foreigners, displaying a good deal of zeal in keeping his district in order. He was on intimate terms with several of the missionaries in Kutien City and often called on them socially, and sometimes he went to them for advice on his official matters.
831. Owing, perhaps, to his previous acquaintance with Kutien and the esteem in which he was held, he was chose deputy to go there, in July, 1895, to investigate and report to the viceroy on the condition of affairs. He considered the situation serious, so represented it to Foochow, and called for 1,000 troops.
832. Only 200 soldiers were sent him. Instead of using these few, he allowed them to gad about inside the walls of Kutien City. When news came of the gathering of Vegetarians at Kungshan-chi, not a step was taken to have the soldiers move against them. Later, there came to Kutien City reports that the Vegetarians were preparing to attack and destroy the missionary chapels; and there is every reason for believing that Ho Ting and other Chinese officials in Kutien City obtained information that an attack was to be made upon Huashan. But still he sent out no soldiers. It is a fact that just a day or so before the massacre the native converts themselves informed the Kutien authorities of the danger the missionary interests were in.²⁴ But besides this it must be remembered that Chinese officials at all times maintain an elaborate system of espionage. At the particular time in question there is not much doubt that spies had given Magistrate Wang Ju-lin and Deputy Ho Ting full accounts of the contemplated raid on Huashan.
833. Ho Ting's conduct in not sending soldiers to the relief of the missionaries is in strange contrast with all the rest of his record. It was perhaps due to cowardice, he fearing that the Vegetarians would whip his soldiers. However, as before noted, he claims it was due to quite another cause, viz: his want of any control over the movements of the soldiers. He states that Colonel T'an Yu-te, who was in command of the troops, is solely to blame for their remaining in the city. Colonel T'an, of course, lays the blame on Ho ting for "failing to issue orders for the troops to observe".
834. In truth, Ho Ting is to blame; for, if he had endeavored to do so, he could have had enough pressure brought to bear on Colonel T'an to force him to act, even had it been necessary to report him to Foochow by telegraph.
835. Ho Ting is culpable in nothing else besides this matter of the soldiers. He was present in Kutien during the investigation. But he remained in the background, and held himself aloof from the rascally proceedings carried on by Hsu, Ch'in and others. This failure of his to help the others in their efforts to throttle the committee, probably never reached the ears of Viceroy Pien, seeing that he has also given Ho Ting a handsome promotion, making him magistrate over a lucrative magistracy called Chang-pu, situate within the Amoy circuit.

COLONEL T'AN YU-TE.

836. Colonel T'an Yu-te is about 55 years old, and a native of Hunan province. He is a mild-mannered man, displaying none of the anti-foreign sentiments so common among his fellow provincials. His abilities are of the ordinary sort.
837. As stated in the foregoing sketch about Ho Ting, Colonel T'an was in command of the 200 soldiers sent to Kutien in the last part of July, 1895, just before the massacre. He did not employ his men in opposing the Vegetarians. He laid the blame for this upon Deputy Ho Ting, who, he said, would give him no orders to move against the Vegetarians. But the circumstances of the soldiers being left idle has already been given; and it suffices to say here that the viceroy saw fit to place on Colonel T'an the responsibility of his inactivity. He was at once degraded and cashiered, losing his degrees and

24 Hixson asserts a number of times that the Chinese citizens knew of a possible attack on the British missionaries but the missionaries were apparently not informed. Given the invitation by Magistrate Wang Ju-lin earlier in 1895 to Stewart and his colleagues to come inside the walls of Kutien City when it was thought a Vegetarian attack was imminent it is odd that no official warning was sent to the missionaries at Huashan even though Hixson states that the Chinese servants and the people of Huashan knew of the plans of the Vegetarians to attack.

decorations, among the latter a “variegated peacock’s feather”.

838. However, he was not removed from the command of his troops but presented the unique spectacle of a colonel without rank, degree or commission. The viceroy said he left him in command so he might redeem his lost reputation by running down and arresting the Vegetarian criminals. It is due to him to state that he really did make himself most diligent and active in capturing criminals. His forces made more than twice as many arrests as were made by the forces of any of the several other military officials; and he kept them busy until he got the secret instructions to stop making arrests.
839. His neglect to attack the Vegetarians assembling to march on Huashan and massacre the missionaries, cost him nothing—the viceroy has restored to him his rank, commission, degrees and peacock feathers, without his ever having been removed from office.

(DISMISSED) MAGISTRATE WANG JU-LIN.

840. This man was the successor of Wang Yu-yang as magistrate of the Kutien district, assuming charge of the office about May 2nd, 1895, after the Vegetarians had menaced Kutien City.
841. Not much is known of his previous history. While in charge of the Kutien magistracy, he showed some energy in trying to put down the Vegetarians, albeit he was an habitual opium smoker and not a man of strong character. His attitude towards foreigners was all that could be desired.
842. Together with Deputy Ho Ting and Colonel T’an Yu-te, spoken of just above, he was perhaps criminally negligent of his duties the two or three days preceding the massacre, in that he made no real effort to compel Colonel T’an to advance on the Vegetarians, and in that he did not otherwise take active steps to protect the missionaries when he knew (probably) that Huashan was to be attacked.
843. His action after the massacre was, most naturally, exceedingly energetic as regards affording aid to the distressed survivors of the tragedy. As to the Vegetarians, he seemed to be too afraid to make the least effort to capture them; and the same should have been said of Deputy Ho Ting and Colonel T’an Yu-te.
844. When Wang Ju-lin took charge of his office he found that the Vegetarians were virtually in control of the district. It is believed he correctly represented the state of affairs to the Foochow authorities—self-defence would have compelled him to do this in taking over office from his predecessor—and that the sending of Ho Ting to Kutien was the only effect his report had, the viceroy declining to send soldiers there on the magistrate’s request.
845. It would seem, therefore, that, though he was guilty of criminal negligence in not promptly acting when affairs were approaching a crisis, he is nevertheless not to blame for the conditions which make the crisis possible—this latter blame resting on the viceroy. Still, in this instance Viceroy Pien has held him strictly responsible for all that occurred in Kutien district, making the Chinese custom in such matters apply in his case, while its application was omitted entirely or partly in respect to other persons more culpable than Wang Ju-lin.
846. Immediately after the massacre the viceroy had Wang Ju-lin dismissed from office, degraded and cashiered, without any chance of his being “allowed to redeem himself hereafter”.
847. After his removal from office and degradation Wang Ju-lin drifted into obscurity; and he is now said to have returned to his native home—though no one seems to know just where that is. If the rule applied to the magistrate’s case should be also applied to that of the viceroy, so that the latter would be held responsible for his miscarriages and culpabilities and receive therefore a sentence proportionate to that which he inflicted upon his subordinate, then would Viceroy Pien have to pay the penalty of his crimes with the loss of his head.

(RELIEVED) MAGISTRATE WANG YU-YANG.

848. Little is known of Wang Yu-yang previous to his holding the magistracy of Kutien. He became Kutien magistrate in the first part of 1894, or in the last part of 1893, succeeding Ho Ting, whom he somewhat resembled in respect to his having a kindly disposition towards foreigners.

849. It was during Wang Yu-yang's administration that the Kutien Vegetarians developed into a powerful sect—more powerful, indeed, than the magistracy. So far as the committee can discover he made no report on the dangers that beset his district until in the last part of March, 1895, when Kutien City itself was practically placed in a state of siege by the Vegetarians. See paragraph 52 for the report he at that time submitted to the then prefect, T'an Pao-chien.
850. His silence—if, indeed, he was silent—about the increasing disorders in his district renders him responsible in the highest degree for the final result of the Vegetarian lawlessness. However, we have seen that the other Wang accomplished nothing by asking for assistance from Foochow. But there is not much question but that when the deputy from Foochow came up to look after matters, in April, Wang Yu-yang contrived to have a favorable report sent to the high authorities.
851. The greatest culpability, perhaps, to be attributed to him rests upon his base action in surrendering to the Vegetarians, or at least, actually making with them a most compromising and disgraceful treaty which was duly negotiated and agreed upon through the medium of a lot of beggarly “envoys”. True, the magistrate was helpless at that particular time; but he was to blame for his helplessness.
852. After their successes in cowing the magistrate, and thereby bringing terror to all Kutien City, it is not to be wondered at that the Vegetarians considered themselves equal to the task of overturning the present dynasty and establishing an empire of their own. The magistrate's cowardice gave the Vegetarian Society a sort of prestige that has not yet been overcome.
853. Though more blameworthy than the other Wang, who succeeded him, Wang Yu-yang has not had any penalties inflicted upon him. The viceroy caused him to be “relieved” in May, 1895, without detriment to his official future. Yet, since the massacre, he seems to have disappeared; and is present whereabouts is unknown to the committee.

DEPUTY CHU TSUNG-PING.

854. Chu Tsung-ping is a native of Anhui province—sometimes spelt Nganhwui—and is something over 40 years old. He is a fat, round-eyed chuffy-faced individual. To say that he is an irrepressible gambler and has but little regard to truth and honesty, is giving a fairly good description of his character.
855. For some while he had been occupying subordinate positions in Foochow, and in the last part of 1894, or first part of 1895, he became chief deputy of the Foreign Board, of which Ch'en Taotai, the imbecile, was president. As Ch'en was unable to attend to his business, the conducting of the office was left with Deputy Chu. Under him the Foreign Board soon became a nuisance to the Consuls, owing to its utter inefficiency and want of reliability.
856. Chu was conducting the affairs of the office when the Kutien troubles were brought to the notice of the board. It was he who informed the United States Consul about the board's having received a report from Magistrate Wang Ju-lin declaring there was no trouble in Kutien, and it was he who deceived the United States Consul with reference to the sending of 400 soldiers to Kutien. True, Ch'en Taotai was the nominal head of the office: but Chu was the actual head, and the blame attached to the Foreign Board on account of the Kutien affairs being neglected falls almost entirely upon him.
857. He was a party to the viceroy's attempt to refuse to allow a launch to go after the wounded missionaries, he being present and advising against it. The same was the case when the viceroy opposed giving the committee an escort to Kutien City. Elsewhere it has been related how he, charged with the conduct of the escort party, resorted to this and the other scheme in order to delay the committee's progress; and how he was the viceroy's secret agent in Kutien, and made several hurried visits to Foochow.
858. Whatever he did in Kutien as done most secretly. It is therefore only a presumption to consider him guilty of participating with the other officials in their duplicity and dishonesty. But as the viceroy has given him a good promotion, the surmise is that he was a party to the Kutien treachery. As soon as he returned to Foochow, Chu was made expectant prefect in charge of lekin affairs at Kuantou, an important Chinese port on the Min river near its mouth. The superintendency of the lekin at that place

is a very lucrative position.

