

THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART SIX: LETTERS AND REPORTS OF THE REV. WILLIAM BANISTER & THE HUASHAN COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

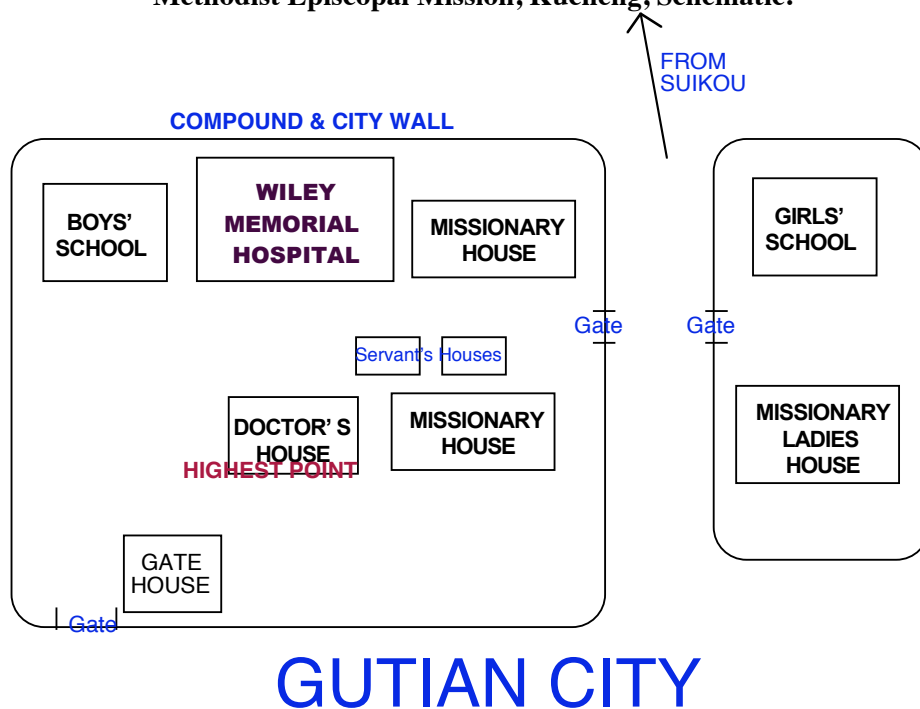
TIMELINE: 27 AUGUST—20 NOVEMBER 1896.

The Huashan/Kucheng Commission Arriving at the American Methodist Mission, Kucheng.¹



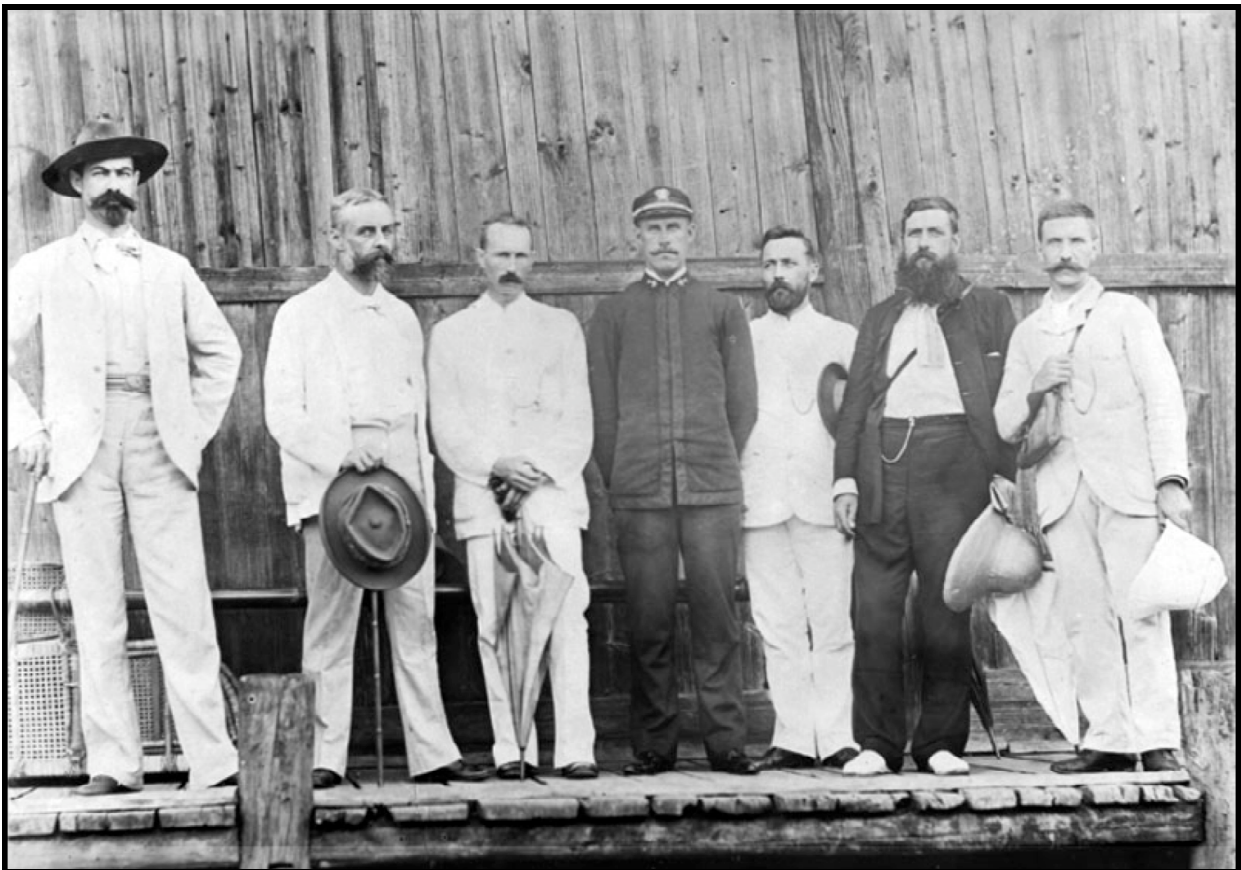
Ohlinger Collection, Day Divinity Library, Yale University and Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

Methodist Episcopal Mission, Kucheng, Schematic.



1 See Part 6: The Aftermath: *San Francisco Call*, 5 October 1895. See also Hixson Report, para 494.

British and American Members of the Huashan/Kucheng Commission of Inquiry.



From Left. Colonel J. Courtney Hixson, United States Consul, Foochow. Richard W. Mansfield, British Consul, Foochow. E.L.B. Allen, British Vice-Consul, Pagoda Anchorage, Foochow. Ensign Waldo Evans, USS Detroit. Dr. J. J. Gregory, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Kucheng. Rev. William Banister, Church Missionary Society, Foochow. Rev. Leonard Star, Church Missionary Society, Foochow. Commander John Newell, captain of the USS Detroit, joined the Commission after this photograph was taken.

Banister Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, University of Lyons, France.

6.1 Foreigners and Chinese Law.

The Foreign Powers and resident foreigners generally had great difficulty in understanding how the Chinese legal system operated, particularly in matters involving anti-foreign riots and occasionally the death of foreigners. Until the Sichuan episode in May-June 1895 the usual process was for someone, not necessarily the actual offender(s) to be tried and executed and for a cash payment or indemnity to be paid. Foreigners recognized that anti-foreign riots were fomented by officials, sometimes at very senior levels, but the officials were rarely held accountable for the episode and indemnities were paid by placing a tax on people entirely unconnected with the event. The concept of having foreign representatives attend the trials of accused persons under the label of a joint Commission of Inquiry emerged during the 1890s and this section records the experience of one foreign observer untrained in either Western or Chinese law. Both the United States Minister in Peking (Charles Denby) and the U.S. Consul in Fuzhou (J. Courtenay Hixson) were trained lawyers and Hixson, in particular, took an active part in modifying the behavior of the Huashan Commission.

Foreigners rarely comprehended the intricacies of Chinese law and aggressively defended a key Treaty provision—extraterritoriality—i.e., the right to be tried in courts staffed and administered according to the law of their home countries.

The jurisdiction of the British Crown in foreign, especially Eastern countries, is wholly abnormal, and arises from the fundamental fact that Oriental and Western conceptions of law differ so entirely that our Government could not safely allow cases in which only British parties and interests were involved to be entrusted to the local courts.²

While maintaining immunity from Chinese law and the Chinese judicial system and the protection of the laws of their home country, the foreign system did not provide a clear course of action for episodes such as the Sichuan riots (May-June 1895) or the murders at Huashan (1 August 1895) which fell within the jurisdiction of Chinese courts with no provision for the participation of foreigners. Banister's reports reveal a constant tension between Chinese and foreign officials over the conduct of the trials, the rules of evidence, the use of torture and the determination of guilt and punishment.

Under 19th century Chinese law, someone (anyone) must accept responsibility for any breach of the law. The problem for foreigners was that, lacking the rules of evidence of most European legal systems, anyone could be punished in the event that a guilty person is not identified. The foreign members of the Kucheng Commission of Inquiry were disgusted but not surprised when the presiding Chinese official asked how many men should be decapitated to satisfy the demands of Britain and America. The ease with which the American and British Consuls were able to identify the ringleaders and participants in the Kucheng Massacre confirmed the universal foreign belief that Chinese officials were not interested in punishing the guilty but in meeting the long-standing concept of responsibility.

² *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 February 1897.

Dublin University Missionary Magazine, Memorial Number, 17 October 1895.

Letter from Mrs. Bannister (sic).

(Wife of Rev. W. Bannister, C.M.S., stationed at Fuh-Chow, and formerly of Ku-Cheng.)

FUH-CHOW, August 12th, 1895.



On Thursday, August 1st, my husband and I were out in the verandah of our Ku-Liang cottage, after our evening meal, enjoying the coolness and the lovely moonlight, when our cook rushed in, breathless, with the cry, "Master, what shall be done? The Vegetarians have risen and attacked the houses at Hwa-Sang, and five of the ladies are killed," at the same time giving a piece of paper which proved to be a letter from Mr. Phillips, dated Hwa-Sang, Thursday morning, saying that early that morning the Vegetarians had been to the place. Five ladies were dead; children alive, but wounded; Stewarts missing; houses burnt. It was written in a moment of great stress one could see, and contained no unnecessary

words; just those few words, ending with, "You will do what you can, I know." My husband at once went off at his best speed to Archdeacon Wolfe, whose house lies on a hill about twenty minutes walk from ours. I was left with the horror of the sudden shock still on me—half believing, half disbelieving, in its reality. Our cook wanted to go at once and tell the C.E.Z. ladies, some of them being from Ku Cheng, and so I said I would go. My husband came back from the Archdeacon's, and he and I went over to the "Willows", the C.E.Z. house, where four of the sisters from the Ku Cheng district were living. One of these was Miss M. Newcombe, and from our few questions, put to the bearer of Mr. Phillips note, who had seen four ladies killed, were pretty sure that her sister Hessie was one of the murdered ones. She received the blow with great calmness and fortitude. After telling what we knew, and a short prayer together, we went back through the brilliant moonlit scene, so peaceful and lovely, and in such a contrast to the savagery and bloodshed we had just heard of, occurring in as peaceful and lovely a spot. In our minds the place was associated with calm rest, and quiet days spent there with our two wee children and the ladies who had worked so well with us in the district, and come to the pretty peaceful spot for the hot weeks, when work had perforce to be laid aside. It was almost impossible to believe such a tragedy had happened as that of which Mr. Phillips note gave such dark hints. We did not tell the other C.E.Z. ladies in the other Ku-Liang house, and they and some of the C.M.S. sisters were out on the hill-top singing hymns, whilst we were feeling the first horror of the thing. The voices reached far across the valley in the quiet night, and added a deeper pathos to the sadness in our hearts. Before daylight my husband got up and prepared for his journey to Fuh-Chow, along with Archdeacon Wolfe, to see the Consul. Hearing that the Consul was coming up to Ku-Liang for a few days, they each took a different way in order to meet him and turn him back. That night news came that the American Consul had at once, on hearing the news, got a launch from the Viceroy—as the Chinese authorities do not allow the navigation of the upper reaches of the Min River by steam-launches, except by their special permit—and that a rescue party was starting up-river that evening. Volunteers were asked for, and eight Missionaries—six American and two English—prepared to go down to Foo Chow in response to this call. There was only one lady Missionary belonging to America living at Hwa-Sang, so the American Consul had warrant for his activity in the matter. In the meantime, on Saturday afternoon, a telegram had come from Cui-Kau, sent by Mr. Phillips to the English Consul, saying, "I am here with five wounded survivors; send launch quickly."