DEPUTY NIEH YUAN-LUNG.

859. This official is also a native of Anhui province. He does not know his age; but one would consider him about 55 years old. He is an uneducated man—some of his colleagues say he is unable to properly read or write the classical Chinese, and hence is often put to the necessity of having some of his clerks decipher official papers for him. However, at one time he held some position in the Chinese Legation at Washington. He is a man of no ability; and in personal character he much resembles his erstwhile colleague Chu Tsung-ping who was considered in the section just preceding this one.
860. Deputy Nieh holds the rank of expectant prefect. In the spring of 1895 he became one of the secretaries or deputies on the Foreign Board; and when Chu Tsung-ping, the chief deputy of that board, went to Kutien with the committee, Nieh became chief deputy. He has ever since held that position. It is said that his official career is entirely due to his successful use of money for bribery purposes.
861. He is almost solely responsible for the policy of the Foreign Board from August the 13th to October 27th, 1895; and he is therefore responsible in part for the viceroy's attitude towards the Kutien investigation during that time. When Hsu Hsing-yi returned from Kutien and assumed the direction of the board's affairs, Nieh became jointly responsible with him for the advanced anti-foreign policy of the office. He must therefore shoulder his portion of the blame for the manner in which the Foreign Board has practically given its countenance to the reorganization of the Kutien Vegetarians, and to a general persecution of native Christians.
862. Nieh is still chief deputy of the Foreign Board; but the viceroy has promoted him to be an expectant taotai with the button of the second rank, and the action has already been approved by the Peking Board of Civil Appointments. It were much better for the missionary interests and for the general commercial welfare of this port for the viceroy to have sent Nieh Yuan-lung to Tibet, or to some other distant interior region, where he could not be a standing menace to peace and order between foreigners and Chinese.

EXPECTANT PREFECT (NOW TAOTAI) CH'EN TUNG-SHU.

863. Ch'en Tung-shu was born about 49 years ago in the province of Anhui. His name is not to be confused with that of the imbecile Taotai Ch'en Min-schi, former president of the Foreign Board, for the two men are not even related, though having the same surname. Ch'en Tung-shu is a strong, active man, in full possession of all his faculties. He is the ablest Chinese official in Foochow, taking him all in all. He has considerable official experience in several different places. At one time he filled some position in Korea.
864. His character is unscrupulous, both from native and foreign standpoints. But he has money, and is a power in local political circles. He is a fawning, blandishing hater of foreigners, although always pretending to love them.
865. Ch'en Tung-shu was the predecessor of Chu Tsung-ping as chief deputy of the Foreign Board in Foochow; and in that position he was the cause of so much dissatisfaction on the part of the Consuls that the higher authorities deemed it expedient to relieve him in the last part of 1894, promoting him, however, to be acting prefect of Kiennin prefecture, lying west of the Kutien magisterial district. As there were plenty of Vegetarians in and around Kiennin, Ch'en had plenty of opportunities to know all about the revolutionary movement in that section. But it seems he never took the slightest notice of the Vegetarians.
866. He did not like his post; it deprived him of his beloved pastime of meddling with "foreign affairs": so he returned to Foochow a month or two before the massacre occurred. Ostensibly he filled no office except that of local general superintendent of the Chinese telegraph system,— a sinecure, but the way, which he has held for some years, and which brings him an annual income ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000, Mexican. This office professedly does not concern the Chinese Government, it being regarded as a private position; but in purpose and effect it is a public office.

867. While pretending to hold no office, Ch'en nevertheless had more or less to do with nearly all the cases which the Consuls laid before the Foreign Board or other Foochow Chinese offices. He was apparently a general counselor to the whole lot of officials. He took a great deal of interest in the Kutien case, and was often asked for advice by the viceroy. He would therefore seem to be to blame for at least taking part in shaping the viceroy's policy in the Kutien matter, not only while the investigation was in progress, but up to the present day.
868. It has been stated before how the missionaries when arriving at Shuikou despatched a telegram to Foochow for assistance, which telegram, although forwarded at 8 o'clock in the morning, was not delivered to the addressee till in the afternoon. No sort of explanation was ever made to account for the delay; and the inference is that, acting under instructions, Ch'en ordered the news of the massacre kept back as long as possible. What occurred in this case occurred in numerous others. The crookedness in the Chinese telegraph office both as to sending as well as to delivering telegrams became so bad that the foreigners found it necessary to request the superintendent of the foreign telegraph office to send off Foochow telegrams from his Sharp Peak station, conveying the messages from Foochow to Sharp Peak, 34 miles, by special launches, instead of following the usual course of covering the distance over the Chinese local line.
869. There was all sorts of crookedness in the Chinese telegraph office. It is said, though not proved, that any messages of importance going or coming were first telegraphed over to the viceroy for his information. However that may be, there is not the slightest doubt about the contents of official telegrams concerning the Kutien massacre having been given out by the Chinese telegraph office.
870. For these things, Ch'en Tung-shu should be held to account. Moreover, the Foreign Powers should unite in insisting that the foreign telegraph companies be permitted to establish working offices in Foochow; their lines can now come no nearer than Sharp Peak, thus leaving the foreigners in Foochow at the mercy of a telegraph line controlled by the viceroy, who might do with it as he pleased in an emergency.
871. Ch'en Tung-shu is in high favor with the viceroy who, several months ago, had him promoted to be a full taotai. He is at present "joint" taotai in control of the Foochow telegraph office, in which position he is busy devising ways and means to shut foreigners and foreign merchandise out of the city of Foochow. But it is reported to be the intention of the viceroy to make his "joint" superintendent of the Foreign Board with Taotai T'an Pao-chien who is now in charge. It is devoutly hoped such is not the case. If Ch'en Tung-shu should once get into that position, the weak T'an Pao-chien will be as putty in his hands, or, at best, nothing but a figure-head.

DEPUTY LI CH'UN HUI.

872. It was this official whom Viceroy T'an Chung-lin sent to Kutien in April, 1895, as his deputy under orders to investigate the situation and report. Little is known of his antecedent history except that he was for a time magistrate of Cheing Yang (or Kien Yang) district—where Yi Chien is now located as magistrate—and that while in that position he acquired unenviable notoriety for barefaced lying and other bad conduct.
873. He remained in Kutien City only one day, meantime enjoying the hospitality of Magistrate Wang Yuyang. It is fairly certain that the two officials, the deputy and the magistrate, compounded with one another to prepare and submit to the high authorities at Foochow a false report of the condition of affairs in the magistracy—though actual proof of this is lacking. But if such false report were submitted, the fact would not lessen Viceroy T'an's responsibility for the results of his own apathy—he knew the character of the man he was sending to Kutien.
874. Fate stepped in and prevented Viceroy Pien Pao-chuan from promoting this man—Li Ch'un-hui died just before the occurrence of the Kutien massacre.

KUTIEN CITY POLICE MAGISTRATE LI CH'I-TS'ENG.

875. For nearly 30 years Li Ch'i-ts'eng, it is said, has filled the office of "police magistrate" in Kutien City. While he is here termed "police magistrate", he is hardly to be considered such in the sense that term

is employed in foreign countries. It is difficult to determine on any one designation that will convey the Chinese idea of the office. Perhaps “chief of police” comes as near describing the office as “police magistrate” does; but he would seem to unite in himself some of the powers of both magistrate and policeman. Suffice it to say that in China such an office is considered one of very low degree, as his judicial authority is nearly all swallowed up by the judicial powers of the magistrate of the district.

876. But notwithstanding his insignificant office this man was able to exercise considerable influence with the other Kutien officials. Through his kinship with Liu Hsiang-hsing, the noted Vegetarian leader, he was able to keep himself informed of the intentions of the Vegetarian Society. Thus he knew about the attack the Vegetarians meditated making on the city when the gates were all closed in the last part of March, 1895. But before this date he had made himself prominent, in company with others, by favoring the Vegetarians and by inducing the district magistrate to make humiliating concessions to them.
877. When Kutien City was about to be attacked Li Ch’i-ts’eng was apparently in communication with them to the detriment of good order: and on the same occasion he succeeded in influencing the weak Wang Yu-yang to grant the Vegetarians most favorable terms—virtually causing him to sue for peace from the Vegetarians.
878. Everywhere his actions come to the surface Li Ch’i-ts’eng is on record as favoring the Vegetarians as against the magistrate. Several times in the few days just preceding the massacre, he came forward to make light of the other official’s fear that there was probability of trouble. He did this when word came that soldiers were required at different villages to guard against assault from the Vegetarians when massing at Kungshan-chi. Worse still, when a messenger arrived in Kutien City to inform Magistrate Wang Ju-lin of the tragedy at Huashan, this fellow was promptly on hand to laugh at the messenger’s report and do his best to discredit it, pretending it was only a hoax, as well as endeavoring to prevent the district magistrate from sending soldiers to the relief of Huashan.
879. He may deny his connection with the Vegetarians as much as he pleases, but this much is beyond dispute,—he was certainly hobnobbing with the Vegetarians just before the occurrence of their several outbreaks.
880. Neither of the Chinese officials in the investigation could be induced to inquire into his connection with the Vegetarians. Being an official, though of low degree, was sufficient to protect him. So far as known to the committee, he is still in the occupancy of his office never having been the least molested.