On Saturday evening the party started in the launch, my husband, Archdeacon Wolfe, and the brother of the American Consul, taking up provisions, etc., for the wounded and the party they expected to meet. Next morning they met two native boats coming down in tow of a launch, and hailed them. First one foreigner came in sight, Mr. Phillips, and then a second one, whom at first they thought was Mr. Stewart, but when my husband called, "Who is it?" the answer came, "Dr. Gregory" (American Mission). In great suspense the boats were reached, and then the sad news was heard—all gone but Miss Codrington and four children. Oh! It was terrible. Nine grown-up people stabbed or speared to death; one little child, Herbert Stewart, so badly slashed and knocked about that he died on the way down to Cui-Kau; Mildred Stewart, with a dangerous wound which had divided the knee-joint; and Baby Stewart, badly injured by a punctured wound near the eye; Miss Codrington, with seven wounds, two cuts across her face and one on the head which had broken the bone). Mr. Phillips had slept in a native house, about five minutes' walk away from the two mission

houses, and had thus escaped the general destruction; so he was able to succour the survivors, send off messages to Fuh-Chow, and to Ku Cheng City for Dr. Gregory, who was there, and came up in answer, bringing soldiers from the magistrate to help them in this dreadful business. But for this mercy all the children and Miss Codrington might have died too. The one American lady lived in a native home just in the valley below our houses. She was attacked, but only by one man, and her servant helped her by seizing the trident spear with which he was armed, and while the two struggled for the weapon, she, Miss Hartford, got away and hid in the brushwood on the hill. The bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, and of Lena (the nurse), were burned. The murderers had brought kerosene oil with them, which they sprinkled around the house, and so it burned fiercely. The bodies were brought down to Fuh-Chow, where the funeral took place—the saddest thing ever seen in China. No such outrage as this ever happened to English people in the history of this land. The Tien-tsin massacre was the only thing of such an appalling nature. And to think it was done at our own old station, where we lived and worked so happily and peacefully until about eighteen months ago. How could they have the heart to kill those innocent ladies, whose only aim had been to serve and benefit them, who had never done a harmful thing amongst them, whose whole life had been one of love for them! The murderers were a band sent by the leader of a sect called Vegetarians, who have been giving trouble in the Ku Cheng district. They assume the name of Vegetarian, but they were, in fact, a secret society bound by oaths of obedience and secrecy under the leading of one or two or three very violent and desperate men. They have been in conflict with the magistrates at Ku Cheng, who could not control or suppress them, and this terrible act was done, it is supposed, because a new magistrate had been appointed who was determined to put them down, and who had just got up 200 soldiers from Fuh-Chow for this purpose. They knew the missionaries were at Hwa-Sang, utterly defenceless and all unsuspecting, and they said Mr. Stewart must have had some hand in getting this vigorous action taken by the magistrate, so they came up the mountain, and in the early morning before the victims were out of their bedrooms, attacked the houses and slaughtered these nine saints and true martyrs, whose loss we mourn. A further communication states that for some days previous to the massacre, men had been dropping into the kitchen and servants quarters, asking amongst other things if there were any arms or guns about the place. The servants said, “No!, these are missionary houses, and they do not want anything but good to your, so why should they have any arms.?”

Herbert Stewart died on the way down to Fuh-Chow, and Baby Stewart died at Fuh-Chow, the rest are doing well.

CMS Archives, Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 8 August 1895.³

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould



You know that in midsummer we are away from Foochow at Ku-Liang a distance of 9 miles.⁴ On the evening of August 2nd just after tea, my servant rushed in with a look of horror on his face and cried out Master what shall we do, 5 of the ladies at CMS Sang are killed by the Vegetarians. At the same time he gave me a crumpled letter written by Mr. Phillips in a trembling hand with the brief but awful news that the Vegetarians had risen and attacked at CMS Sang and that 5 sisters were dead, the Stewarts missing, and the houses destroyed. I immediately went off to the Archdeacon’s house about half an hour away and told the brief and sad story. Our grief was too great for words.

After consultation and prayers, we, the Archdeacon and I, decided to go down to Foochow at daylight. I then went home again and after a short rest went in to the other Ku-Cheng sisters who were down at Ku Liang. These were Maude Newcombe, Miss ... Miss Weller, Miss Tolley and Miss Burroughs. It was a sad meeting and we comforted each other by prayer and committed the whole matter to God.

At daylight on Saturday, the 3rd, I started to meet the Archdeacon on the road but he was delayed and I reached Foochow first.

3 The Rev Baring Baring-Gould was CMS Secretary for China appointed 1894.

4 Kuliang is a ‘hill-station’ that was developed by foreign residents as a holiday destination.

After breakfast at the Hotel, I went to the Consulate and told the news to the assistant as the Consul had gone to Ku Liang and I had missed him on the road. Mr Fitzipios then telegraphed to the Minister at Peking, and to the Foreign Office at home.

In the meantime the Archdeacon had met the Consul on the road and told him the circumstances and as soon as he could to send orders to Mr. Pitzipios to send the telegrams which were already sent when the Consul's message reached Foochow. After meeting the Archdeacon at Foochow we decided that he and I would start without delay for Ku Cheng to help the survivors and aid in any way. I then went to the American Consul as I was the bearer of a letter from the American Mission one of the survivors being an American lady, Miss Hartford. He, Col Hixon, at once decided to go to the city and obtain the use of a launch for us to take us up the river to Chio Kau. He went off soon after my interview with him and after some pressure he was able to get the use of a steam launch from the Viceroy. He did not return from the city until 4 p.m. In the meantime a telegram had come from Phillips to the English Consul saying that he was at Sui Kau with wounded survivors of the party and as speed was requested to save the lives of the wounded he asked for a launch to be sent to tow them down. Mr Pitzipios did his best but was unable to obtain either the Customs launch or a permit which is necessary for the navigation of the upper water of the Min by foreign or other launches.

However, this was settled at length by the exertions of the American Consul and at 7 p.m. we were prepared to start with provisions and help. But unhappily we were delayed by the non appearance of the launch. At last at about 10 p.m. we were on our way in a native boat towed by a government launch. We went on until 4 a.m. . . . each boat we met on the way. At daylight we started again and went on until we were about 30 miles from Foochow when we suddenly heard the puff of a launch and soon we saw two native boats coming down the river in tow of a launch. We shouted and saw a foreigner emerge from one of the boats whom we recognized as Mr. Phillips, the another foreigner came out and for a moment we thought it was the dear brother Stewart but we soon saw it was Dr. Gregory of the Am Mission and as we asked for Stewart he told us the appalling (sic) news that instead of 5 deaths 10 had passed away amidst circumstances of barbarity which would disgrace the most savage tribes of Central Africa. The agony of that moment of meeting when we realised that our dear friends were gone will never be effaced from my mind.

The party coming down had met the Foochow Prefect going up to the scene of the outrage in the launch and had compelled him to allow them to use it. We all proceeded at once together to Foochow.

The bodies were expected next day as we decided to first carry the wounded to Foochow and then return to escort the dead.

We met of party of wounded at about 11 a.m. and arrived down at the jetty in Foochow at 2 p.m.

We were met by a large crowd of friends. The American lady who was not seriously injured landed here and proceeded to the American Consulate to be there cared for.

We went further down the river to another jetty which was nearer to the Hospital. We were there met by Dr Rennie, the Consul and many others. We soon transferred the wounded to the Hospital and they are very well cared for.

The two most serious cases are Mildred Stewart and the baby. News has just come that the baby has passed away, the eleventh victim.

I had requested the Consul to send Mr. Pitzipios the interpreter from the Consulate with me to recover the bodies. We started up river again at 5 p.m. and went on to meet the bodies.

We anchored at 11 p.m. in a narrow part of the river where we could question all the boats coming down the river. About 3 a.m. we started gain having heard that the bodies were some 20 miles away. Shortly after 8 a.m. we met a native boat coming down having on board Mr. Li Taik Ing the Head of the Evangelistic Band in Ku Cheng who had been in charge of the bodies. He informed us that they were some 1 or 2 miles away. We left him to go on to Foochow and in about an hour or more we met the boat coming down containing the bodies.

There they were all that was left of our dear martyred friends in curious Chinese coffins all except the bodies which had been burnt in the houses. It was hard to realise that here was all that remained of those who but 6 days ago were in health and vigour enjoying the rest of CMS Sang and making plans to keep the birthday of dear Herbert Stewart whose 6th birthday was the day of the massacre. His sisters Mildred and Kathleen were plucking flowers for him when the murderers came upon them.

When we arrived in Foochow at about 10.30 the coffins were one by one removed from the boat and covered with black cloth to be placed into the graves in the evening. The funeral was on the morning of August 6th Tuesday. They now laid side by side with the exception of dear Stewart and Mrs. Stewart whose remains were in one box. Nellie Saunders and Lena Yellop, the faithful friend and the faithful nurse whose death helped to save the baby.⁵

They came Topsy Saunders side by side with her dear friend and constant companion Elsie Marshall. Then the sainted and beloved HESSIE NEWCOMBE, and next ANNIE GORDON from Australia, who was so devoted a worker and last LUCY STEWART, companion in labour side by side in death, and in the entrance into the glory land.

The awful news of the massacre has been sent to all parts of the English speaking world and I do most earnest pray that at last after this terrible catastrophe something will be done by those countries which sent us here to release this country from the bondage to misrule and misgovernment which has prevailed for so long.

I think that two causes have brought about this. One is the wicked conduct of almost every official in the Empire who has to deal with the outrages against Europeans and native Christians. Their general policy has been one of the most unblushing falsehood and duplicity. They have made promises without end and immediately they have used all their ingenuity and power to evade the fulfillment of their promises. This has been the universal principle of action from the highest officials in the Empire down to the lowest underling.

The next cause has been the acceptance almost without reserve of the unblushing falsehoods of these officials and the general trust in their promises of redress not one of which has ever been fulfilled.

Easy acquiescence on the one hand by the representatives of our countries and continual evasion of duty by the officials of this Empire has made it possible that horrible outrages can be committed upon defenceless women and children and previous lives taken. And this is the reason why CMS Sang one of the fairest spots on the earth has been made an altar of sacrifice and a mount of Glory for the dead ladies and their consecrated brother. . . .

I trust these murderers can be brought to justice and they can be if the officials and governments will do their duty for every leader is known and can be found. We have given in the names of over 40 which have been supplied by the native Christians, some of these we obtained were . . . and themselves laid hands upon the dear friends, and the others are leaders without whom nothing can be done by the Vegetarians.

I say we may punish these men but the same thing will occur again and again unless the European governments themselves take measures to help guarantee that it is impossible. God grant that this may be done and done speedily.

I write to tell you that yesterday we had a meeting of the mission and it was decided that I should resume the oversight of Ku Cheng and Ping Nang. I feel this is the right thing in the present emergency and yet I felt also that I could not resume it without a fellow labourer. I therefore proposed and the Brethren unanimously agreed that Mr. Light should be associated with me. This was the original idea when Mr. Light first transferred to Fuh Kien. I think that the Committee will agree to confirm this.

Of course an indefinite time may elapse before residence is again possible. I trust it may not be long but that the murderers taken by the native authorities will effectually make residence possible.

The British Consul has been ordered by the Minister to proceed to Ku Cheng and investigate the matter on the spot and I trust this will be possible. Mr. Phillips and myself will go with him. If however this rising is part of the prelude to a rebellion or general disturbance of the country it will be impossible for the Consul or anyone else to go.

I trust this will not be the result but there are many things we cannot understand about this and it may be that it was only part of a widespread conspiracy against foreigners and Christianity in the entire country and that further trouble awaits us.

I know that many are praying for us in this time of dire extremity. Do not relax your efforts in this or in any other way in which help can be given.

Pressure direct on the Foreign Office at home by means of public opinion in England is the only way by which the consuls out here, and the native officials, can be made to act effectively. We shall do our best to keep you informed of the progress of events.

5 See photograph Part Five: The Huashan Commission of Inquiry, page 5.579.

I am Yours very truly, W Banister.

PS Since writing the above news has come in that the soldiers sent to protect the mission property are looting the houses instead. They have broken open the houses and pillaged the contents. This certainly will prevent anyone going up there for a long time to come. The Vegetarians are reported to be gathering by the thousands not only in Ku Cheng but also in the adjoining counties.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. W. Banister. Ku Cheng, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary London, 28 August 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I have not written anything to you since we arrived here to hold an inquiry into the terrible circumstances which have filled us all with grief. We have been here a fortnight—the members of the Commission of Enquiry. The English and American Consuls, Lieutenant Evans of the USA Navy, myself, Mr. Star, Dr. Gregory. Later we have been joined by Capt Newell of the Detroit, Am Navy. And S Hart of the American Mission.

Some of the murderers have been arrested but there are still some at large. Three of the leaders have been caught. In all we are certain of the guilt of 17 persons in custody. The deed seems to have been planned by the leaders at a general meeting of the body at a fastness in the mountains near to Ang Cheng where we have a chapel. It is possible that the real object of the expedition was concealed by the leaders until the crowd was on its way. There were some 300 men at the fastness, and nearly if not quite this number started, but the evidence only shows that about 150 men or so were at the massacre. The actual murderers were, I think, not more than 20 or so men. We have nearly got all these in custody.

I cannot yet tell when we shall return to Foochow. It may be that our labours will be very long.

You will be anxious to know what I think about the prospects of our Mission work in this district. I fear it has received a blow from which it will take long to recover. The Christians are fearful that unless the vegetarian sect is completely suppressed there will still be great trouble. I think this opinion is well founded for it is what the heathen people say as well. The first and obvious duty for our governments is the punishment of the guilty murderers, and then the settlement and pacification of the country. This will not be done by proclamations by the Mandarins and Emperor. Every resident in China simply laughed when the telegrams said that Lord Salisbury had demanded punishment for the Mandarins and protection of the missionaries and that the Chinese had promised that this should be done. These promises are not worth the paper they are written on. The officials and people care nothing for the Imperial proclamations. The same story comes from every part of China. When Ku Cheng can be again peacefully and quietly occupied I cannot now say. All depends on the steps that are taken after this inquiry ends to ensure protection to the missions.

As for myself, I fear it will be impossible for me to hold a position of usefulness in Ku Cheng. My presence on the commission, and the prominent part I must take in bringing these murderers to justice will make difficulties that I did not fully see. I do not feel quite competent to judge for myself just now, but I ask the Committee to take this matter into consideration. My first and obvious duty at the present moment is to give all the assistance I can which my knowledge of the country and the language enable me to do. In almost every instance I know well the villages from which these murderers come and this local knowledge is of great help to the Commission.

Then there are other circumstances connected with Chinese methods of inquiry which I will write about later, and which the native courts are a hell of cruelty. I think some of these men will be executed before very long. They have implicated each other in their confessions and some of them have confessed themselves. Two men examined today are amongst the most guilty and I hear that one of them has confessed to the murder of dear Stewart and his wife.

Will you bear me up in prayer. I am sorry to see the resignation of Mr. Wigram in the papers which have just come by the mail. I trust the general committee will be wisely guided in a selection of his successor.

I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

Banister, Rev. William, Reports of the Kucheng Commission of Investigation.