OTHER OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

881. Expectant Magistrate LU WIE-WEN went to Kutien with Hsu Taotai as his special deputy. He was his executive officer while there, and was more or less concerned with all the irregularities of the investigation. He has been promoted, and will be made a magistrate of the first class as soon as he gets his commission as magistrate of the second class. He is now acting magistrate of Hui An district.
882. Deputies CHANG WEN and LIU HIS-Chu expectant magistrates, are the two officials who conducted the Tachien fraudulent investigation, mentioned in paragraph 474.
883. Expectant magistrate WANG YIN-T’AI was concerned with the above mentioned officials in coaching witnesses and in various other acts of crookedness in connection with the investigation.
884. All FOUR of the aforesaid officials are the men who, as deputies, were sent (or pretended to be sent) from village to village in the Kutien district—after the departure of the committee—for the purpose of apprehending Huashan criminals who were at large. Besides not arresting a single criminal, they rendered a report which both they and their officials receiving it in Foochow knew to be a gross misrepresentation of facts, indeed, a wilfully false document from beginning to end. Though this false report was prepared according to secret instructions from Hsu Taotai, these deputies are ostensibly the parties responsible for it. They have all been rewarded with splendid promotions, one of them, as noted, having been given a magistracy, while the other three are placed in charge of remunerative lekin offices.

885. Interpreter CHANG PO employed himself throughout the investigation in protecting the Vegetarians as much as possible. He was the court interpreter during the trials of the Huashan criminals. In this position he would even coach witnesses in the court room. At first he did some false interpreting when translating a prisoner's statements from the local dialect to the mandarin (he did not know English), but as members of the committee knew both dialects he was forced to do his interpreting with approximate correctness. He was with Deputies Chang and Liu when they visited Tachien, and managed for them the business of getting up the details for a false report, besides also forging the name of a native Christian to a paper professing to be the latter's declaration that only a few Vegetarians passed through Tachien village on the day of the massacre. Representations made to the Chinese officials about this man's conduct were of no avail.
886. LANG CHIH-JEN is a graduate of the second degree who lives in a suburb of Kutien City. He was associated with Li Chi-ts'eng in hobnobbing with the Vegetarians and in participating in the dickerings which they carried on with the frightened Wang Yu-yang on several occasions. He was their counsel through all the various vicissitudes of the society. His guilty complicity in the Vegetarian uprising, if not indeed in the actual massacre, is without the slightest doubt. At the instance of the committee he was placed under surveillance during the investigation. But, as he was a degree man, the officials declared it would be a violation of all Chinese traditions to try him before the high authorities and deprived him of his literary rank and title. It was therefore agreed that he be sent to Foochow, when he could be degraded and tried as any other prisoner. The Chinese officials failed to keep their promise; and this guilty man, a relative of the notorious Tu Chu-I who carried the Vegetarian flag at the massacre, was set at liberty without any sort of trial.
887. TSENG KUANG-KUEI and TSENT KUANG-TOU, brothers, are said to have aided the Vegetarians in preventing the soldiers from being sent to Kutien. The first of these men lives in Kutien City, where he is prominent as a merchant; and the second resides in Foochow, where he is the president of a native college, and where he is well known in literary circles. The Kutien Tseng wrote to his brother to do his best to persuade the officials not to send troops to Kutien. Whether his brother complied with the request or not, is not certain; but it is believed he did. But in point of fact, investigation fails to bring out any other incriminating circumstances against these men. Therefore, the conclusion is almost inevitable that their action was due to fear lest the soldiers might engage in marauding, doing injury to the wealth Kutien Tseng, besides giving the officials some excuse to extort money from him on the plea of having to provide for the soldiers. Selfish interest appears to have actuated the two brothers. Their case is paralleled by several other cases, the parties in which were undoubtedly actuated by selfish motives and fear of the depredations by soldiers rather than by any desire to further in the least the interests of the Vegetarian Society.

FOREGOING SYNOPSIS INCOMPLETE.

888. Besides the parties named in the several preceding sections there are others, both among the Chinese officials and among the gentry, who are more or less blamable in this or that phase of the Vegetarian uprising; and but for want of space they would have been mentioned separately and by name. However, where names have been given, the specific charges against the parties have necessarily been limited—so much so that in some instances matter of more importance, perhaps, than that given has been omitted under this general heading; and inadvertency has also contributed its share to the same end. This observation would especially apply to the cases of Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan, Expectant Taotai Hsu Hsing-yi, and Acting Prefect Ch'in Ping-chih. But much of the omitted matter may be gathered in other parts of this report.

INTERESTS INVOLVED IN THE INVESTIGATION.

MISS HARTFORD'S CASE.

889. Miss Hartford sustained only slight wounds, as previously noted, though she sustained a severe nervous shock which kept her prostrated up to the time she left Foochow for her home at Dover, New

Hampshire.

890. Her loss in personal effects, due to the Vegetarians making the attack on Huashan, amounts to \$79 Mexican, or in United States currency, about \$41. In addition thereto she suffered a loss on account of her teacher's and servants' personal effects being plundered from the house she occupied, she considering herself responsible for the damage done on her account. The loss thus sustained amounts to \$113.65, Mexican, or, in United States currency, about \$58. Accordingly, her total loss amounts to \$192.65, Mexican, or, in United States currency, about \$100. No part of this sum has yet been paid.²⁵

AMERICAN MISSIONARY INTERESTS IN KUTIEN.

891. The Methodist Episcopal Mission commenced work in Kutien about the year 1866. The native Christians, aided by visiting foreign missionaries, conducted the mission for a long while. But in October, 1890, the mission assigned several foreigners to work in that field, proper residences for them having been erected in Kutien City, as well as a fully equipped general hospital for the accommodation of Chinese patients.
892. At the beginning of 1895 there were engaged in the work seven adult citizens of the United States: with these there were also six children, ranging in age from 15 years old down to infancy.
893. The native Christians connected with the mission in the same year numbered something over 1400, whose membership was divided between 25 churches and chapels, 13 of which are owned by the mission, and the other 12 being rented or leased property.
894. The mission was conducting in Kutien district, in 1895, three boarding schools for native students, and 57 day schools. The total number of pupils in these schools averaged 450.
895. The total valuation of property owned in Kutien by the mission is #23,000.

TOTAL AMERICAN MISSIONARY INTERESTS IN THIS CONSULAR DISTRICT.

896. The two American missions, namely, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, possess very large interests within the Foochow consular district. The first work was begun here on January 2, 1847, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, followed the next year by the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Towards the close of 1895, these two missions had a total membership of 10,926 native Christians, apportioned among 222 chapels and churches located in various parts of the consular district. But during the past several months, from 1,000 to 2,000 more converts have applied for admission into the church. Thus it will be seen that at present the total number of Christians connected with the American missions in this consular district approximates 13,000.
897. For the same year, the total number of mission schools owned and conducted by the two missions was 437, with an average attendance of 8,274 pupils.
898. In addition to the churches and regular schools, the missions have established other institutions in the course of their work. Some of these are:—The Anglo-Chinese College, which is the leading college in China, both as to number of pupils and as to curriculum, the latter ranking along with the curriculum of many western colleges, while the students in the present session number 242 in the collegiate department proper; a Polytechnic Institute, for specially educating Chinese young men in the western sciences; three Women's Seminaries; three Theological Schools; two Medical Schools; one Orphanage; seven Hospitals, the largest of which cared for 28,043 patients during the year 189; seven Dispensaries—not connected with the hospitals; and one Printing and Bookbinding Establishment, thoroughly equipped for doing every kind of work both in English and in Chinese,—the printing presses and general outfit of this establishment alone cost \$17,200.
899. At the close of 1895, the American missionary colony in this consular district, children included,

25 The destruction and pillaging by local Huashan residents of the British missionary houses is clear. This is the first mention of pillaging in the house rented by an American and presumably took place after Miss Hartford was evacuated to Foochow with the surviving British victims.

numbered 102. Besides the missionaries and the consulate staff, there is only one other United States citizen in the port.

900. At the end of the same year, the total valuation of mission property was \$262,110—a very marked increase over the figures given by Mr. Consul Wingate in his despatch No. 109, to the Department of State, under date of November the 6th, 1884. At that time the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held the greater portion of the mission property; but the condition is now reversed, and the Methodist Episcopal Mission owns the larger interest.

AMERICAN MERCANTILE PROPERTY.

901. The four American firms doing business in Foochow own property valued in the aggregate at about %65,000—though much of the American commercial business, in fact the greater part of it, is carried on here by English and German firms, and by firms of other nationalities.
902. It is therefore seen that the United States' actual monied interests in this consular district, as represented by the property of the missions and by that of American commercial firms, is about \$327, 110.

BRITISH MISSIONARY AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

903. English missionary interests in Kutien district very nearly equal the American interests; and there is perhaps but little difference between the American and English missionary interests throughout the consular district, though the English do not seem to have so many educational and charitable interests as the Americans. The English commercial interests here are very large, and in excess of any other port in China except Shanghai.

OTHER MISSIONARY INTERESTS.

904. The Roman Catholics have very great interests in this consular district, both as regards property and in the number of their converts, the latter possibly exceeding that of the other missions named. The mission is conducted mostly by the Spanish Fathers.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY INTERESTS IN THIS PROVINCE.

905. American missionaries have large interests in the Amoy consular district, but still within Fuhkien province. The Amoy interests of course were not considered in the data just given respecting missionary interests in this consular district. When the American missionary interests throughout this province are considered, they are at once seen to be enormous compared with those in other parts of China.
906. The missionary stations are rather promiscuously scattered over the province; for example, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions have a large and important station located in the Foochow consular district at Shaowu—on the borders of Kiangsi province—280 English miles in the interior northwest of Foochow, at which station several foreign missionaries reside, and where, in addition to the church work, a hospital for the natives is maintained under the superintendency of a resident foreign physician.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS OF ALL FUHKIEN MISSIONS.