There are several versions of Banister's Reports. The first is a handwritten transcript of Banister's original by Mrs. Mary Banister, dated Foochow, 27 August 1895 to be found in the Church Missionary Society's East Asia Archives. This version was sent to Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London with the following covering note from Mrs. Banister. Another very similar version appeared in *The North China Herald* and another in *The Times*, (London).

Foochow, Aug. 27th 1895.

Dear Mr. Stock,

I am wending to you by this mail Report No 1 of my husband, who is with the Commission of Inquiry in Ku Cheng. I have received from him Report No 2, which brings news of their progress up to 24th—and I will at once copy and send to you. It is not unlikely I may catch same mail as this will go by.

My husband went with Commission because he knows Ku Cheng so well, and by his knowledge and experience, both the people of the district, and the language, he could be of very great value to the Consul.

Perhaps he has written to you but I may say that he would wish you to use this information in any way you think best. Probably some of the leading papers—or one of them—would be glad to have this Report.

Yours very sincerely, Mary Banister.

I sent photos of houses at Hua Sang a week ago. This is but a mere scrawl, but I am very tired, as I was up all night with my little boy who was ailing (but is now better I am thankful to say) and so you will excuse it.

The version following appeared in the North China Herald and appears below as a single narrative although the transcriptions of Mrs. Banister show that there were several distinct documents sent to her by her husband. There are differences between the two versions, with corrections to place-names and some minor omissions of little significance. The starting point of the separate documents forwarded by Mrs. Banister are indicated. The paragraphing follows the published version. *The Times* (London) published a third version with each printing limited by the space available on a particular day.

*Report of the Kucheng Commission of Investigation,
North China Herald, 20 September 1895.*

Same report in The Times, (London) 16 October 189: (original written 6 September 1895.)

REPORT 1—14 AUGUST TO 20 AUGUST

The expedition to Kucheng to investigate the circumstances connected with the massacre of the members of the English Mission at Whasang consisted of:—Mr. R W Mansfield, H.B.M. Consul at Foochow, Col. Hixson, US Consul at Foochow, Mr. E L B Allen, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Pagoda Island, Lieut. Evans, U.S.S. *Detroit*, the Rev. W Banister, CMS, Dr. Gregory of the Am. Ep. Mission and the Rev. L H Star.

We left Foochow at 4.30 on **August 14th 1895**, in two house-boats towed by two steam launches, with a native escort consisting of Hunan “braves” under a native officer and also a civil mandarin named Chio.⁶

We arrived at the upper bridge, about six English miles, at dark, and were then joined by another company of braves in three native boats. We had hoped to proceed at night without stopping, but the Chinese ordered it otherwise and the launch captains said it was impossible to proceed in the dark. After a long and stormy conflict with the Chinese officials we compromised the matter by getting them to proceed as soon as the moon rose and gave enough light.

The English Consul was the first to awake and at 3 a.m. we roused up the launch men and as soon as steam was up we proceeded. Our progress was exceedingly slow as the launches were very poor and weak and we had quite a flotilla of native boats behind us, containing our escorts and chair bearers. After a while a breeze sprang up and with the house-boats sails up we went on very well. The next night we spent at a riverside port near the *hsien* city of Mingchiang. At daybreak we were off again, and soon got a good wind which enabled us to get into Suikou, the river port, where the long journey to Kucheng begins. Here followed some interviews with the officials who were waiting to receive us, and who had been instructed to prepare for our land journey. The afternoon was spent in arranging the loads for our journey and dispatching coolies with those things that ought to go first. Long before daylight on **Friday morning, 16th August**, we were all up and astir. The soldiers who had been guarding our boat armed with Mauser rifles, aroused us by calling to their comrades on shore. After breakfast by lamplight we started just as daybreak began to come. We were a long cavalcade. Soldiers in front, soldiers behind us, chairs and coolies and baggage spread out our company to a great length. August is about the hottest month of the year and we anticipated a terrible broiling day, but for many hours the sky was cloudy and the sun obscured and so we did not suffer until between 2 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon and then everyone felt the effects of the fierce sun which made everything burning hot.

We drew near to our Church at Choyong, about eight miles from Kucheng, at a little after 3 o'clock and were met by a company of our Christians, who showed by their sad faces how much they felt the calamity which had befallen the Church. We arrived within sight of Kucheng city about 6 o'clock and great crowds of people, Christian and heathen, met us as we passed through the city streets. The people crowded out to see us. They knew our errand and we have heard since that the whole population is very pleased that we had come to see the murderers punished and this wicked sect suppressed. Please God this will be done if the Consuls are supported by the Home Governments. We were all very weary when we retired to rest the night after our 30 miles march. We are all living together in the houses of the American Mission so as to be close at hand in case of emergencies.

The next day, **August 17th**, we received a short visit from the Prefect, a mandarin who rules over the whole of the Foochow prefecture which includes ten counties of which Kucheng is one. He is responsible to the government and well-being of these districts and directs all subordinate magistrates. The Consuls informed him why they had come and what they intended to do. Their proposal included the investigation of

6 Despite many issues about the operations of the Commission of Inquiry and its relationship with the Chinese judicial system, the speedy nature of the processes described in this section should be noted. The Commissioners departed for Kucheng within 14 days of the massacre and the Commissioners already had the names of many of the men involved in the Vegetarian led attack on the missionaries at Huashan.

each case of capture, and in the *yamen* or office of the officer. He objected to this and after pressure by the Consuls declined to agree to this without orders from the Viceroy. This was unpleasant and led to delays in beginning the examination of prisoners. The Consuls sent off telegrams to the Ministers and Governments at midnight on Saturday.

In the afternoon I went over to Mr. Stewart's house to arrange about the packing and transport of his books etc., to Foochow. It was a terribly sad task to do this and to come across many tokens of his care and anxiety for the work committed to his charge. Soldiers had been sent to guard the house but they had broken open the boxes upstairs, in each of the rooms, in search valuables and money. The clothes were scattered about and everything was in disorder. They do not seem to have taken much, but a few things are missing and they may have taken ornaments, but I cannot be sure.

Sunday, 18th of August, was very unlike a Sabbath. It was almost entirely taken up by the interviews with magistrates the whole day. I was able to get a short time with our dear Christians and say a few words to them. I encouraged them as well as I could, but do what I would the tears would come, as I remembered the scene only a year and a half ago when I was in the Church for the last time to commit them to the care of the dear Stewarts and to say farewell on my departure.

We are collecting evidence and arrests are being made every day. In one of our interviews with the deputy mandarin he asked us how many lives we wanted—as if anything could compensate us for the loss of our martyred friends. We told him we did not want justice of that kind, but order restored in the district, the punishment of the actual murderers and suppression of this seditious sect.

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We have the names of the men who say they killed the foreigners and one man declares he killed Mr. Stewart. We hope to have these men captured before very long. The Prefect has sent in a report to the Viceroy in which he attempts to throw the blame of this Vegetarian rising upon the Christians and Mr. Stewart, but he had heard that this has been reported to us and that we know the contents of his report which is abominably untrue and he has sent special messengers down to Foochow to bring it back before it gets to the Viceroy. The Christians report that he is highly incensed at this and threatens if trouble arises between the countries that the Christians will suffer. We pray that this may not be true and that trouble will not arise.

Today, [Monday] **20th August**, we are engaged in preparing a list of the men who we are informed went to Whasang to kill the foreigners. This morning the American Consul received a telegram in reply to his of Saturday from his Consul-General in Shanghai telling him to enforce his rights in this case. The Prefect seems to have made a mistake through ignorance and confessed that he had not much knowledge of the treaties. The investigations may take a long time and we cannot tell you long we shall remain here, but the Consuls say they will remain until it is finished.

This afternoon the Prefect sent word that he is prepared to do whatever the Consuls wished. This was only a verbal message and in reply they sent a dispatch informing the Prefect that on the next day,

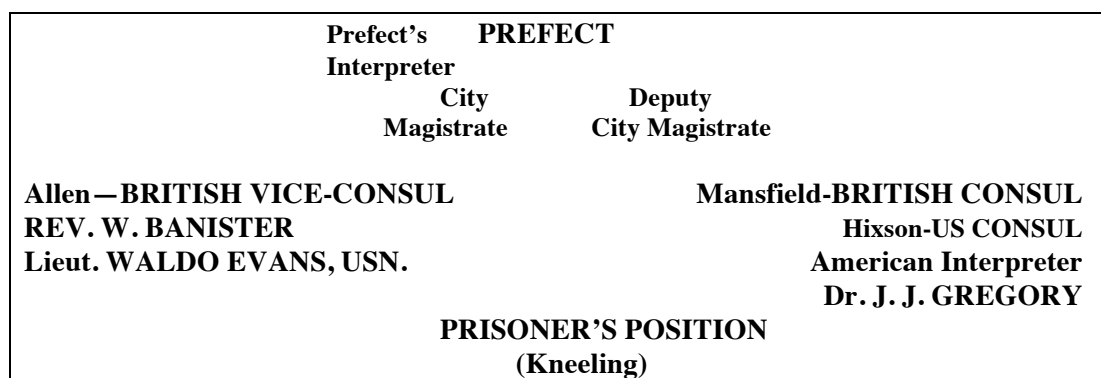
Wednesday, they would present themselves at the *yamen* at 10 o'clock to proceed with the investigations. This produced a dispatch in reply from the Prefect informing the Consuls that he had received telegraphic instructions from the Viceroy to do exactly as the Consuls wished.

Wednesday [21 August]. The effects of dear Stewart and the Sisters start down to Foochow this a.m. under the charge of eight soldiers and two of our catechists. This morning at 10 o'clock we began our investigations. Information has just come in that the original head of the Vegetarians has been captured at Kioning Fuh. This is the Kiangsi man Lau Ing-cheng, the original propagandist.

REPORT 2—21 AUGUST TO 22 AUGUST

Wednesday **21st August**. The Consuls had already informed the Prefect that they intended to present themselves at the *yamen* for the purpose of carrying on the investigation, and he had replied that he had received instructions from the viceroy to cooperate with them to the best of his ability. At 10 o'clock we proceeded to the *yamen* preceded by a Chinese guard of 20 soldiers armed, some with long two handed swords and some with rifles and bayonets. This I suppose impressed the Chinese, but to us only seemed a nondescript lot of dirty coolies. There were six of us in all, the two Consuls, Mr. Allen, Vice-Consul, Lieutenant Evans, Dr. Gregory and myself.

The first thing to do was to fix the constitution of the court and the places to be occupied by each person; it was arranged as follows:—



NOTE: This diagram differs from the formal photograph

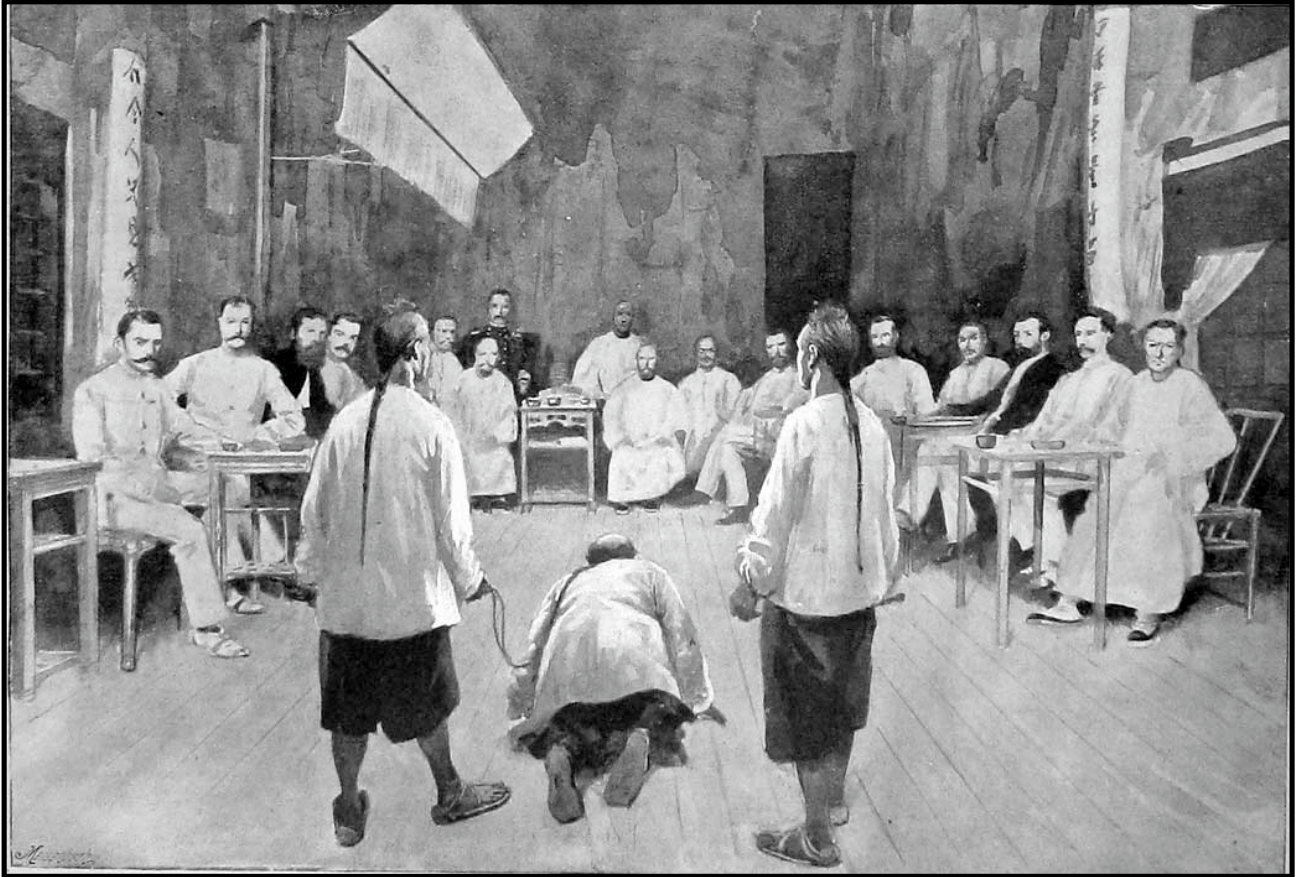
Kucheng. His name was Sia Kwok-sting, 40 years of age. We heard the clanking of chains and then the prisoner appeared. He had already been examined by the magistrate and his depositions were before us.

He said that the leaders of the movement were Ming Chiang-chek; Tang Huai, who went by the alias of 'Long Finger Nails' a fortune-teller; To Chio-hi; Lau Ing-cheng; and Tiong Chiah. This prisoner said that he himself did not go to Whasang but spent the night with 'Long finger Nails' at another place. In cross-examination, "Long Finger Nails" said that he did not know this man. The order was first given to go to a village about nine miles from Whasang, but afterwards they went to Whasang and killed the foreigners. There were about 200 in the band who started, but only about 100 or 150 got there.

. He heard a man named Sia Kai-tai, a fellow villager, say he had killed two, and also heard Tsi Mi-long say that he had killed three. The band did not start until after dark. He was taken to the fastness of Kung-sang- kai, the assembly place of the Vegetarians, by three friends, Tai Chang, Hang Chieh-tai, and Tai Ngo. Afterwards he was present at the dividing of the spoils at the fastness. The prisoner was a miserable looking man 40 years old, his ankles (six) were chained and his hands were locked to his neck. These were unloosed during the examination.

The next prisoner was a man named Liang Tie-kiang, also a native of Siohchong, a fellow-villager of the above. He was 23 years of age, a strong looking, tall fellow, clothed in rags. This man persistently denied being at Whasang, but he is strongly condemned by other prisoners, who say he was there. He says that he started with the rest, but did not know where they were going, and when he discovered that it was Whasang he returned and went to sleep on the hill side, but in the morning, instead of going home, he went to the fastness and was present there with his friends.

Ming Chiang-chek (no. 7) before the Court,



Sketch from *The Graphic*, London 23 November 1895.

The order in which the members are sitting, starting from the left-hand side of the picture, is the Rev. L. H. Star, of the Church Missionary Society, with his hand upon the papers on the table before him, then Lieutenant Evans, of the American man-of-war *Detroit*, and next to him the Rev. Mr. Banister of the Church Missionary Society; next to him Mr. Allenson {Allan] *sic*, Vice-Consul, next to him a mandarin; and, with an interpreter sitting close to him, Captain Newell, of the *Detroit*, with two mandarins sitting in front, one before Captain Newell, the other before the Kucheng head magistrate; then again comes an interpreter, and next to him Mr. Mansfield, the English Consul and by his side the American Consul, Mr. Hixson; again an interpreter, and then Dr. Gregory, and by his side Dr. Hart, and on the extreme right a medical student of Foochow who speaks English. In the open space in the centre of the Court the prisoners lay and knelt before the judges; here the chain was coiled on to which their knees were forced to; here, until Mr. Mansfield protested, they were lashed; afterwards they were beaten in an adjoining room within hearing. How vividly all this is brought home by the picture of the notorious No. 7, Ming-Ching-Chek,⁷

7 *The Graphic*, London, 3 November 1895.

A Chinese Court of Justice, Guangzhou.



A contemporary image of a District Magistrate's court in Guangzhou (Canton). The magistrate is seated at centre as in the Kucheng image above, with his clerk seated at left. The man standing just behind the magistrate is probably an interpreter. To the left and right of the table stand the yamen runners, in their distinctive headgear and carrying the Chinese equivalent of a European policeman's truncheon or nightstick. In accordance with Chinese court practice, also shown in the image above, the accused men are shown kneeling in deep prostration.

The next man Wong Nong-tie, was a native of a village called Tingyong. He is a young man aged 25 years, with a sheepish expression of countenance. After his apprehension he attempted to commit suicide. He acknowledged going to Whasang and being present at the massacre, but says he himself did not kill anyone. He says that he got no spoil at the division, and fought with “Long Finger Nails” because of this. (Several other prisoners at their cross-examination testify that he killed more than one). He says that he entered the house after the others, and saw Mr. and Mrs. Stewart lying on the bed, and the blood running down on to the floor. He saw the little children huddled together, and also saw four of the ladies dead together. The oil in the house was used to saturate the floors and fire the house. He also saw that another prisoner Yek King-nik, stabbed some one, but he did not hear that the prisoner A Nong killed any one. He did not know the prisoner Siu Kuok-sting. He did not see Wong Cheng-hok or Ik Wong-seng, but knew they went. He said that a man from the village of Cheutak, named Ting Huang-kiang, killed two persons, and that Tai Mi-long confessed to having killed one person. He did not know Sih Kai-tai.

The next prisoner Tang Huai [Cheng Chiu-chiu], who has several aliases, and is the chief concocter of the massacre. He is called “Long Finger Nails” or *Kau Kau* and is a fortune-teller by profession (picture). He is one of the few men who have any education. He is 42 years of age, and was well dressed in white cotton clothes, dirty from want of washing, but in good condition. He is very intelligent looking, and is of the true type of the clever villain who is the pest of Chinese society. He is proclaimed the chief schemer and plotter by the universal testimony of all the people, and all the prisoners. As far as we can as yet discover, he was not present at the massacre, but he is the most guilty of all. He says that he first came to Kucheng to tell fortunes, and went to the fastness to tell the fortunes of the Vegetarians. (He is reported to have said that many of the Vegetarians were very unlucky and that they would either have to kill the foreigner or the foreigners would kill them, or cause them to lose their lives in the end.)

He corroborates the general testimony that the leaders were To Chi-hoi, Lau Ing-cheng, and Ming Chiang-chek. He denies having advised the Whasang massacre and says that the reports about him are the lies of the Vegetarians. The first orders were to go to the house of wealthy man at the village of Tangteuk, and plunder his house and so replenish the supplies of the band. They were afraid that their supplies would be cut off, now that the soldiers had come, and it was asserted that the foreigners had obtained them, therefore this was given as the pretext for the attack on Whasang. The Tangteuk men refused to agree to an attack upon a member of their own village and began to desert.

“I do not know myself the details of the massacre, but heard others say what was done, and acknowledge participation in the spoil.” He heard that a Tingyong man acknowledged killing four or five persons. The robbers took away all the plunder; a man named Lu Paik-chiong took away six gold coins, and nineteen dollars in silver.

The men who killed were Pwo Ek, of Tingyong (the cut-throat above), Chiu Pang, of Mingyong, and two Pingnang men whose names I do not know. They all waiting for Pwo Tieng-chek (or Ming Chiang chek, alias ‘No 7’) to begin the killing and then the rest began. (This man is he who killed Stewart and also attacked Miss Hartford as he was the only man with a trident spear. This spear was afterwards lost and picked up by Dr. Gregory). The arms taken were swords and spears. It was *suddenly* decided to go to Whasang (this is false). He says that the other leaders and Pwo Tieng-chek did the planning. He also carried a banner.

“Banners were also carried by To Chio-hi and Lau Ing-cheng. I know Ik Wong-seng of Mingyong. After the attack (on the fastness) by the soldiers, the Vegetarians fled to Pingnang. To Chio-hi gave the command. The oil was poured over the floor by a Pingnang man, but I do not know where the oil came from.”

The prisoner denies complicity and blames Lau Ing-cheng and the other leaders. He says that Lau was the leader and organizer of the whole body, and denies telling the fortunes of the Vegetarians as reported.

August 22nd⁸—Court opened at 9 o’clock and was constituted the same way as on the first day.

The first prisoner examined was a man named Yeh A-mong, aged 29 years, a native of Tingyong. This man was fairly intelligent, being a maker and seller of vermicelli [noodles]. Wong Nong-tio (cut-throat) testifies that he was at Whasang, but he did not hear that he stabbed anyone. This man’s father was first arrested, and when he heard of it he gave himself up in order that his father might be released. (Filial Piety.) This man says he started on the road to Whasang, but did not know what was to be done. He was called by

⁸ See Part Nine,

his local leader Chiu Neng-tien personally. He did not get to Whasang but deserted at the village of Tahsie. He was not told where they were going. He first joined the Vegetarians to be cured of opium smoking and thought it was a good business. At Tahsie, by the country road side, there were two men were taking the numbers of the expedition as they went by. (He bears testimony to To Chio-hi, Tiongchiah, Lau Ing-cheng, Ming Chiang-shek.) About bedtime he deserted at Tahsie, to which place he had gone after being called by his leader, who after calling him, went on to call other members in the neighbourhood.

The next prisoner was a poor-looking wretch, ill-clothed and ill-fed. He said he was married and had one child. He is a farmer. His name was Yek Ming-nik. His leader was the same as the above, Chiu Nongtien. "He called me," said the prisoner, "to take paper and ink and go to the fastness to have my fortune told, and I should find peace and plenty for myself and family. I do not know how many men went to Whasang. I went, but I remained on this side of the hill top as I was hungry. I knew Wong Nong-tio when he was young. He is my nephew." This is the man who is reported to have killed Herbert Stewart, he denied on examination that he did so, but others say he himself boasted that he had killed on little foreigner, about six or seven years old. He says that A Nong was his nephew, and went with him to fastness but he did not see him at Whasang. He denied killing anyone.

The next prisoner was an intelligent and fairly respectable looking young man of 26 years. He was clothed in good blue cotton clothes. He surrendered himself. He is a farmer. His name is Chiu Seu-huak. He said that owing to sickness he entered one Vegetarian body about nine months ago, hoping thereby to get well. He was for a short time a Christian, or enquirer, but getting sick, he joined the Vegetarians as above stated. He called, and went with a company, as far as the village of Ngungyong, where he remained and returned home at daylight. In all five men went from his village to Whasang. He saw the next day Ping Ing, Ming Sing, Hok Chiu, Keuk Siah. He was compelled by these men to join the expedition. He did not get any plunder and the bundle which he had with him was his own clothing.

The next prisoner who had only been arrested the previous day, and bore traces on his legs of his examination by the magistrates, was the local leader, Chiu Neng-tien, a horrid looking demon. He said, "I am 51 years old, and am a coolie and general labourer. To Chio-hi told me to go to the fastness, and the general orders were we were to go to Whasang, and have revenge on the foreigners for having brought the soldiers." He said that the following persons were engaged in the murders:— Yek Ho-tieh, Li Ko-sioh, Li Siong-ping. "I remained at the top of the hill. I did not kill any one. In my position as local leader I admitted four or five persons into the Vegetarian body. I heard others say they had also killed and the names of other murderers. Yek Ming-nik said he had killed (when confronted by the latter he still persisted that it was so, but the leader, Ming-sik, denied). I did not get any of the spoil. I went straight from home to the fastness, and the expedition started at dark, the names being taken before we started. To Chio-hi, Tong Chiah, 'Finger Nails,' Lau Ing-cheng, all being present. Lau and To Chio-hi took flags. The order was to go first to Tingteuk, but the leaders did not tell us all, but said: 'Go and plunder the churches.' We arrived at Whasang at daylight. At Whasang Chio Hi had a flag and also Lau Ing-cheng who was in front. The first to begin the slaughter was No. 7, or Ming Chiang-chek. 'I was behind, and therefore I did not see those who seized the children. I heard that Nong Tie had killed one foreigner. I also saw A Nong at Whasang. All who went to Whasang got some plunder. Li Siong-ping told me that Nong Tie and Ming-sik had killed foreigners as stated above. I was standing in front of the door of the upper house. The weapons taken were generally swords and spears. I took a spear. I got no plunder. The general planner of the expedition was 'Long Finger Nails;' the leader of the march and bearer of the flag was Lau Ing-cheng."

Of the above prisoners we have no doubt whatsoever as to their guilt, except one man Chiu Sau-huak. As yet there has been no incriminating testimony against him.

W Banister CMS

NOTE.— The men have more than one name—they have a name by which they were known amongst their own band, and so the name by which a particular man is spoken of has needed explanation.

REPORT 3—23 AUGUST TO 26 AUGUST

August 23rd.—Today the two Consuls paid a visit to the Prefect with the object of arranging a certain form of procedure with reference to the execution of the persons implicated in the massacre. They have come to the conclusion that it will be better to send only the really head men to Foochow for further trial and execution there, and that the real and actual murderers should be executed at Kucheng. This the Prefect agreed to and at once sent off a telegram to the Viceroy for permission to dispense with the formality of confession of the crime which is necessary by Chinese law before a man can be executed. There has been no sitting of the Joint Commission today as the magistrates are waiting for the arrival of the chief criminal and head of the Vegetarians who has been captured near Kingyang, the station of the Rev. H S Phillips, and whom we expect in a day or two. Yet when the Consuls went down today they found the entrance to the *yamen* densely packed by an excited crowd. They thought at first that a riot was impending, but found that the excitement was caused by the arrival of one of the head criminals, a man called Tiong Chiah, and a desire to get a share of the large reward which has been offered for his apprehension. This amounts to the large sum of \$900—\$100 paid for information leading to his arrest, and \$800 for his apprehension. This amount has been offered for the four heads, and has actually been paid for the five already arrested. The magistrate Ho who visited us today informed us that more than two loads of silver had been taken away from the *yamen* in rewards. This is encouraging and shows what the magistrates can really do under pressure. They know of course that unless this thing is settled promptly, there will be serious consequences for the country. The other members of the Commission have been engaged in writing. I have been assisting in various ways, and today, **August 24th**, we have been writing and translating an additional list of names of persons who have been implicated in the Whasang massacre. To-day telegrams arrived informing us definitely that Lau Ing-cheng has been arrested and was being sent down for examination. The prisoner Tiong Chiah has shown a disposition to tell or give information. One only of the head men now remains at large. The man who commenced the attack upon our friends, and who seems to have been the most bloodthirsty of the whole gang is still uncaught. We are hoping that the large rewards offered will stimulate the members of the native guards to action.