907. It is said that the native Chinese Christians in Fuhkien who are connected with the American missions and with several other Protestant and Catholic missions, outnumber those in all the other Chinese provinces combined. Fuhkien therefore seems to be the Chinese stronghold for missionaries of all nationalities.

MISS HARTFORD'S CASE OF SMALL IMPORTANCE AS COMPARED WITH OTHER INTERESTS.²⁶

26 While Hixson's point is reasonable, the view of the Chinese and the British was that the American interest, given that no death occurred, was a minor one. This explains why British Consul Mansfield did not pursue Hixson's view of the American interest and with the support of the British Minister, brought the Kutien proceedings to a close in mid-October 1895.

908. From an American point of view, it was certainly a matter of high importance that Miss Hartford's assailants should be captured, and then punished with the utmost rigor of the law. The plural term "assailants" is purposely used, because it were impossible to consider that Miss Hartford was assailed by only one man, Liu Hsiang-hsing, alias Min Ching-chi, who knocked her down and beat her; the attack on Huashan was a general one, having for its object the death of all the foreigners there at the time. That Miss Hartford received violence at the hands of only one member of the mob, was purely an accident; and her escape from death was miraculous. To all intents and purposes, the assailants of the English missionaries were also her assailants; and so likewise with their murderers. /The American and English causes, so far as Huashan was concerned, were one and the same, with the exception that in the American case less life and less property were destroyed than in the English case.
909. Such was the view held by the committee. Had the American committee held a contrary view, regarding Miss Hartford's case as being distinct and separate from that of the English missionaries, then the committee's work in the Kutien investigation would have virtually ended on the 4th of September, 1895—the day on which Liu Hsiang-hsing, alias Ming Ching-chi, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to suffer death by decapitation.
910. But Miss Hartford's case was by no means the paramount issue in the Huashan investigations. In Kutien district alone were at stake the large interests noted in paragraph 891 *et seq.*, The whole of the missionary interests in Fuhkien province were vitally concerned in the general outcome of the Huashan investigation: and it may be said, indeed, that all missionary interests in China were more or less involved.
911. There is no gainsaying the fact that at one time during the investigation the proximate safety of not only missionaries, but also of all other foreigners in this consular district, was practically dependent on the success of the committee charged with holding the inquiry into the cause of the massacre. Moreover, the matter largely concerned the future of missionary work throughout all China.
912. It was in consideration of the above facts, and the great responsibilities growing out of them, that the American committee went further in the investigation than the casual observer would deem demanded by the American interests involved in the case. From the very day of the news of the massacre being made known in Foochow, when the American committee at once commenced gathering evidence until the present day there has been no unwarranted zeal on the part of that committee.²⁷ The labors performed by it were not only obligatory, but they were also necessary.

THE SEVERAL EFFECTS OF THE INQUIRY AS CONSIDERED FROM THE PRESENT TIME.

913. The results of the investigation have affected different classes of people in different ways; and the effects are pronounced and distinct, especially in respect to the general mass of the common Chinese people, the Vegetarians, and the officials and literati, respectively.

THE EFFECT ON THE COMMON PEOPLE.

914. At the very first the common people were prone to regard the massacre as the signal for a contest of strength between China and the Foreign Powers. They considered—and in this they made no mistake—that China on the one hand would protect the murderers of the missionaries as long as she was able to do so, and that, on the contrary, the Foreign Powers would urge the capture and execution of those who took part in the massacre. Where the people got their ideas that the Chinese officials would protect the guilty men can only be surmised; but such notions probably originated from the officials' past record towards foreigners and missionaries.
915. The going of the Consuls to Kutien to investigate was taken as a partial confirmation of what the people believed. But when the prefect refused to admit the committee to the trials, the action was

27 Hixson's exaggeration of his role is now clear. The "American committee" did not exist until it was authorised by the State Department on the advice of U. S. Minister Charles Denby in Peking. That approval was given more than ten days after the news of the massacre reached Foochow.

considered as absolute proof that there was to be a contest to the finish between the Chinese and the foreigners.

916. Inch by inch, the Chinese gave way under pressure. Nothing voluntary was done by them during the whole investigation. It was even so in the matter of executions: these were delayed and delayed until foreign war vessels were within good cannon shot of the viceroy's yamen—and then only did the executions take place. A sigh of relief went up from the people—for they remembered how the obstinacy of the Chinese officials had brought them suffering by causing the French squadrons to attack Foochow in 1884.
917. But the execution of the next batch of Huashan criminals was also blocked by the stubborn resistance of the viceroy and his subordinates. The people were closely watching every turn of affairs; and they saw the strained condition of things. As events seemed to take a worse turn, the people commenced to flee from Foochow and its vicinity, for safety in the interior. At this juncture the arrival of even more war vessels led the viceroy to again consent to having some executions take place.
918. So, from event to event, the common people watched the course of the investigation, and when it was ended they had a fixed opinion that the foreigners had forced the Chinese at every point, thus exposing the latter's weakness—and they still hold that opinion because, as it is said, the officials were too weak to save the lives of the 26 Vegetarians who were executed. The people think that henceforth the mandarin must bow to the wishes of the foreigner. Had the officials voluntarily given the committee their assistance and sincere cooperation, no such opinions could have long obtained, even had such originated.
919. But mark the effects of such ideas among the people: The populace, seeing what fate overtook some of the Huashan criminals, and consequently believing no longer in the power of the officials to protect assailants and traducers of foreigners, have generally conceived a most wholesome fear of habitually insulting missionaries and other foreigners, and are actually treating the same with marked respect—to the consternation and chagrin of the Chinese officials. Never before in the history of this province has there been so much respect manifested by the common people towards foreigners. One may now visit with impunity places in and around Foochow which heretofore could only be visited with the certainty of meeting with insults and abuse, and the possibility of receiving personal injuries. The same changes are noted in this consular district,—but less in Kutien than elsewhere, the former magistrate them Yi Chien, having intensified the anti-foreign feelings as much as he dared.
920. But a few more changes than this have taken place among the people—hundreds and hundreds have rushed forward to unite themselves with the churches under the supervision of the several foreign missions. In some places so large has been the numbers applying for admission to membership that the American missions have deemed it well to cease for the present to admit any more new members. This action was rendered necessary by the fact that the crowds seeking admission into the churches seemed actuated by political motives rather than by devout religious sentiments.
921. Herein is seen the almost irresistible tendency of the average Chinese mind to take an essentially utilitarian view both of morality and religion. Many of the common people are seeking connection with the mission churches for the sake of the protection and assistance they suppose they will thereby gain.²⁸ They consider that the church has proved itself stronger than the mandarins, and that in future it will have great temporal power. So many of these would-be new Christians have their own axes to grind in the shape of old lawsuits which they wish advantageously settled, ancient feuds that they want ended in their favor, and old non-Christian personal enemies whom they desire to see given “justice” according to “the law for the foreigner”.
922. This tendency to unite with the Christian church for the sake of securing its protection was not unknown even in the most conservative times, and it has been the source of much vexation both to the

28 Hixson's comment is supported by “The Pastoral Letter to the Christians in the Fuhkien Province.” Issued by the Fuhkien Protestant missionary societies. See Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister: *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1896, pp 479-483 and footnotes.

missionaries and to the Consulate. Had the church doors been thrown wide open since the massacre, it is probable that by this time several more thousands of natives would have their names enrolled on the church registers.²⁹

923. The conservative conduct of the missionaries in temporarily declining to receive more members into the churches, is greatly to be commended; and it will have the effect of largely aiding to bring about a wholesome reaction, while in the end no sincere professor of religion will be turned away from the church. It is greatly to be regretted that some of the other missions did not see fit to pursue a course similar to that pursued by the American missions.
924. Were the Vegetarian element completely crushed out, and the foreign-hating Chinese officials placed where they could not regain their sinister influence over the populace, then there would be no more trouble in this province between the Chinese common people and the missionaries and other foreigners. But unless something be done to stop the officials from carrying on their present anti-foreign crusade, the common people are certain to come again under their influence and control—so that it will not take long for them to become much worse than ever before.

EFFECT ON VEGETARIANS.

925. The effect on the Vegetarians has been most unsatisfactory. They were at first heartily frightened, and fled for their lives. By degrees they learned that they had only to fear the committee, the Chinese officials opposing the committee and virtually championing the Vegetarians who murdered the missionaries.
926. While enough of their number were beheaded to serve them as an example of what they may expect if they once more turn their attention towards openly plundering and murdering missionaries, nevertheless there has not been a sufficient punishment visited on them to deter them in future from secretly doing under cover what was publicly done at Huashan; and the 26 ghastly heads still hanging up at the scene of their crime only serve to warn them to employ less wreckful methods in planning and executing similar crimes, while it has solidified and intensified to the highest degree that hatred of the society both for foreigners and native Christians, and called forth vows to have revenge for the death of the executed Vegetarians. The punishments inflicted in this case other than capital, do not count for aught with the Vegetarians; for they know too well how great is the farce of the pretended carrying out of the minor penalties, such as imprisonment and banishment and the still smaller ones, and so they rest quite sure that official hypocrisy will stand these minor criminals in good stead by virtually nullifying their sentences.
927. The Vegetarians are able to point with pride to the fact that some of their late unlucky brethren have already returned to Kutien from their lifetime (?) banishment to remote regions, and are frequenting their old haunts without fear of molestation. They are able to boast, too, of kindnesses shown them by the viceroy in instigating for their sake a complete innovation in the Chinese legal code—he ordered that the Vegetarian criminals who were banished be given a pension at the rate of 30 cash each per day. One of the viceroy's subordinates, in trying to explain to the United States Consul why the Vegetarians had been pensioned, said that the viceroy had a very kind heart and could not stand the idea that some of the banished or imprisoned criminals might suffer for want of food at first, not being able to secure any regular work, and so he had resorted to this means to prevent them having inconvenience, but that it would be discontinued after a year or two when the exiles (?) had secured positions affording them a good living! He also gave another one of the viceroy's reasons—that “if the banished Vegetarians were not pensioned, they would become dissatisfied with their new homes and might leave them and return to Kutien”. Thus, then, some of the Vegetarians are making more money as exiles than they ever earned as laborers; and so they and their fellow Vegetarians believe that the

29 It was a characteristic of Chinese adherence to Christianity, in China and among the Chinese 19th century diaspora, to be baptised only and not to subsequently become full communicant members of the churches. See Welch, Ian, (2001), Chinese History at Australian Federation website (CHAF) at Latrobe University, Victoria, online at <http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/welch/index.htm> — Chinese Christian Baptisms in Victoria, 1855-1915 (with some marriages and deaths).

viceroy pensions them to show that he appreciates their murdering the missionaries—and some other people have the same belief.