Sunday, **August 25th.**—Today has been a quiet day. I went to church at 10 o'clock and addressed a few words to the Christians assembled. Mr. Li Taik preached a most excellent sermon upon the duty of the native Christians in this crisis.

The Prefect paid us a visit shortly after breakfast and discussed with us several questions. He wished us to settle the question of the soldiers sent to guard dear Stewart's house, but who had broken into it and had rifled through the contents of the boxes and trunks. We do not know if they took anything more than a few sheets, and although it was a gross breach of discipline, it was a matter for the natives to settle and not the Consuls. The commander of the soldiers lost his peacock feather in consequence, and as he and the Prefect are fellow-villagers, the latter is most anxious to have the matter settled. We thought, however, that it was not wise to introduce other matters into this present Commission. I am afraid the Prefect was desirous of raising bad blood between the soldiers and ourselves. We therefore asked that the matter be deferred until we have returned to Foochow.

Monday, the **26th of August**, 3rd day of examination.—This morning the Commission again proceeded to the *yamen* at 9 a.m. Before we began business **the Chinese and Europeans as they sat in the Court were photographed by Dr. J Gregory.** The first prisoner examined was the man Ling Tie-kiang, who in his previous examination denied being at the scene of the massacre, but said he deserted about half way to Whasang, although he was incriminated by others. He was afterwards compelled by the native mandarins to confess that he had been present. He is the youngest of three brothers, the eldest being dead, and is a general labourer. He became a Vegetarian about six months ago on account of opium smoking. His leader and introducer to the association was the head man, Lau Ing-cheng. He said, "I bound myself not to leave the body under promise of being willing to suffer transformation after death into an animal. I went on the 6th day with 304 others to the fastness; Sia Cho-giang, Sia Suk-kiang, In Paik-chiong went first. I saw 'Long Finger Nails' at the fastness. We went to Whasang on the evening of the 10th. To Chio-hi was the leader and carried a flag in his hand. I saw 'No 7' and Lau Ing-cheng, and two Tiao men were the first to begin. I was a little behind and did not see clearly who began first. The men I saw going in were the men above mentioned. I heard others say this, but it did not see it myself. I was not with the prisoner Sia Kwoh-sung. The first to

enter was 'No 7.' I did not go inside the house. I do not know who killed the foreigners, nor do I know who set fire to the place. After the slaughter we returned to the fastness. The leaders took the loot but I got nothing. They said the command had been given by the leaders and therefore the command of the spoil should be their also, and that it should go for food and support. I returned to my house on the afternoon of the 13th. I do not know when Lau Ing-cheng left. I had nothing to eat and therefore I returned to my own home. Lau Ing-cheng was still at the fastness. I was caught on the 21st by the soldiers. I can recognize Sia Kai suk and Sia Kai-tai and Kwoh Sung. I do not know A-Nong. The orders were not given at the fastness but on the road."

To Nong-tie. This was a prisoner only captured and brought in the preceding day. He looks in a furtive way with his eyes, a small man fairly well dressed, a native of Sunggang, and a relative of To Chio-hi. He is 34 years of age, unmarried, with four brothers, and he has been a Vegetarian two years. He joined because of sickness. He was captured with plunder in his possession, consisting of an eiderdown quilt and a pair of scissors which he said he had picked up on the road. He was armed with a long lance-like spear which was brought into Court. His head and leader was an Angchiong man, named Yong Kiang.

"I know Chio-Hi and Tiong Chiah and lau Ing-cheng. I went to the fastness on the 6th. All the leaders were there. I saw Tiong Chiah and 'Long Fingers.' Tiong Chiah did not go to Whasang. 'No 7' and Chio- Hi were the first on the march.

(Contrary to all the evidence, this prisoner said that Lau Ing-cheng did not go to Whasang.) Over 100 men went to Whasang and also some men from Pingnang. Their route was via Teukling, Chiendchio and Langyeu. On our return we came via Tualkiang. At the start there was about 200, but only 100 came to Whasang. I was behind and did not see all, and so I cannot tell who knocked at the doors, but I think they were already open. When I arrived they had entered the house. Chio Hi arrived a little late with the flag. "No 7' killed but I did not see any others. I heard "No 7' say this myself. I heard of a Tinggong man taking plunder but I did not see that "No 7' took any. I was about 100 steps away on the ridge. I took this loot because it was left behind by the others. I had only a spear. I know that Ting Mi was present. We returned in the early morning and had our dinner on the hillside by Tuaikiang and arrived again at the fastness in the evening. I cannot tell all the names of those who took plunder. Tong Kiiio, Lang Tau-kiang, Nu Long, Pai Chion, A Nong, Ming Mink certainly did. I do not know Kuok Sung. I did not get any loot beside the things I picked up on the hill. The plunder was taken by Chio Hi and 'Long Finger Nails.' I did not enter the house. (Here it was stated that the prisoner had given in all about 20 or 30 names. There was some difficulty. Here the Consuls insisted that the names should be forthcoming but for some reason or other the officials did not seem to care to produce them. He only gave the following verbally:—Tiong chiah, 'No 7,' Chio Hi, Lau Ing-cheng, Lang Tau-kiang, Yek A Nong, Yek Ming-nik, Iu Paik-chiong, Tai Nu-liong, To Huang-kiang, Tieng Yeu.) After the pursuit I went with 'No 7' to Min-chiang. He is a tall man and rather thin with a mark on the left side of his face. When I left him he said he was going to Tu Ka. I do not know his family name. I hear that his village was in the 12th township. I was caught in the village of Wngde in the *hien* of Kingyang in Kiongning Hu fFu.)"

No 10. This prisoner is named Ting King-suk and is native of Ang Chieng. His Vegetarian name is Pwo Iu and his local leader's name Ting Yeu. He confessed to having been at the fastness, but not at Whasang. Afterwards when he was examined by the magistrates again he confessed that he had gone to Hua Sang, but alleged that his leader Ting Yeu compelled him to go, but did not tell him what he had to do. He got no plunder.

No. 11. Tiong Chiah, a notorious leader, was the next examined. He had been brought in the previous day, and a reward of \$900 had been paid for his capture. He is a fairly tall man and wicked looking, with a fiercely intelligent countenance, strong looking, with prominent eyes and large protruding forehead. He is a native of Angchiong and is 41 years of age. His parents dead and he has three brothers. He is a general labourer but was formerly a yamen runner. He has oppressed people by acting without authority as *tipao* (a sort of policeman.) He has been a Vegetarian two years. He was introduced into the organization by a man from Kienning named Wong A Hai who is the leader at Kiongning. He is a boatman. "I spoke to him about being a Vegetarian and he admitted me. I was present at the district meeting at which members are recognised at Sengleng. (The prisoner has furnished a list of prominent men amongst whom are Ik Wong-nong, Chin Pang, Chiu Neng-tieu, A Nong, Ming Nik, Ming Sing, A Ngung.) 'Wong Non-tie and four others

went with me to Mepwoang in the Kienning Prefecture. I did not return until the 11th month last year, but Nong Tie and the others returned sooner.” (I think the magistrate’s object in eliciting this answer was to get at some proof of the organization being a political one.)

“I received a letter from ‘Long Fingers’ on 1st of 6th moon (this letter was written in mysterious language and refers to a command to come on some important business to Ngutaul Liang.) I know the man who gave me this letter but I did not know his name.” The general testimonies corroborate this man’s statement that he did not go Hua Sang, but that he had a dispute with ‘Long Finger Nails,’ and threatened to kill him. He was asked to take a letter to Foochow but refused. This letter purports to have been one to the head of the Vegetarians in Foochow asking for support in provisions and weapons. The result of the dispute was that he refused to go to Whasang and then the others threatened to kill him. He did not go to Whasang but informed a Christian, Pang Kie ming of the intended attack on the missionaries at Hua Sang. This man sent the information to Mr. Ling Sing-mi, the pastor at Ku Cheng, to be at once sent to Mr. Stewart but the letter never reached him, as the messenger got only half-way up the mountain when he met the fugitive people (servants and teachers) from the house, who told him the awful tragedy. This exhausts the evidence up to date. Commission meets again this a.m. Aug. 27th, Tuesday.

W Banister

Note by Mrs Mary Banister: Kiong Ning Fu, often written Kien-Ning-Fu.

The lance like spear was given up to my husband and he intended to bring it away when he leaves. Small articles had also been returned to him from the plunder, but he does not seem to have yet got anything of value back, any watches or such like articles. I am sure he will do his best to get anything he can, for the relatives of our murdered friends. Mary Banister.

REPORT 4—27 AUGUST

(Resume of the evidence of Tiong Chiah, one of the notorious leaders of the Vegetarians. He is a strongly built man of 41 years, has a wicked look, a fierce but intelligent countenance, prominent eyes and large forehead. He was formerly a *yamen* runner. He had been a Vegetarian two years. Was admitted into the organisation at the city Kiongningfu but a man named Wong A-hai who is the head in that district. He admitted, himself, over 100 men into the Society. He gave a list of names to the magistrate of persons implicated in the massacre—Il Wong-neng, Yek U-pah, Ho-tiek (not yet arrested), Yek A-nong, Yek Ming-nik, Yek Ming-sing. He testified to having received a letter from 'Long Finger Nails' which he was requested to take to Foochow but he refused. The letter was to ask assistance from the Society in Foochow of weapons and provisions. A dispute arose and some of the leading members of the body threatened to kill him. He left the fastness and gave information to the Christian, Pang Kie-ming, that the massacre was planned. He had heard that the bearer of the flag, To Chio-hi, who was in hiding in a monastery near Whasang in the district of Ningsaik. He testified that King Suk was present at Whasang and that said King Suk was blind in one eye.)

The 13th prisoner was now examined. He had been in custody for some time, but he has only just come up for his first examination. His name is Tk Wong-seng, 36 years of age, a native of Mingyong. A small evil looking man, he had evidently been beaten by the magistrate on a private examination. He is the youngest of four brothers. His general testimony was to the effect that he himself did not go to Whasang. He implicated the following—Yek Falk-kiang, Neng Tieu, Lu Paik-chiong, Yek A-nong. He bears a very bad character and his testimony with regard to himself is most probably false. He was mixed up with all the previous troubles between the sect and the magistrate.

Here followed the re-examination of the prisoner Ting King-suk, who is now confessed that he was Whasang and took part in the outrage. He bore testimony to Ting Chiek having been present also.

The 14th prisoner was then examined—a man named Tong Chung. He said he had been a Vegetarian for three years and was admitted by Lau Ing-cheng. He denied having gone to Whasang. The reason he gave was his wife was nursing one of the foundling children for Miss Gordon and he therefore feared recognition. He was one of the leaders in the attack on the *yamen* earlier in the year, and has been a prominent man all through the trouble. He gave evidence very unwillingly and seemed determined to deny everything. But after some time he confessed that he was amongst the first 20 or 30 men to get to Whasang. He implicated Tai Nih-cheng, besides the other more prominent leaders.

The 15th prisoner, Lieng chung-keuk was then examined. A native of Tingyong, aged 25. He admitted going to the fastness, and that he was sent from there by Chio-hi to fetch recruits for the business on hand, but that his uncle would not let him go further, and he stayed at home instead of joining the expedition. Was told that the object was to resist the soldiers who had been sent to settle the village of Toyong (where two men had been killed by members of the society). Was to call 10 men or more, and remembered the following names, Wong Nong-tie, Yek Ming-nik, Yek A-nong, Chiu Pang, Chiu Tai, Chiu neng-tieu, Lieng Hok-ang, Lieng Sieu-ang, Ting Hok-to. The list was written by To Chio-hi.

The 15th prisoner. Lung Nang-ming, said that he had left the Vegetarian body, but was attracted to the fastness by the report that members were gathering there; and his local leader Tiong Chiah asked him to join. He saw Ho-tiek, Yek Ming-sung, Lieng Saiu-ang. Denied being present at the Whasang massacre, but afterwards confessed it. He was also accused by the prisoner Lang Tau-kiang.

The 17th prisoner. The next prisoner brought before us, was Kiu Kiu-su, alias, Lang Tau-kiang, a native of Togkio in the Pengnang district. Rather tall, with an intelligent face, but his clothes were poor and ragged. Aged 31 years. A dealer in opium—a notoriously bad character—was concerned in the former trouble with the Kucheng magistrate. He said, "I entered the sect to be cured of opium smoking. My local leader was Ting Ching-hwai. I went to the fastness on the 6th of 6th moon. I was sent with a letter to a man at Kikkau, who is a tailor, to call him to the gathering at the fastness. I went to see 'Long Finger Nails,' who I knew was there. 'Long Finger Nails' said the coming of the soldiers would not matter, they had come to settle the Toyong affair, but we would have no trouble with them. I went with the rest on the 10th to Whasang. I took a small sword and a spear. The first on the march was 'No 7' and To Chio-hi with the flag. At first there were about 200 or 300 men but many dropped out and only about 100 reached Whasang. When I arrived they had begun to plunder. I struck and killed a small foreigner." Asked in what manner Ho-tiek burnt the houses he refused

to say, but on further questioning said that he himself, with others, set fire to the upper house by heaping the chairs together, pouring on paraffin or kerosene which was in the house, and setting fire thereto—and that he and Ho-tiek also set fire to the lower house by means of a basket of waste paper, and oil. Was not commanded to do this by Chio Hi. The plunder was taken, generally, to the fastness but some men took what they had got to their own homes. He got an umbrella and a blanket. The men were compelled to take an oath that all the plunder had been given up. He was at the fastness for three days after the massacre, and then fled up country beyond Yengping. He was captured there by the Liengkak (or town guild). The prisoner incriminated all the principal men whose names had been given by the other prisoners examined, also some men from Toa and Hungka, in the Pingnang district, whose names he professed not to know. He is a confessed murderer and will be executed.

The 18th prisoner examined was a man brought in only the previous day, Ting Hung-kiang, implicated by almost all the other prisoners. This man confessed quite freely, and gave the following evidence. He was called to the fastness by To Chio-hi, and was informed the business was in connection with the bringing of soldiers to Kucheng to deal with his body. "All the leaders were present (as already named) also Tai Nu-long, In Paik-chiong, Lung Nang-ming, and Ting King-suk. I went to the fastness on the 7th and returned home on the 8th. On the evening of the 10th I went with the rest but they did not tell me the real nature of the expedition until we got to Tahtie, well on the road to Whasang. We all had spears or swords and before we started we all saluted the flag. There were 100 men or more at Whasang and we arrived at daylight. The first of the band to reach the houses were in number about 30 or 40 and these first entered. I was with the first band, and saw 'No 7' and others (whose names he gave, the list corresponding to that given by others.) I went into the upper house with Pwe Ek (or Wong Nong-tie). I helped to kill Mr. Stewart and Nang Ming was there. Wong Nong-tie struck Mr. Stewart with a sword, he seized the weapon, and then Nang Ming stabbed him in the breast with a spear, and I stabbed him in the stomach. He then fell over on the bed. I heard the children crying and saw them huddled together. Then a lady came forward and she fell over against the wall. (This description answers to that of Miss Nellie Saunders.) After she fell I stabbed her in the back. I did not see a small woman. (This answer to an enquiry as to the whereabouts of Mrs. Stewart.) All the men shared in the loot. They packed up the things as they could and carried them away. I did not get any. The house was burnt by breaking up the chairs in a heap and pouring oil over, and then setting fire to the lot." (Here he gave more names of men he saw taking part.) After the massacre all participants were commanded, on pain of death, to be present at the fastness on the 17th to resist any attack by the soldiers. Asked if any Whasang men joined in the outrage he said he saw one young man, about 20 years of age, who came to the fastness.

The prisoner Lung Nung-ming was then reexamined. On his previous examination he denied all complicity with the actual crime or its plan—he now confessed that it was true that he was present. He said, 'I went first to the fastness on the 6th and saw the leaders and others (names given). Went again on the 8th. Went from there to Whasang on the 10th in company with the leading men of the band. There were only about 60 or 70 men at Whasang. 'No 7' (or Ming Chiang-chek) and a Siohchong man struck with their spears two little children who were outside the house. We burst in the front door. There were together 'No 7', Nu-long, Lang Tau-kiang, Ming-nik, Wong Nong-tie, Ik Wong-neng. The children were stabbed just outside the house where they were gathering flowers. Wong Nong-tie was the first to attack Mr. Stewart. I stabbed a small woman (supposed to be Mrs. Stewart.) I could not tell how old she was. I struck her in the lower jaw. Ho Tiek also stabbed her in the breast, and then she fell on the floor. Ho Tiek and Lang Tau-kiang fired the houses, and, it was said, at the command of Chio Hi. The loot was taken to the fastness and I got a mosquito net, a quilt and a blanker. All that I have now said is perfectly true."

The 18th prisoner was a man from the village of Lieng seng, 21 years of age. He said—"I became a member this year. I was called to the assembly by Nu Long. I went to the fastness on the 3rd and saw all the leaders. I then returned home, and went to Whasang from my home. Tai Nu-long saw me in the road and I went along with him. I had a small sword. I was with the body of men, about twenty, who surrounded the lower house where the ladies were. They offered us money and said they would go with us to the city church with us if we would let them, and give them their umbrellas. This they said to Tai Mu-long. We killed them after the flag came with the command, carried by Chio Hi. One little man from Sungang and a tall man began and then we all stabbed them. I stabbed a tall lady. All the men were quite wild and we slaughtered them all. The plunder was made common property."

REPORT 5—28 AUGUST TO 31 AUGUST

Friday August 30th. The next prisoner Sia Kai-tai was a short and wretched looking man, with bent legs, a native of Siochong, a coolie, 25 years old. (The first prisoner examined, Sia Kwok-sung, said Kai Tai had himself boasted at the fastness that he had stabbed two persons.) He said—"I went tot he fastness on the 8th of thE moon, and saw the leaders, 'Long Fingers,' Tiong Chiah, Lang Tau-kiang, Hwang-kiang, Kwok Sang. I refused to go to Whasang and they scolded me and threatened to kill me. They did not tell me the nature of the expedition until we were getting nearer to Whasang. I had a wood-chopper. When we started they told me not to trouble but to march straight on. There was a small flag which we all saluted before starting. Our names were also taken. The leaders were all present. Lang Tau-kiang took the numbers, and Ting Hwang-kiang was also present. When all had saluted the flag it was taken by To Chio-hi. We arrived at Whasang early in the morning. I heard a horn blown but did not hear any other signal. There were 20 or 30 men at the houses first. I saw Ting Hwang-kiang go in, and I went in myself. I saw a lady come out of one of the rooms and I stabbed her once. After that I seized plunder and rushed out. All the men were taking plunder but I do not now remember who they were. Sia Kwok-sung was outside. He carried food. I saw Ming-nik, Lang Tau-kiang, Lieng Sung, Nu Long." Prisoner after this statement confessed to the same general statement as the others.

The prisoner Sia Kwong-sung, was here brought in and having confessed himself a murderer took a solemn oath by placing his hand, inked, on a clear paper so as to leave the impression of his hand, in token that he confessed his crime and acknowledge the justice of the sentence upon him. He had at first denied being at Whasang, but the evidence against him was strong, other prisoners testifying against him in their examination, and he ultimately confessed.

The prisoner Ting King-suk, 'Blind Eye' was here re-examined. He at first denied his guilt, but was convicted by the testimony of other prisoners and then confessed. He said, "I stabbed a lady in the arm (either Miss Hessie Newcombe or Elsie Marshall.) A man named Hu Cheng of Whasang took part in the outrage, also Ho Tiek, Ting Hwang-kiang, Ting Ping-ing, Hung Hwa. I saw Ming Eung come out of a room carrying a box."

Yet Ming-nik was now re-examined. Though he first denied being at Whasang, he now acknowledged that the testimony was true; he was there and took part in the murders. He said, "I cut a lady on the upper part of the face, and again on the lower jaw (probably Miss Codrington who has so wonderfully recovered.) I saw the four ladies come out and stand together. There were about 12 of our band around them. After we speared them they all fell close together."

The 20th prisoner was Yek Ming-sung, a young man from Tingyong. He said, "I became a vegetarian at Kiongningfu. I was present at the gathering in the fastness, and at Whasang. I saw A Nong, Ming Nik, Nang Ming, Nong Tie, Ho Tiek, Lu Long, Paid Chiong. I entered the house and saw on the floor two children and two on the bed. I put the two little ones on the bed, covered them with a quilt, and shut the door. (This must be false, see Cassie Stewart's statement.) Ho Tick said if I was afraid to stab anybody I had better go away. I was afraid and went outside. I saw one foreigner lying on the floor in the room I went into. I do not know whether it was a man or a woman." 'Blind Eye' testified that he saw the prisoner bringing a box out of one of the rooms and that he collided with his sword and was cut on the chest.)

21st prisoner was Tai Nu-long, a tall wild looking fellow, 24 years old, of Sengsaupang. He was caught at Hilwang in the Ningtaik district. He testified as follows:—"I joined the body two years ago under Lau Ing-cheng. I went to the fastness on the 5th of the moon when there was a meeting, with all the leaders present, at which defensive measures wee arranged against the soldiers who had been sent from Foochow to put down our organisation. The book of names was kept by Lau Ing-cheng." (This prisoner killed two people, or helped to kill them. He is a very bad character and the people here say that killing is far too good for him. He had in his possession a pair of trousers, a tin of milk, a small box of ornaments, sundry clothes, and an umbrella. He asked for some money for his family, his brother having committed suicide since the trouble, and his home being broken up. The magistrate gave him 200 cash.)

The 22nd prisoner, In Paik-chiong, the man arrested at Hilwang with the previous prisoner, was 23 years old, one of 10 brothers—a dealer in earthenware, from Kikkau. Became a Vegetarian last year. He said, "I went to the fastness and was told by Chio Hi to get a sword. The leaders told me we were to go to Whasang and attack the foreign houses. I objected and they scolded me (he incriminated all the leaders, and gave

names.) When I arrived at Whasang the gun had been fired and the work begun. I saw 'no 7', Lang Tau-kiang, and Ting Hwang-kiang. When I got to the front the house was on fire. I do not know who killed, but certainly 'No 7' Lang Tau-kiang and Ho Tiek did. I did not get any loot but was given an umbrella on the road. We were compelled to go." After the flight of their band, he and Nu Long fled to Ningtaik and saw there 'No 7' but he went home to Mingchiang on the 24th.

The last two men have been mentioned by almost every prisoner we have examined; they were amongst the leaders of the gang. They both acknowledged their guilt and impressed their sign manual on paper.

This finishes the examination of prisoners up to the 31st of August.

W Banister, CMS.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. W. Banister to Baring-Gould, 11 September 1895.

Ku Cheng, September 11th, 1895:— My dear Mr. Baring-Gould, I wrote to you a fortnight ago and still we are here, without our task of trying these murderers unfinished. We have now had 11 sittings of the court in the City Yamen. Up to the present date 12 men have been condemned and they will be executed in a few days by having their heads cut off and which [their heads] will afterwards be hung in cages and exposed for a certain period to the public gaze.

There will be another lot of men executed later, whom have tried since the first lot was examined.

I am afraid we shall be kept in Ku Cheng for a longer time than we thought at first. There were about 100 or 120 men in the band which arrived at Hwa Sang and committed the crime. We have very nearly this number of names give in evidence of the prisoners and perhaps one half of this number are in custody. There are clearly two degrees of guilt according to the law of Western Lands, viz., those who killed and those who plundered. But according to Chinese Law this distinction does not exist and all alike are liable to the death penalty as it is a capital crime to assemble in armed bands for plunder.

It is manifestly impossible for us to demand the execution of all these, and I presume only the murderers and the most violent of the other class will suffer death. Still, I think there cannot be less than 20 or 30 men who will be executed.

You will think I am very bloodthirsty to speak in this way of the death of these men and indeed the investigation of horrid details such as we have heard from callous and hardened criminals does make one disposed to shut up the doors of feeling and think only of justice and punishment.

I do not forget that I am a missionary but this has been an awful task. I will not go into all the details as I have sent a report of the trial to Mr. Stock from day to day.

I only wish to emphasize what I have already written you and Mr. Stock about my again being the missionary here. I must beg the Committee not to urge me to accept that position. When I left Foochow I thought it was the best and most natural appointment and I thought it a privilege to again work in Ku Cheng, especially after it had been sanctified by the blood of dear Stewart. I know that my experience and knowledge fit me better than anyone else but this trial has raised up a barrier which I cannot get over. Each days experience only makes it plainer and clearer to me that I cannot come back, but that some other arrangements must be made.

You will have seen from my telegram that I suggest either Martin or Collins. Other members of the mission will have objections urged against each one. For myself, I think Martin possesses the qualities most needed in Ku Cheng at the present crisis, and I would urge his appointment as the most suitable. He could begin work at once. On the other hand, Collins is much in sympathy with the line of work taken up by dear Stewart and all his connections are with Ireland.

In this case the district would have to be left to the native brethren for some months or a year until Collins came out again which will be in the autumn of next year. This would not make any great difference to the district, and would most probably help the natives to stand alone better. It is now the middle of September and it is not in the least probable that any missionary work can be done until next year.

We shall be here another month after which comes the settlement of Stewart's financial affairs in Foochow, and then comes the Conference in November. This, that is Collins appointment, would only mean an interruption of 10 months supposing the Committee felt that Collins would be the best person to take charge of the district. In either case I think there must be a colleague, either Light or one of the new men.

I think it is important that the Committee's decision be sent by telegram. Much delay and much

misunderstanding will be then avoided. At the present moment I gather from letters received that the Mission atmosphere in Foochow is in a disturbed condition and much patience and forbearance is needed by us all. Will you pray most earnestly for us that we all may act up to the highest ideal of our calling.

I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister

P.S. I state below the reasons which to my mind make it absolutely impossible for me to return to Ku Cheng as missionary of the District.

(1) My position as assessor with the Consuls, and principal advocate against these murderers, sitting side by side with the officials entirely destroys any missionary character in the eyes of the Chinese and marks me for the future in Ku Cheng as a man ostensibly a missionary but actually an official with a great deal of political power.

(2) That this political character would give me great influence with the Chinese, both Christian and heathen, but would lead them to think that it would be a good thing to be associated with a person possessing such powers. This would unquestionably work against the spiritual growth of the Church and also give me an equivocal position.

(3) The object of my association with the Consuls and officials is to bring these murderers to punishment, and without my aid it would have been difficult for the Consuls to do this.

The heads of these men will hang on poles in cages at the gates of the city of Ku Cheng until they decay. I shall ever be associated with these executions, and just and right as the punishment is yet I feel that my position here as a missionary would be unendurable.

REPORT 6. SEPTEMBER 2—28

From mss by Mrs. Mary Banister.

(September 2nd. 7th day of the examination of prisoners.