928. As for the rebellion phases of the Vegetarian uprising, that became a dead issue just as soon as the committee pressed for the execution of some of the Huashan criminals, and it has not since been revived. No one was executed for engaging in rebellion against the Chinese Government. True, Chang Ch'ih, whose name haeds the list given in Appendix No. 3.—was not executed at the instance of the committee, who, seeing he was certain to be executed anyhow, pursued a bit of policy by leaving him entirely to the Chinese officials to with as they pleased. He was executed—but not because of his stirring up rebellion, but because of his having insulted the dignity of a former Kutien magistrate. Others who were engaged purely in the rebellion enterprise got off without harm. So the Vegetarians have also the notion that it is no great crime to get up a rebellion.
929. While the viceroy had issued his so-called anti-Vegetarian proclamation, the one saying “the name ‘Vegetarian’ is prohibited”, the members of the society thoroughly understand it means nothing. Accordingly, pretending to do so under other names, they are actively recruiting their ranks. But they might do son under the “prohibited” name if they wished to do it; some of the Huashan criminals never found it necessary to even flee from their homes while the officials were making a pretence of arresting guilty Vegetarians. The most notable instance of such boldness is in Ping-nan district, where Vegetarians make no secret of having gone to Huashan to participate in the massacre. Recently two of these Vegetarians, known to all the country roundabout as guilty of aiding in the murder of the missionaries, have been giving trouble to Christians of the American mission. Although these men’s names had already been several times presented to the officials, the United States Consul again sent in their names and insisted they be arrested and dealt with. The proof being so positive against the outlaws, Magistrate Wu could no longer deny their presence in his neighborhood; so, strange to say, he put himself on record in writing, admitting that the men were known to be guilty of taking part in the Huashan massacre, and promising he would flog his “deceitful runners”, and again send them to make the arrests in order that he might “deal severely” with the culprits. That was several weeks ago; and not yet has Magistrate Wu really tried to arrest these guilty men.
930. Actions such as have been noted in the several preceding paragraphs have rather had the effect of making the Vegetarians consider themselves the special pets of the official class, and of placing a premium on the murdering of foreigners—the Vegetarians now believe that the officials considered the murderers of the Huashan missionaries guilty of no crime except that of allowing themselves to be caught after committing their bloody deeds.
931. It is necessary that some proper measures be devised to change the Vegetarians; notion that the Huashan crime may be repeated with impunity if it be not committed with enough publicity to l eave clues for another foreign investigating committee to gather up and utilize in tracking down and identifying the perpetrators, and in bringing them to justice in spite of the obstructions of conniving mandarins. The provincial authorities here will attempt no such measures unless forced to do so by the Foreign Powers—and the sooner the powers force such steps, the better will it be for the safety of foreigners in Fuhkien province.

EFFECT ON THE OFFICIALS.

932. Unsatisfactory and bad as are the effects of the investigation upon the Vegetarians, the situation is still far worse as concerns the officials—and with the officials may also be included the majority of the literati. This state of affairs is in a great degree attributable to the traditional ignorance and arrogance and conceit of the official classes, though its direct cause is due to other considerations.
933. In the first place, the officials considered the Huashan massacre sufficient provocation for the Foreign Powers to at once have their war vessels gather in force at Foochow and train their guns upon the provincial capital while an ultimatum embodying severe terms was being prepared for presentation to the viceroy. Whether such a surprising view be correct or not, we need not pause here to discuss. Sufficient it is that such was the view taken by the Chinese officials immediately they learned the news of the massacre, and sufficient it is that, to their surprise, no such warlike menaces were

indulged in by the Foreign Powers. The failure to do this produced on the minds of the officials the impression that the Foreign Powers were afraid to do so—not afraid of China alone, but also afraid of one another. This belief was largely at the bottom of the viceroy's defiant attitude through the whole investigation.

934. Now that the investigation is over, they consider that they, the officials, have won a signal victory, and that in future there need be no fears when a few missionaries are murdered, seeing that in this case, from their point of view, but little has been done about the 11 missionaries who were massacred. While they resisted it as much as they dared, still they consider the execution of the 26 criminals to be a very small matter—and they know that the sentences passed on the other criminals will amount to nothing. By reference to paragraph 698 *et seq.*, it will be observed, with the possible exception of Wang Ju-lin, no official has really suffered evil results from the Huashan massacre—and even Wang Ju-lin may yet receive a promotion. The viceroy, considering the outcome to be victorious for the Chinese, has rewarded by promotion nearly ever official that aided in bringing about the results. So it happens that the massacre has proved a windfall for at least some Chinese officials who in the ordinary course of events would never have been heard of by the general public.
935. In promoting the various Chinese officials who aided him in obstructing the path of the investigating committee, the viceroy has deliberately and publicly approved their bad conduct, and the other officials here in Foochow have so constructed his action;—but the public has gone even further, and deemed it a species of defiance of the Foreign Powers. Hsu Taotai and others are largely responsible for the public's taking such a view. He himself, a most conceited man, has boasted repeatedly at big dinners and on public occasions about how he outwitted the committee; and he has done whatever he could do to ridicule the efforts made by the committee. In this he finds ready support among his colleagues.
936. As England exacted no indemnity for the massacre of her subjects—how rarely can such a charge be brought against that country—the viceroy and his subordinates appear to have taken it into their heads that indemnities are things of the past. Therefore, in the future, when soldiers or other aids are requested for missionaries in danger of violence, the authorities will be more prone than ever to refuse compliance. Sending soldiers or deputies to protect missionary interests costs money; but heretofore they were often sent as a policy of insurance against having to pay heavy indemnities. It costs some money, it is true, to investigate massacres—but it has heretofore cost much more to prevent them. The chief incentive to prevent them—avoiding payment of indemnities—is now considered absent. The effects of this on the official mind have been observed by the Consuls several times during the past few months, the Chinese officials treating serious cases as matters of very small concern, and putting themselves to no expense or trouble to give missionaries and native Christians proper protection.
937. A very bad effect has resulted from the deplorable conduct of the former British Consul, Mr. Mansfield, in leaving Kutien City and coming to Foochow where he entered into that peculiar arrangement with the viceroy relative to the Huashan case, by which he nullified or abandoned demands and policies of action which the general committee, with the approval of the foreign Ministers in Peking, had hitherto been pressing upon the Chinese officials. The event has served to make the officials believe that in future their pursuing a Fabian policy, in conjunction with a certain other policy nameless here, will suffice to enable them to finally get around urgent requests or demands, however unavoidable these may at first seem to be. This practice of theirs is already causing much trouble and annoyance.
938. Notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese officials firmly believe themselves to have been victorious in their efforts to throttle the committee, they yet feel that they piqued their dignities in at first making the concessions that made the investigation possible. This feeling has increased their bitterness and hatred towards the missionaries and native Christians—if indeed there was a possibility of such an increase in face of the fact that the mandarins' animosity along these lines may be almost always considered a constant quality—and thirst for revenge is very strong. The officials cannot at present incite the common people against the missionaries and native Christians so easily as they formerly

could, because of reasons given in paragraph 918 and elsewhere; but other roads to revenge are open to them: in some recent cases of persecution brought to the notice of the United States Consul, the malefactors proved to be the leading runners or policemen in the yamens of the officials. Their masters, of course, inflicted no punishment upon them when attention was called to the acts of the runners. So we may expect to see yamen runners, or relatives and connections of theirs, being utilized by the mandarins to make up for the absence of hostility among the populace.

939. Although the common people and the officials, in estimating the outcome of the investigation and its significance, now manifest such widely differing opinions, yet there is nothing more certain than this: if left alone, the officials will soon bring the people over to their way of thinking, and then there will be among the latter a revival of the old animosities against the missionaries. The present insolent and defiant attitude the Chinese officials are manifesting towards the Consuls and foreigners generally, is sure to bring on trouble—either for the Chinese officials or the foreigners.

WHAT THE PROSPECTS ARE.

940. As would naturally be presumed from what has been said, the outlook for peace and order in this consular district is far from being a promising one. In the first part of this report, paragraph 22, it was intimated that there was likelihood of more missionaries being murdered. Since that paragraph was written the conditions have become still more menacing.
941. But there is not much probability that anything closely resembling the Huashan tragedy will take place, considering the fact that that affair was a massacre resulting from slow and deliberate plans, that these plans were executed with the same deliberation in which they were conceived, and the additional fact that almost the whole proceedings were public. The next troubles in this line will doubtless be of a more secretive nature, both as to plans and execution; and they will therefore be on a much smaller scale than was the Huashan massacre. But this prediction does not concern such wholesale and open violence as may be committed by frenzied mobs: dangers of this kind are increased coordinately with the anti-foreign proclivities of the Chinese officials.

DANGERS ARISING FROM THE CONDUCT OF MISSIONARIES.

942. The Huashan massacre has rendered the majority of the missionaries much more conservative and prudent than they formerly were. Besides now refraining from rushing unprotected into the midst of any and every danger, some of them have taken the precaution to equip themselves with firearms, to keep in their houses, so as to be ready for any sudden night attacks from hostile Chinese. All missionaries ought to have firearms about them since, no matter whether loaded or not, they would suffice to enable one foreigner to cower scores of Chinese assailants. The spirit of wise precaution is now observed among the missionaries, is a most commendable one, well calculated to lessen in no small degree the causes of friction between them and the non-Christian Chinese.
943. But some of the missionaries, as if bent on counteracting the results of the course pursued by their conservative colleagues, have become more reckless than ever before, now conducting themselves in a such a manner that their actions cannot be described as anything less than highly fanatical, if not also positively criminal. These over-zealous missionaries are not only inviting sudden disaster upon themselves, but they are also endangering the property and the lives of others; while at the same time they are doing vast injury to the great cause they profess to be seeking to advance.
944. Hardly had the Huashan victims been buried when some of the American missionaries commenced this fanatical course. One individual desire to travel all alone throughout the Kutien country districts, in order that he might “administer consolation to the people in times of trouble”—and this, too, during the first part of the investigation carried on by the committee, when it was not even deemed safe for foreigners to be in Kutien City much less elsewhere in the district, and when the country regions roundabout were considered to be in a state of anarchy except where they were directly under military rule. The party was only deterred from attempting to carry out such hazardous plans by being informed that any foreigner coming to Kutien district of the purpose of actively carrying on missionary work at such a time, would be forthwith arrested and sent back to Foochow.

945. Similar troubles were experienced by the United States Consul in several other cases. The British Consul, it may be stated, has complete control over British missionaries, since they are only allowed to proceed to, or remain in, the interior when they have a consular passport the Consul can arbitrarily decline to issue, or, when issued, can recall whenever he sees fit to do so.
946. But the young unmarried women of the American missions are the ones who give the greatest trouble by their rashness,—and most of these inclined to be fanatical are the newcomers, hardly able to speak enough Chinese to make their way among friendly natives much less among those who are hostile. Endeavors were made by the Consuls—and by the missions—to keep missionaries in Foochow during the excitement that followed the massacre. But one of the young ladies of the American mission persisted in going alone—though she knew little of the language—from village to village in the distant suburbs of Foochow. The result was she came near to being mobbed one day—a fact which she at the time kept secret because she feared action would be taken to stop her dangerous escapes.
947. This young woman later on became a source of greater trouble in trying to go alone in Kutien district. She finally did go there, taking with her another unmarried young lady of the mission who, like herself, is a newcomer. Owing to the state of affairs following the massacre the actual mission work in Kutien, so far as foreigners are concerned, has been practically suspended, the two male missionaries who were formerly there having returned to the United States. So there are no other American missionaries in Kutien besides these two young ladies, and no more within 100 miles of them. One English missionary, a gentleman, is now in the district: but he lives a good ways from the young ladies.
948. Several weeks since the leading young lady was left alone in Kutien City, her companion travelling alone all the way to Foochow. But the one left in Kutien came down recently after her companion, and the two have just gone back to Kutien City.
949. These two people have been travelling about separately to places at a distance from Kutien City. Their position is a perilous one, even inside the walls of the city. Some weeks ago they were assailed with abusive language and threats while passing along the streets, and a menacing crowd surrounded them; but fortunately they escaped without suffering violence. Later on, relatives of the beheaded Vegetarians besieged for a long time the house which the young ladies were occupying.
950. Now, through fear that some compulsory process might be employed to make them leave Kutien, these young ladies reported their troubles neither to their Foochow missionary friends nor to the Consulate.
951. Following the events mentioned came an organized effort of the Vegetarians to have another Kungshan-ch'i meeting of their society “for the purpose”, as stated in the slips summoning members, “of paying a vow”. The local Chinese officials, getting wind of the intended gathering, and not knowing exactly what sort of “a vow” the Vegetarians were proposing to “pay”, deemed it in their interest to prevent the meeting,—and prevent it they did. But the circumstances created much excitement and actual terror in Kutien City. The facts of the whole affair were known to the young ladies in question—but they reported none of it to Foochow.
952. The news about the young ladies having been assailed and that of the attempted Vegetarian gathering, reached the United States Consulate through native sources, some while after the events themselves occurred. Subsequently the young ladies confirmed the news—in their reply to a letter of enquiry from the United States Consul. How many more events of a similar nature have occurred in Kutien, and have been kept secret by them, is not known.
953. If these young women fail to become martyrs, according to their own opinions—but ordinary suicides, in reality—the failure cannot be attributed to any fault of theirs, but will be due rather to Chinese forbearance. But any day may bring the news that they have been murdered in some out of the way village in Kutien district.
954. When young unmarried women, or any other persons, sent out from the United States to be missionaries among the Chinese, become so fascinated with the idea of martyrdom that they wholly ignore the advice of their consular officers, pay no attention at all to the counsels of other

missionaries, turn a deaf ear to the pleading of their mothers—the mother of the leading young lady in Kutien has been, and still is, vainly writing letters to her daughter imploring her to leave Kutien, and remain in Foochow—and, but their general course of reckless conduct, make themselves a menace to the peace and welfare of the other United States citizens residing in China, then it is high time that United States statutes be framed so as to have direct and special application to all such cases, compelling the parties, under severe penalties, to either refrain from their rashness or else go back home, without delay, where their fanaticism, though it prove incurable, will nevertheless be harmless and impotent to stir the populace to deeds of riot and massacre. Such people ought not to be allowed to run at large in this country, interfering with the grand work which conservative missionaries have in hand.

955. The cases of the two young ladies noted are worse than any others this Consulate has had to deal with, through there are at Foochow missionaries who, given an opportunity, would be quite equal to similar but more reprehensible conduct.
956. Any one not acquainted with the facts, would naturally suppose the individual missionaries to be subject to the control of their local boards. One of the American mission societies at Foochow does exercise a governing influence over its members; and there is but little if any complaint to be made of imprudence on the part of the missionaries belonging to it. But matters are quite different with the other mission society here: though it is presumed to be even more strict in disciplining its members than the one just alluded to, it is, nevertheless, almost wholly wanting in governing power. This fault is not due to any limitations of authority in the society's articles of local constitution, for it has plenty of governing power put down on paper. The trouble lies with the members supposed to be responsible for the enforcement of the regulations. They enforce nothing. Of course, at the beginning of each ecclesiastical year, the local organization assigns this or that member to some particular field of work—necessarily so, to prevent confusion—but even here the individual preference of one member rules if the wishes of another be not concerned. How, further than thus being assigned to some particular field of labor—and members suit themselves apparently as to whether or not they will really perform the special work mapped out for them—missionaries do pretty much as they please, paying little or no attention at all to the counsels or commands of their church officers.
957. Officers of the mission have been appealed to in vain by this Consulate. The cases of the two young ladies, and other cases, were discussed with their superior officers, who while condemning the course pursued by the parties, flatly confessed that they could do no more than “advise”. A presiding elder, strange to say, seems not to dare preside over any one else but himself. This situation is unaccountable. It needs to be reformed; and most of the missionaries recognize the necessity for such a reform.
958. Before leaving this subject some attention ought to be given to the dangers growing out of the missionary work of young unmarried women sent all alone to interior districts. It is well enough for prudent unmarried women to be employed in mission work in Foochow and vicinity, where they can be under the chaperonage and protection of married missionaries; and there cannot be much objection to their being at interior points where missionary families reside, with whom they can live.
959. In one instance a young unmarried woman, a newcomer unable to converse at all in the language and ignorant of the customs of the country, is in charge of the missionary work for a whole district situated in the interior at a distance of five days' journey from Foochow; and she lives there alone,—that is, no other foreigners reside at, or even near, the place. There are several other instances in this consular district of young American women carrying on mission work far removed from any foreigners. It is also a most usual occurrence for these unmarried young ladies to travel from point to point, often as far as one or two hundred miles, without any other company than their Chinese servants,—male servants.³⁰ One can readily comprehend the embarrassing situations likely to occur on such journeys.

30 The concerns raised by Consul Hixson were widely expressed. They ignore the fact that there were few if any attacks reported on single women missionaries in 19th century China. See Welch, Ian, (2006), *Women's Work for*

960. Among foreigners in China these young ladies may be deemed absolutely above suspicion. But it is another matter among the Chinese: with them, a young unmarried woman, not a menial servant, who lives in an establishment of her own, is almost universally believed to belong to a certain disreputable class; and the same is true of such as travel without being accompanied by relatives. No amount of explaining can suffice to prevent such bad opinions being held. Moreover, in China, if a young woman is neither married nor betrothed by the time she is 20 years old, she falls into disgrace, her failures to make a match being attributed to causes which affect her good reputation. Accordingly, young unmarried women in the foreign missions, when working alone in remote districts, are under the greatest disadvantages; and, for reasons given, they are made the objects of frequent personal insults.
961. It is doubted whether any such young lady does as much good for the mission cause as she does harm—to say nothing of the dangers she exposes herself to by her indiscreet actions, It were well for the home offices of the missions to seriously consider the subjects which are suggested here.
962. Besides the inadvisability of sending to the country districts single young women to engage in missionary work, it would also seem inconsistent to even send men to the more distant points, scattering the missionary interests from end to end of the province and weakening missionary influence. There is much to be said against the practice, and nothing for it. There is sufficient material in the city and suburbs of Foochow to keep busy for years to come all the missionaries in China. In plain view of the United States Consulate are the homes of over 2,000,000 non-Christian Chinese, most of whom have never even heard of the Bible.³¹

TROUBLES TO BE FEARED FROM NATIVE CHRISTIANS.