On this day the Court examined the notorious founder of the Vegetarian Sect in Ku Cheng. He is a Kiang-Si man, 43 years old. A bad looking man, with a cast in his right eye. He was brought into Court heavily ironed. While propagating the “Vegetarian” doctrine and adding to the numbers of the Sect, he following the business of a weight and measure maker and repairer of broken pottery. He has admitted many members to the sect, and was looked on as the leader in the Ku Cheng district until the man To Chio-Hi [Long Fingernails] came to the front. In his examination he confessed that he was the leader, but denied complicity in the Hwa Sang massacre. He has, however, been connected by universal testimony of prisoners examined. He said the real head of the organization was a native of Kiang-Si Province, by name Tu Hok-Ing and living in the Kwang Seng prefecture. He testified to the share he himself had taken in the [earlier] attack on [Kucheng] city, and referred to the share that Lang Che-Ing (a literary man of some note), had in helping them to come off victorious in the conflict with the magistrate. He said their flag was first carried by Sang Hwa, but was afterwards given to To Chio_hi. There were 90 or 100 men at Hwa Sang. Their first alternative plan was to attack the city by firing it and then when the magistrates came out to see, to kill them and plunder the house. He absolutely refused to say anything more than this.

The next prisoner was the man Sang Hwa referred to by Lau. This prisoner was fairly well dressed and comes from a respectable house in the town of Sioh-Yong. He acknowledged being at Hwa Sang (and at the preliminary gathering at the fastness) and that he was amongst the first to go. The flag was first given to him, but some objecting it was handed to To Chia Hi. About 100 came to Hwa Sang and the first of the lot to arrive rushed in and did the work. He was the only man from his village. He got a blanket out of the loot, which he afterwards gave to Long Fingernails. The leader Lay Ing Cheng was present at Hwa Sang but he did not know if he killed anyone. Asked why they went to Hwa Sang he said the general idea was plunder and the leaders did not say they were to kill till they were very close to Hwa Sang.

The next prisoner was in the garb of a Buddhist priest, his name being Tang Haw—No. 2 of the name. He shaved his head and adopted this dress after the massacre. He at first said he did not go to Hwa Sang but afterwards when beaten by order of the magistrate he confessed he was there. It is one of the most difficult things to know whether the prisoner speaks the truth. In the midst of this dense mass of lies and deceit it is hard indeed to find out the truth. (The prisoners who have been convicted have been condemned by the testimony of others and there could be no doubt of their guilt.)

Yek Suk Ming, the next prisoner, is a native of the village just below the English Mission Compound at Ku Cheng. His brother is a military graduate of the provincial degree and a man of some influence in the neighbourhood. He is one of the leaders and though we have no evidence against him in connection with the execution of the plan yet he was cognizant of it and has been guilty of taking part in all the violent and seditious acts of the organization. He gave no additional evidence.

September 3rd. 8th day of examination. Wong Ching Hok was the first prisoner brought into court this a.m. A strong, big man, 34 years old, a native of Ku Cheng city. He acknowledged being present at the fastness and going under pressure to Hwa Sang. He was told that soldiers had come to the help of the magistrate and the members must organize and the only way to escape was to join the expedition and obey the leaders. He arrived at the Hwa Sang houses late, when the others were about leaving and saw them carrying away loot. While this man was being examined another prisoner, Ik Wong Seng, who had previously been examined confessed that it was true he had been at the massacre.

At this moment a great uproar arose outside and shouts of an excited crowd reached us. We wondered what it could mean and all in court looked alarmed but a Yamen-runner came in and said it was due to the arrival of the famous “No 7” [Lin Hsiang-hsing] who had just been brought in. The noise and uproar still continued and then the city magistrate went out and quelled the disturbance. Soon two men came running into the court where we sat, one of them carrying the prisoner, “No. 7” on his back and the other holding a rope which was tied round the prisoner’s neck. The row had been caused by the soldiers wishing to remove him from the custody of his captors, the Lieng Kah or Home-guard of the place where he had been caught. The prisoner was hardly able to walk and his clothes were much stained with blood as he had been wounded on the arm and leg by his captors. He was caught in the upper part of this province in the Yong Ping

prefecture. He is a strong, bold, fearless looking man, and showed a disposition to treat the matter in a spirit of reckless bravado and a contempt for all regret or remorse.

Lin Hsiang-hsing, "No 7."



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

The next day **September 4th**, the 9th day of examination—he was brought before us.⁹ He had already been questioned by the magistrates and had openly confessed to sharing in the awful crime. His examination was mainly taken up by trying to get incriminating evidence as to other sharers in the crime. He has been well-treated by the magistrate because he told unhesitatingly his share in the doings of that terrible day. (Almost every prisoner hitherto examined had testified that this man was first to begin the attack.) He said he saw a lady outside the house and at once went for her and stabbed her with the trident spear he carried—she at once fell and rolled over a steep bank in front of the house. (This is supposed to be Miss Hessie Newcombe whose body was found down the bank.) He then assisted in the house. (He was afterwards accused by prisoner Wong Nong Tie of having killed one other lady inside the house and the two men being confronted

9 Hixson Report, paragraphs 591 ff.

he confessed that this was quite true, he had killed another lady—a short lady—inside the upper house.)

He then started for the house below where Miss Hartford, of American Mission stayed, intending to kill her. He knew she was down there because in the fourth month of this year he visited Hwa Sang¹⁰ and was shown the different houses by two Hwa Sang men who were of their body and they shewed him this house and told him she had rented it and was coming there in the summer. He said his intention was to kill her, and he attacked her with the same trident spear, but she was defended by her servant and he was knocked down and disabled so that when, presently, the retreat was ordered after the work was done, he could only walk a short distance and had to be carried in a chair taken from the upper house. (Note: As he went to attack Miss Hartford alone her servant had a chance to defend her. Some other men who started down the hill along with him turned aside in pursuit of some Chinamen they saw.) The signal for the attack to begin was the firing of a gun by Ho-Tiek. He gave very interesting evidence as to the reason why Hwa Sang was attacked. He said after the coming of “Long-finger Nails” to the fastness, they determined that they would raise the standard and resist the soldiers sent to quell them. They debated for several days as to the best means of obtaining support and the means for carrying on their enterprise and three plans were discussed. The first was to attack a rich man’s house in the village of Tang Teuk, about 9 miles from Hwa Sang, he having much paddy [rice] stored in the village; the second was to fire the city of Ku Cheng in several places at once and when the magistrate came out to see the fire to kill him and loot the houses of the well-to-do; the 3rd plan was to march by night to Hwa Sang and drive the foreigners out and loot their houses.¹¹ To decide which of these plans should be the one to follow they cast lots and for three nights in succession the lot fell on Hwa Sang. The lot was always taken by “Long-finger Nails” and he may have so arranged that the lot should fall on Hwa Sang. “Long-finger Nails” had obtained an immense influence on the men assembled at the fastness. He was a very skilful writer, as well as being a fortune-teller and pretending to supernatural powers, and produced a cleverly written piece of verse showing the intentions of the sect and their object in attacking foreigners.

10th day of examination, **September 6th**. On this day we examined 3 prisoners. First, was Ngang Ching-Ming-Kiang, who gave little evidence in addition to that already obtained. He acknowledged having taken par tin the business and having obtained a coverlet as his share of loot. There has been, of late, a strong disposition on part of prisoners examined to conceal the names of other men who were at Hwa Sang and participated in the massacre. The second man examined was Ting Chung-The. He had been incriminated by Lau Ing Cheng, the leader, and confessed to being there and to carrying off two suits of female clothing. He would give no names, and stubbornly denied the knowledge of any person who took part, except one man.

Here Col Hixson (American Consul) on behalf of the Court, drew the attention of the Magistrate to the fact that a number of prisoners had been released by him (the magistrate) without the knowledge of the Consuls and before they had been examined by the Consuls. A strong protest was made to the Prefect and City Magistrate and the re-arrest of prisoners was promised. This was a very important step as we have since heard that amongst those released were three who undoubtedly were at Hwa Sang. One of them, after re-arrest, confessed that he stabbed two children in the house and another was clearly convicted of having a large quantity of loot in his possession. This shows what a miserable set of men the officials are, and how strenuously they work to minimize any crime that is committed against foreigners.

The third prisoner was a miserable looking man, 46 years old, a native Seng Leng. He corroborated the evidence of others, confessed he was at Hwa Sang but refused to acknowledge that he was nearer the house than the bamboo grove some 100 ft away. He is, however, one of the most guilty and has been incriminated by many of the other prisoners including the leaders. He was local leader and had 100 or more men under him.

10 There are other references to this reconnaissance visit to Hwa Sang. A visit four months before the actual assault suggests that it was always the intention of the leaders of the Vegetarian movement to attack the missionaries. The earlier mention of communication with leaders in Foochow suggests that the murders had a wider purpose in the anti-foreign movement. This was the view expressed by the two Consuls in their reports, endorsed by Commander Newell USN in his report and generally reported in the media as the view of foreign residents in Foochow. The attack on Miss Mabel Hartford suggests that the Americans were at the same risk as the British although there are other indications that the British were the primary target and this attack was opportunistic by one individual rather than part of the master plan.

11 This account is often cited but in view of the visit to Hwa Sang mentioned it appears to be a tactic intended to divert attention from the wider connections of the local Vegetarian movement.

11th day of examination, **September 7th**. The morning sitting was spent in re-examining several prisoners. Wong Nong Tie repeated his former evidence about killing Mrs. Stewart and also asserted that “No 7” had killed a lady inside the house, which “No 7” now acknowledged. (This is supposed to have been Mrs. Stewart) and testified that three other men were guilty of being present. To Nong-Tie was also brought in again. He confessed that he stabbed a small foreigner about 12 years old, that he struck the little one, outside the house, on the leg, (This may have been Milly Stewart who had other wounds besides the severe one which severed the knee.) and that he saw a fellow villager, To Hwang-Kiang carrying off some things.

A little boy about 17 years was also brought in, at the request of Consuls. He is said to have been an active agent in carrying the papers to summon the “Vegetarians” to the fastness. He however, being a clever youth, and well coached, denied any knowledge of the matter at all.

The notorious “Long-finger Nails” was also brought in, and confronted with the seditious piece of verse which had been posted up at the fastness. He denied any knowledge of it, looked at it without moving a muscle of his face, and have read it said he knew nothing about it and had never seen it before. He is a consummate actor.

W Banister.

Note from Mrs. Banister: Since the above report reached me I have had letters which show that the Commission had come to a deadlock. A Prefect of high rank had arrived at Ku Cheng, presumable with powers to execute the prisoners already found guilty in the death penalty. But it turned out he had come “to make a bargain.” If Consuls would make an agreement to close the case then he could execute the convicted men, but not otherwise. Telegrams had been sent to Peking by the Consuls and the Prefect had telegraphed to Viceroy. The answer ought to have gone up by this time, but in the meantime things were looking very dark. Much harm had been done by a proclamation issued by the Ku Cheng magistrate in which he cleverly placed the Christians side by side with the murderers and others, and in fact put them in a worse place than those men.

This, with the release of the prisoners mentioned in this report, and the behaviour of the Prefect as to the execution of men found guilty seemed to have made my husband almost hopeless of getting any justice.

From other parts of the mission unfavorable reports are coming and it seems almost impossible to foretell the harm that may arise from failure to get these murders punished and protection really granted by the officials to the Christians. Mary Banister, Sep. 16th 1895.

12th day of examination, **September 11th**. After three days of inactivity we were again requested to continue the examination of prisoners. On the previous Saturday, the City Magistrate seemed much disturbed in his mind, and was glad to get rid of us after the re-examination of some prisoners already condemned.

The first prisoner today was Leing A-Pek, a native of Kwang-Seng, from which place several prisoners belong, and one of them guilty of murder. The prisoner confessed to going to Hwa sang in company with three other men, Lieng Koh-Chai, Wong Nong-tie and Lieng Seng. (The two latter have been tried and condemned.) He said, “I was on the left side of the house and saw four ladies standing together. Heard them say they would go to Ku Cheng and get money for ransom, but the man To Chie-Hi said the command had come and they must all die. There were 10 or 12 men surrounding these ladies. I did not go inside the house but got a small brown leather box which was on the ground outside. After the slaughter we all returned to the fastness, Wong Nong-tie had a coverlet.” Prisoner afterwards incriminated two other men, Yek Pang and Tai Ung-Seng.

The next prisoner, who persistently refused to confess until he was confronted by several other prisoners who testified against him, was also a Native of Kwang Seng, named Lieng Koh-Kieng. He said he did go to Hwa Sang, but was compelled by the other Vegetarians members of his village who threatened him with death unless he went with them. He afterwards confessed complicity with the crime. The next man, Ngu Pwoi Kiang, of Ui Song village, was captured with a quantity of loot in his possession, ladies evening apparel, a coverlet, and a table-cloth. He was a strong looking man of middle age. He surrendered himself in order that his younger brother might be released—illustrating a curious feature of Chinese thought. Both he and his brother are accused of complicity in the massacre, but the younger brother was caught some days earlier than himself and he thought if he gave himself up his brother might be released to look after the old mother who is 73 years old. This is possible in Chinese ethics, but whether it will succeed in this case I do not know. The prisoner said, “Went to the fastness before going to Hwa Sang, and went along with the

general company.” He at first had no weapon but was afterwards given a spear. The loot in his possession he stole from general stock brought to the fastness. He saw others stealing and he did the same, and hid the things in his own house.

At this stage in the proceedings a break occurred in the regularity of our sittings. The Consuls had heard from Peking that a Taotai had been appointed with plenary powers to conduct the case. He was as this time expected and the uncertainty of his arrival accounted for the fact that the Court did not sit from 7th to 11th. He arrived on the evening of the 10th, and called on the Consuls and members of the party at 10 o’clock a.m. on Thursday the 12th. After the ice had been broken and preliminaries gone through the Taotai was asked what his powers were and what he could do. At first we were under the impression that his powers were full and that he could see justice done without delay. He was asked to issue a proclamation undoing the mischief which the City Magistrate had done by a proclamation in which he placed the Vegetarians in a better light than the Christians, and gave permission for Vegetarians to be enrolled in the Home-guard (for protection of the towns. This the Taotai promised to do at once. But before the interview closed we discovered that the Taotai’s views and ours did not coincide. It appeared he had instructions to execute the criminals only when all had been captured and condemned and on condition that Consuls considered the case closed and settled on behalf of their governments. This of course the Consuls could not promise, and they moreover demanded that prisoners should be executed if they were found guilty and condemned, without delay. The Taotai could not be moved from his position and the interview closed in an unsatisfactory manner.