963. There is apprehension that the native Christians may cause more or less trouble by precipitating conflicts between themselves and non-Christian Chinese. A tendency in this direction has been observed during the past year or two, especially since the massacre. The officials are to blame for this, bringing it about by discriminating against the Christians and permitting them to be harassed and persecuted under cloak of the law.
964. In the ordinary course of business, it often happens that some of the 13,000 adherents of the two American missions become partisan plaintiff or defendant to lawsuits with non-Christian Chinese. In such instances native converts can rarely obtain justice. Frequently they are fleeced of their property in the name of justice, the mandarins giving their decisions against them for no other reason than that they are Christians. Instances are not unknown in which a non-Christian Chinaman has seized upon a cow or other property of a Christian Chinaman and proved (?) ownership to the satisfaction of the local mandarin in trying the case.
965. Riparian and littoral rights are often made the subjects of such discrimination against Christians. Along the seashore, especially among the islands and estuaries of Hinghua prefecture, it is no unusual occurrence for Christians to be forced to abandon their hereditary fishing privileges, their only means of support, and to seek to earn a livelihood through other sources.
966. In the towns and villages generally throughout the consular district the tendency is to deprive Christians of their rights in the common property of the places: for instance, of their right to obtain water from the public wells; to prevent them from holding meetings—not religious, but secular—in the town halls; and of prohibiting their cattle from grazing on the public commons with the cattle of others.
967. As the officials connive at and encourage such things rather than right them, the native Christians, after long patience and suffering, are nearing that stage where people take the law into their own hands. In many villages and towns the Christians and their friends—that is, those whom they can

Women: (Experiences of single women missionaries in Fujian Province, China, 1890s). Online 1 September 2010 at: <http://anglicanhistory.org/women/> and <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>

31 This observation about foreign missionaries reflects the view of many people in the sending countries included in this collection that there were enough heathen in Australia, or Britain or the United States to keep religious people busy without sending missionaries abroad.

control— are in the majority, and so could overcome their enemies if it came to an actual conflict. One conflict of this nature involving several hundred on each side, was narrowly averted some months ago.

968. The recent large increase in church membership has resulted in an increase of native Christians' resistance of their persecutors, and in some cases has made them independent and aggressive where their rights and property suffer at the hands of non-Christians. A few days since Christians were bold enough to seize and imprison one of the chief runners of a magistrate's yamen. The magistrate had been vainly beseeched for over a year to punish the runner and make him cease his bad conduct towards the Christians.
969. If a general fight be once begun between the Christians and the non-Christians, no one can say what will be the results. It may be a sort of miniature war, or it may develop into a formidable revolution. The Christians are becoming more and more political, more and more restless; and should the Christians belonging to missions of all nationalities in this province unite themselves in any belligerent movement for the purpose of furthering their common cause, then would the Chinese officials find it no easy matter to reckon with the power of such a union of force. But scenes similar to those which have lately occurred in Armenia might take place here.³²

OFFICIAL CONSPIRACY AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

970. Many of the oldest and most conservative among the missionaries firmly believe that Viceroy Pien Pao-ch'uan has issued secret instructions calling for an organized effort by officials to put down the Christian religion, by driving native Christians out of the church, and by rendering the success of missionary work in the future a more difficult matter than it has been in the past.
971. Many evidences of this are seen in the officials declining to address the wrongs of the native Christians; in the methods they have adopted to prevent missionaries from purchasing sites for more mission buildings; in the frequency with which yamen attaches are themselves guilty of originating and conducting persecutions, with the knowledge of the officials; and in the intimations of the officials themselves.
972. Placards threatening death to foreigners and the native Christians, charging them with all sorts of hideous crimes, and attacking Christianity in vile terms, have lately been anonymously issued and posted up. The inference is that it was done at the instigation of the officials, who are desirous of again arousing the common people in opposition to Christianity.³³
973. In some regions where there has hitherto been no troubles of any consequence, cases have appeared here of late that bid fair to become serious; and in each instance the yamen attaches are the principal malefactors, thus showing where the real guilt rests.

THIS CONSULAR DISTRICT ALWAYS TROUBLESOME.

974. The opinion seems to prevail that this province, previous to the Huashan tragedy, was a peaceful and quiet one so far as concerned its attitude towards foreigners. Indeed, some articles appeared in the press expressing surprise that the massacre should have occurred in such a quiet district.
975. The opinion is an erroneous one, due, no doubt, to the fact that in the decade preceding the murdering of the missionaries at Huashan no actually serious personal calamities had befallen foreigners on account of Chinese hostility towards them. But there has always been great bitterness here against foreigners, especially against missionaries; and the numerous cases of trouble with the natives, as found in files in the Foochow consulates, bear abundant testimony of the hostility of both the officials and the common people—the latter always following in the wake of the former.
976. The French War of 1884, when the Chinese arsenal at Pagoda Anchorage was bombarded and

32 This issue was addressed by leaders of all the Protestant missions in Fujian province. See "The Pastoral Letter to the Christians in the Fuhkien Province." Issued by the Fuhkien Protestant missionary societies. See Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister: *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1896, pp 479-483 and footnotes.

33 See Part Eight: Anti-Christian cartoons, for a widely distributed series of such drawings.

destroyed along with the Chinese fleet and much other property, greatly aggravated the unfriendly feelings of Chinese officials towards foreigners, and, therefore, the unfriendly feelings of the populace.

977. Besides its own natural bad elements, Fuhkien province is overrun more or less by bad characters from the provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan. The Hunan contingent is especially strong in Foochow, and much of the anti-foreign sentiment originally proceeds from Hunan secretaries in the yamens.
978. In speaking of the disturbing elements in this consular district, Hon. Geo. F. Seward, United States Minister to China, under date of July 23, 1880, wrote to the Department of State a despatch—Legation No. 734—in which he tersely summed up the situation as follows:- “The post (of Consul at Foochow) is a very difficult one owing to the exceptionally lawless disposition of the Chinese in that region, and the lack of independence, vigor and good feeling which has characterized the official class there.”

THE INVESTIGATION NOT A FAILURE.

979. Notwithstanding all that has been said herein regarding the committee’s failures to accomplish desired ends,—failures directly attributable to the obstructiveness and the treachery of the Chinese officials—and not withstanding the outrageous miscarriages of justice, notable at every juncture of the case and especially in the instance of the banished criminals being allowed to return to their homes, the investigation into the causes of the Huashan massacre and events directly or indirectly connected therewith, has proved a success. Those foreigners in Foochow who opposed the expedition to Kutien, now have to admit that the step was a wise one.
980. The good accomplished by the committee in making the investigation is to be estimated largely by the bad effects which would have resulted from no investigation by foreigners on the ground. Seeing that the Chinese officials dared to show so much bad faith and treachery in spite of the presence of the committee, there is no telling what they would have done had they been left to pursue their own way. But it must be taken as quite certain that only a half dozen or so of the guilty Vegetarians would have suffered any great harm.
981. Moreover, the foreigners would have got the credit among the people of being afraid to go to Kutien; and so there would have been lost a moral effect of tremendous force. The people, once given to understand that foreigners themselves may visit the interior and investigate crimes against missionaries, will not so readily consent to be tools in the hands of anti-foreign mandarins.
982. But over and above the tangible results of the committee’s labors, as viewed with sole reference to the Huashan case, and the immediate and local effects thereof, it is hoped and believed that a lesson has been taught the Chinese—the common classes at least—which has been carried beyond the borders of Fuhkien province, and which will not be forgotten for many a year. The labor and time and the money expended by the committee were not spent in vain.

COMMITTEE UNDER OBLIGATIONS TO DR. GREGORY AND REV. MR. BANISTER.

983. In making the investigation the committee would have been compelled to rely mostly upon native Chinese interpreters but for Dr. J. J. Gregory³⁴, of Elwood, Iowa, of the American mission, and Rev. W. Banister, of England, of the English mission.
984. Dr. Gregory, as physician in charge of the mission hospital in Kutien City, had lived there for several years, becoming thoroughly familiar with the city and surrounding country. From the time the news of the massacre reached him on the 1st of August, 1895, till his departure from Foochow in the following November, he was most assiduous in his efforts to make the outcome of the investigation a success. He devoted himself to this work regardless of his own private interests which—he having decided on

34 Welch, Ian, (2006), Dr. James J Gregory: Letters from China: (Dr Gregory of the American Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Fujian Province, China, was medical doctor to Nellie, Topsy & Annie and provided the medical report on the condition of the British and American missionaries attacked at Huashan, Fujian Province, China on 1 August 1895. Online 1 September 2010 at: <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/> Dr Gregory died in Elwood, Iowa on 16 October 1896.

resigning his position in the mission—demanded his presence elsewhere.

985. His gratuitous labors for the survivors of the massacre would have alone entitled him to the gratitude of all civilized people. His coolness in that emergency unquestionably prevented the list of dead from being larger; and the mental and physical strain he went through during the while would have killed most men.
986. But Dr. Gregory accompanied the committee to Kutien City, domiciled the members in his own house and looked after their needs as though they had been his own family. But for him the committee would have suffered many more hardships than it did suffer while in Kutien City. He was alive to every call made upon hi, whether for service in securing evidence against the officials and Vegetarians, for aid in the court trials, for superintending the domestic affairs of the committee, and at all times of the day and night, the doctor's versatile talents and genius were in demand, were freely given, and were highly appreciated by every individual on the committee.
987. Rev. Mr. Banister, besides being specially gifted in his ability to speak the Chinese, has also a fine knowledge of the written language. His services were therefore of double value to the committee.
988. He was the first person in Foochow to volunteer to go in search of the survivors of the Huashan tragedy when the news reached Foochow. He has ever since been most untiring in his zeal in aiding the investigation. As he formerly resided many years in the Kutien district, where he had charge of the work for his mission, he undoubtedly knows more about the people and the geography of that section than any other foreigner. During his work there he became familiar with nearly every village and town in the district, through personally visiting them; and he knew people throughout that region of territory, and across the line in Kiennin prefecture.
989. His knowledge of names of people and places is marvelous. As he gave unceasing attention to securing outside evidence for the committee's use in the trials, he probably contributed more to the real discomfort of the Chinese officials, by furnishing data to expose the hypocrisy of their methods, than any one else who witnessed the trials.³⁵
990. It is not going to far to say that, without the aid of Dr. Gregory and Rev. Mr. Banister in Kutien City, the committee would have been badly handicapped, and the Chinese might have doubled their rascality with impunity. Both the gentlemen merit the highest praise for their conduct; and they richly deserve, each one of them, an expression of thanks from both the foreign governments concerned in the Huashan case.

REMARKS IN CONCLUSION.

991. For more than half a century the Chinese Government has confessedly been on probation before the family of nations. During that period it has made no progress—speaking comparatively—nor has it changed its methods of tyranny towards its own subjects, nor its attitude of hostility towards foreigners and their institutions. Western arts and sciences and machinery have indeed received government favor, but only in some cases where it is become absolutely necessary to employ them in defensive measures vitally essential to the continuance of the present mandarin sway.
992. Promises and pretences of actual reforms have been made by the Government, accordingly as different occasions have seemed to demand. In these latter times Li Hung-chang has become almost sole spokesman on matters of this nature. So we find him now telling European nations all about the reforms he is going to institute as soon as he gets back to China. But neither Li Hung-chang nor any other high Chinese official has any notion of bringing about a reform—for a true reform would mean the utter ruination of the official classes. He may build one or two military railroads, thereby attempting to insure the continuance of the present iniquitous system of government by protecting it

³⁵ Part Four: Letters and Reports of the Rev. William Banister. See also Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France. Banister joined the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province in 1880. He was appointed to Kucheng (Gutian) in 1882 and took up residence there in 1886 and stayed until Robert Stewart was given charge in 1893. Banister later became the first Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Kwangsi and Hunan serving from 1909-1923.

against dangers from rebellions or foreign invasions. Other “reforms” too, may come—but they will only come when circumstances force them to be tolerated by the government.

003. That China is a civilized country, no one can deny after residing for a time within its borders and studying its peoples and institutions. The trouble is the mandarins are daily employed in throttling that civilization, because it is hostile to their interests to allow it to attain to anything but a stunted and distorted growth. Li Hung-chang himself is no exception to the rule—though so much of his time is employed in playing to foreign favor. He simply surpasses some of his colleagues in shrewdness and in his ability to perform successfully a dual role.
994. The Chinese common people—the toiling, slaving millions—when considered apart from the bad influence exercised over them by the official classes, are the most industrious, the most patient and forbearing, the most tolerant, and the most peaceable people among the nations of all the earth. They themselves are friendly enough to all efforts looking to the amelioration or improvement of their social, moral and political conditions, and to the advancement of their country to a respectable station among other nations. Notwithstanding their long suffering at the hands of the Government, they still possess a degree of patriotism and national pride, which, however, is mostly of a latent nature, because, as was lately remarked by a Chinese officer who saw service in the recent war with Japan, “Patriotism in China will not pay; its manifestation would very often get its owner into trouble with the ruling class.” But there is not at present much opportunity for the people to do otherwise than calmly look at their oppressors preying first upon one another and then upon the people, on the theory set forth in the Portuguese aphorism, “The big fishes eat the little fishes.” The same theory is somewhat elaborated in a Chinese proverb as follows: “Whales eat the big fishes; the big fishes eat the little fishes; the little fishes eat the shrimps; and the shrimps,—they eat the mud.” The common people are the mud.
995. But the signs of the times indicate that the day is near when some relief will come to the people, even though it come in the shape of the downfall of the present dynasty—and it will make small difference whether the downfall be from internal strife or at the hands of Foreign Powers. The result in either case will be the same—the reorganization of the Government upon more just and more modern principles.
996. For years and years China has preserved her autonomy by continually stirring up the fires of jealousy among European Powers. She hopes to keep it up forever. But matters just now are so threatening that the Peking Court has actually permitted Li Hung-chang to go abroad among the “foreign devils” in an effort to stay the current of international public opinion that here of late that has been so steadily setting against China; and Li has put aside his scruples, and is meeting with most surprising success in his work. He went forth prepared to make a vicarious sacrifice of his oriental dignity rather than see the overthrow of the mandarins. But he has not lost any dignity. On the contrary, he has caused the European Powers to lose their own dignity in their jealous efforts to surpass one another in paying him homage. Thus is the “Sick Man of Asia” pampered and spoiled again before his convalescence. But who else save a Chinese diplomatist, a Li Hung-chang himself, would conceive and essay to successfully carry out a political stratagem at once so cunning and so bold as the one comprehended in his round-the-world journey? The flattering attentions showered upon Li Hung-chang will cause trouble hereafter.
997. But the temporary assuagement of public feeling and opinion will not suffice for much. The political storm now threatening the East is big with disaster to the Chinese official classes. Evil consequences may be stayed for a few months or even for several years. The worst feature, however, of the Eastern Question is that it involves European Powers so closely that one does not now see how some of these can escape evil results when comes the general breaking up of China and the squabble over territory.
998. The commercial and missionary interests of all foreign countries may suffer temporarily by a dissolution of the Chinese empire. But that cannot be for long. Neither can it amount to much; for at present the Peking Government is impotent. It cannot even control the viceroys of the different provinces. Therefore its promises of protection are already at naught; and, on the whole, the foreigners

have little to fear, out of the ordinary, when the dynasty shall be in its death throes.

999. Friendship for foreign nations having been at first extorted from China at the point of the sword, it has ever since been necessary to employ the same means to preserve that “friendship”. On some occasions this necessity has been forgotten, and it has been erroneously supposed that dealing leniently with China would bring about good results. The Huashan case is an instance in point.
1000. Now, however, in deference to the opinion held by part of the American committee to the effect that it lies beyond their province to present any detailed recommendations or suggestions touching the ultimate settlement of the Huashan case, no effort has been made to incorporate in this report subject matter of that nature. Nevertheless, it is not out of place here to state that the British Government’s settlement of its part of the case, as it is reported, comprehends nothing in the nature of an indemnity or its equivalent, and that the omission to exact such, having been misinterpreted, has produced on the Chinese mind an effect altogether different from that which was intended.
1001. The Chinese officials, with their customary deceit, firmly believed that Great Britain demanded no indemnity because it was afraid of certain European Powers—and especially Russia. Therefore they cannot be made to believe that the omission was due to the special request of the missionaries themselves, who thereby sought to shame China and show her that the lives of human beings are not to be valued at so many pieces of silver or gold.
1002. The sentiment—or it is no more than a sentiment—against compelling China to pay heavily for the misdeeds of her subjects, officials as well as individuals, seems to have had its origin among missionaries here in Foochow, and in the hour of grief and excitement following close upon the tragic occurrences at Huashan. The telegraph wires flashed the news to all parts of the world that the missionaries would accept no indemnity from China for the wrongs done their colleagues. No one now questions the nobleness of that sentiment, but it must be admitted that from a practical point of view it was a sad mistake—one of the worst blunders that has yet occurred in connection with the Huashan case. Sentiments play no part in the political economy of China; it is utilities that count.
1003. But the worst part of the non-indemnification feature is that the Foochow missionaries’ views were badly misconstrued by their fellow missionaries at home and by the general public. The Foochow missionaries had no intention of setting themselves on record as being opposed to compelling China to make good the actual losses of property destroyed at Huashan, as well as to pay all the legitimate expenses incurred in the subsequent investigation. Not only were they unopposed to taking payment for the actual losses, but from the very first they also expected that China would be compelled to make certain concessions, much more valuable to them and to other foreigners than any reasonable sum of money, which in some degree would tend to atone for the murdered missionaries.³⁶ What the missionaries really objected to was the demanding of an indemnity exceeding the actual monetary losses and investigation expenses, that is, they desire nothing in the way of vindictive damages.
1004. Now, however, the missionaries here appear to realize that the sentiment against indemnity was illogical and bad from a practical point of view. One of those most prominent in giving origin to the idea, now declares it to have been an extremely inexpedient step. This view of the matter must be taken by those who know that a mandarin’s heart is touched with compassion for the foreigner only when he feels himself about to be relieved of some of his ill-gotten gains, and that his friendship for the foreigner is never so vociferously sincere as when the foreigner has him firmly by the throat. Let the grip be released, and away flies the friendship, to be replaced first by insolence, and then by open hostilities.
1005. The matter of exacting from China a reasonably large monied indemnity for the Huashan affair, would have no immediate effect on the common people, one way or another. The officials prey upon them at all times to the limit of safety—that is, extortion, on occasions of peace or on occasions of war,

36 This seems to be a reflection of the efforts of Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to unilaterally seek restoration of properties of the Church Missionary Society lost many years earlier in events totally unconnected with the Huashan massacre. Wolfe’s action was disowned by the London Committee of the Church Missionary Society.

amounts to about the same: it is all the people will bear without rising up in open revolt against the mandarins placed over them as their masters for the time being. Therefore it may be said that the payment of an indemnity by China is practically equivalent only to decreasing the net incomes of the officials within the sphere of whose actual or presumptive responsibility occurred the events leading up to the demand for indemnification. So the money in payment of a good round sum for the Huashan case would come from the private hoardings of Viceroy Pien and his subordinates—hoardings that be degrees have already been extorted from their victims, the common people.

1006. The growing interest of the United States in affairs pertaining to the East renders it ever the more important that in settling the Huashan case the action taken shall be such as will admit of no misinterpretation or wrong construction on the part of the Chinese officials, while at the same time it should serve as a warning to them that they will profit best in the future by affording all possible protection to the property and lives of United States citizens residing within the Chinese Empire. There is apparently no more data available concerning the case. The settlement will have to proceed on the basis of what is set forth in Captain Newell's report and in this one. It should be consummated at as early a date as possible, since the long delayed action pending the preparation of reports by the committee, while unavoidable, has certainly proved injurious.

Respectfully submitted,

(sgd) J. Courtney Hixson, U.S. Consul.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES, Foochow, China, August 15, 1896.

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.

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 upon 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.