In the afternoon we returned the visit of the Taotai and the conversation of the morning was resumed. The Taotai showed Consuls his instructions from Peking, which gave him high authority to act in this matter but he was hampered by instructions from the Viceroy of Foochow which he had received two days before the arrival of the orders from Peking. The Viceroy has evidently been playing false to the Tsung-li Yamen and the foreign ministers. In the first place the Viceroy said that the Taotai had only been appointed to the Board of Foreign Trade in Foochow, whereas he had been appointed to settle the case. And Secondly, the Imperial telegram said, “How is it that the foreign ministers keep saying that no plenipotentiary has been appointed?” What answer the Viceroy gave to this is not known but it is plain that some underhand work has been going on either in the Tsung-li Yamen or the Viceroy’s Yamen at Foochow. It is for our Ministers to find out. The Consuls presented a despatch to the Taotai asking him if he re-affirmed what he said in the morning and though no categorical reply was given it was understood that such was the case. Another surprise was in store for us—he solemnly asked the Consuls how many heads would satisfy the demands of the foreigners as he was prepared to give as many as they wanted if they would at once close the case. Of course their reply was the same as in the morning, viz., that the closing of the case was an international affair and out of their province—the only thing to do at present was to punish the guilty criminals and that speedily. The Interpreter told us that Taotai was sending telegrams to the Viceroy to ask for power to execute as the Consuls wished, otherwise he would return to Foochow. The Consuls telegraphed the state of affairs to Peking, and instructions ought soon to arrive. In the meantime not more sittings of court will take place, although we were asked to go down today. Though the local officials have worked well and the real criminals have been captured yet there seems to be a feeling of resentment in their minds at the presence of outside pressure, and all that they have done and will do is in this spirit.

The examination of prisoners by the joint Court was not resumed till the **18th September** the interval being taken in waiting for further instructions from Peking, and to hear what replay the Taotai received from the Viceroy. After waiting till the 16th the Taotai called on us at 3.30 in the afternoon and said he had received instructions from the Viceroy to proceed with the execution of chief criminals. (A list of 13 condemned criminals had been approved by Prefect and Consuls and forwarded to the Viceroy for his approval of sentence.) The Taotai said he had only instructions to execute 7 of the actual murderers. To this Consuls gave only partial approval, reaffirming their position viz., that according to Chinese law laid down by Prefect and Magistrates in open Court every member of the band who went to Hwa Sang was guilty of death, and they must demand the passing of death sentence on every one, the consideration of clemency to any being a matter for after consideration. At the same time they agreed to the immediate execution of the 7 criminals. The Taotai was again pressed to issue the proclamation he had promised in his previous visit, but had not yet issued and again he promised it. He said he could not agree, over the head of the Viceroy, to the death sentence being passed on all found guilty but promised to refer the matter again to Foochow.

The execution of the 7 men took place next morning, September 17th, at 6 a.m. All members of our party were present but Capt. Newell and myself. We were told that the public ceremony of condemning the prisoners to death was impressive and held in the great hall of the Yamen, but the execution itself was a ghastly affair. The 7 men executed were:

Lieng Nang Ming Who helped to kill Mr. Stewart.

Lieng Hwang Kiang “

Lieng Sing Who helped to kill the C.E.Z. ladies.

Yek Ming Nek Who helped to kill Herbert Stewart.

Tai Nu Long Who helped to kill the ladies.

Lui Kui Su Who killed one of the ladies and fired the house.

Ing KingSuh Who helped to kill either Miss Nellie Saunders or Lena Yellop, the nurse.

These men had all confessed and there is no doubt of their guilt as their evidence was corroborated and confirmed in many points by evidence of many others.

The Poverty Bay Herald, 22 January 1896.

THE EXECUTIONS AT KUCHENG

A CORRESPONDENT of a London paper, in a letter dated from Foochow, gives the following description of seven men condemned to death for the Kucheng massacre:—

The foreign commissioners, with the exception of Commander Newell and Mr. Banister, left their quarters early, and reached the magistrate's yamen at 6.15 a.m. They at once took seats just outside the great gate. The Taotai and Prefect were sitting at a table in the centre, while a double row of soldiers lined the way to the gate at the street, 100yards off. As the commissioners took their seats a drum was beaten, and a salute fired. Then each of the condemned was brought from his cell and conducted rapidly up to the officials, before whom he knelt for a moment, and was tumbled into a cage, and a bamboo stuck down his back, to which was fastened a piece of paper on which the sentence was written. When this part of the ceremony was over the prefect and magistrate donned scarlet robes and scarlet hoods, and the line of march was taken up the execution ground near the river, just outside the city gate. At a given signal and condemned knelt with their backs to the official stand, and the five executioners began their bloody work. When the heads were off the whole vast concourse of people sent up a great shout, clapped their hands, and departed. The heads are now hung in conspicuous places about the city.¹²

The First Men to be Executed at Kucheng.



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

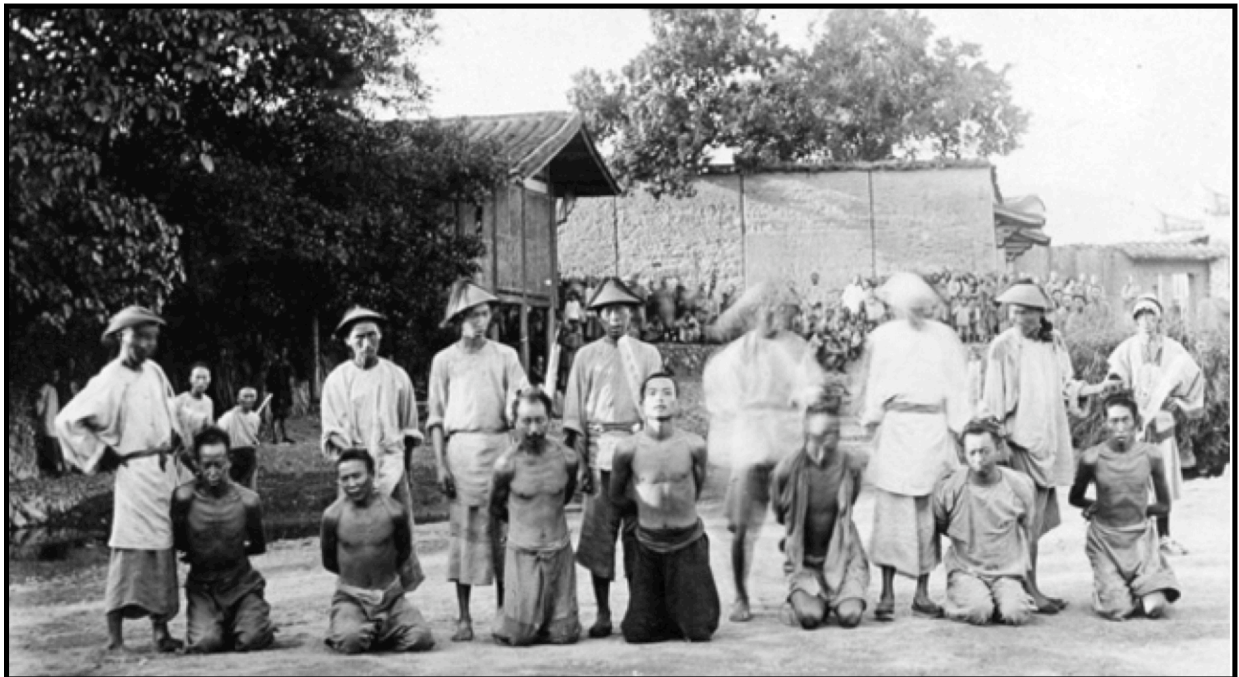
12 The last sentence suggests that the description was given to the correspondent who was not personally present. The heads were not hung about the city but on trees in the neighbourhood of the village of Huashan as shown in the photographs following.

**Brought to Execution in Cages, Kucheng.
17th September 1895.**



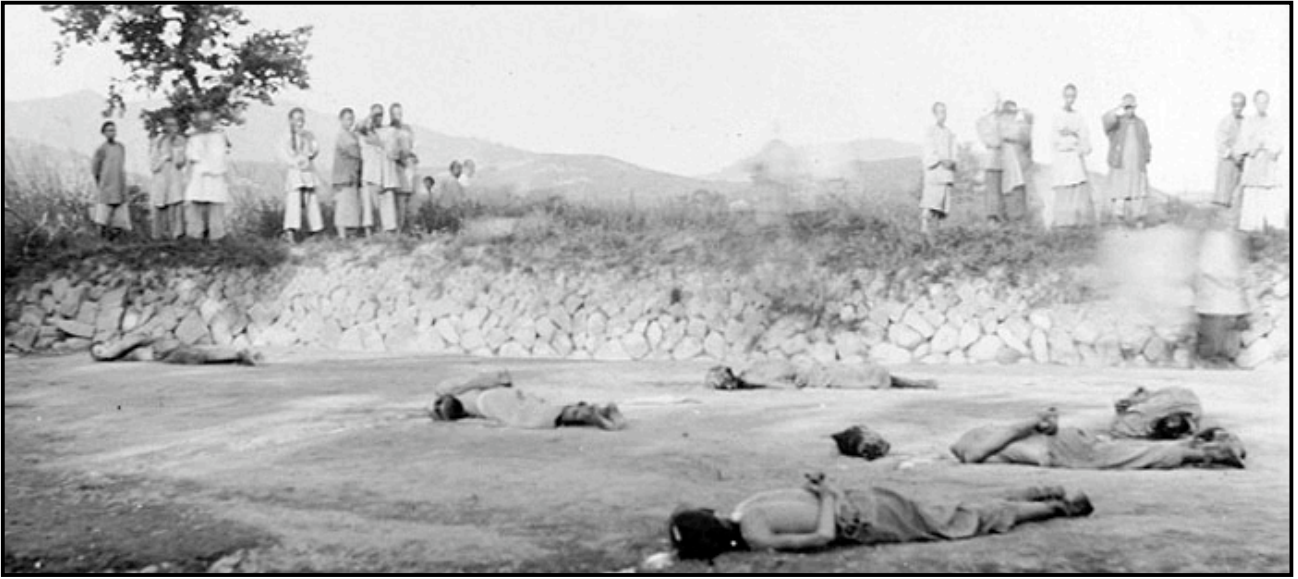
Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

Just Before Execution, Kucheng



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

Decapitated Bodies, Kucheng.



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

Heads of Prisoners on Display at Huashan.



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

Executioners and Swords, Kucheng.



Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of East Asia, Lyons University, France.

It was now arranged that we should resume examination of prisoners and accordingly we again met on the morning of **September 18th**. The first examined on Sept. 18th was Hu Cheng-Swi of Ming Yong. He said, "I joined the Vegetarians in 2nd month of the present year. I went to the fastness on the 7th and spent a night there. During the time I was there I saw all the leaders (mentioned in previous evidence). I wanted to go away but the others would not let me and said they would kill me if I deserted. Went to Hwa Sang in the company of To Chio-hi, I did not go into the house." The prisoner here got confused and contradicted himself. At first he said he was some distance from the house, and afterwards confessed to have been by the ladies when the order to kill them was given by Chio-Hi. Asked who it was who pleaded for the life of the ladies and he said it was himself. He got as loot a small box which was thrown out on the flat outside the house. He was given a sword by Tu Paik-Cheong and Tai Mi-Long who were in the hut from whence weapons were taken. There were other weapons there all freshly ground and sharpened. Received summons to go to fortress from Long-finger nails, but do not know who carried it. Was told that soldiers had come to capture some members of our body and that we must organize for defense. The next prisoner was Ling Kai-Liong, or Ting Hwang King, a wicked looking man with a bold and fearless air. He was without irons on his legs and this being a suspicious circumstance he was asked how it was and replied that one of the Yamen underlings had borrowed them and put them on another prisoner. The men in charge of the prisoners was brought in and scolded by the magistrate but all denied having done anything of the kind and said the man had taken them off himself. There was great excitement over it but doubtless the cause was that the underlings had been bribed. All the prisoners are so confined that outsiders can have interviews with them and the runners and underlings are all bribed by relatives and friends of the prisoners. There is not a single individual in the Yamen who does not take bribes. It is possible to get any document and any information by paying money to the proper persons. The prisoner confesses to having gone to Hwa Sang with Lieng Seng Chai and Lieng Seng. He said, "I arrived at Hwa Sang at early dawn. I did not go to the house but I saw 4 or 5 persons who did. (He had previously confessed that he attempted to kill one little foreigner, and struck him, when the child fell over.) Saw Ling Hwang-Kiang kill one of the foreigners and also saw To Nong Sie attempt to kill a younger girl on the bed (Mildred Stewart?) He took some loot and fled away with the others. Afterwards got a quilt and share of loot at the fastness.

At this moment the word was brought in that the notorious leader who carried the flag was coming in with his captors. He came in handcuffed and with strong chains on his legs. He was a strong looking man of middle age in the ordinary clothing of a farmer in this district. He had been captured by a military officer in the North of the province, having travelled there as a hawker of ducklings of which he is a breeder. He is familiar with all the northern part of the province. This prisoner To Nong Sie was in court having been brought in to testify that Ling Kai Leong was at Hwa Sang. Nong Sie is a native of Su Ngang., To Chio-Hi's village, and recognized him in court as his relative. This concluded our examination for the day.

14th day of examinations, **September 19th**. Ngang Ching Kiang, a middle aged man from the village of Kung Sang, the hamlet below the fastness, and alias Ko Kiang, said, "I went to the fastness and saw the leaders and I went with the rest to Hwa Sang. I only had a wooden spear as weapon. Do not know the men who entered the house first. I went in and saw a foreigner dead on the bed, and another lying on the floor. (Mr. and Mrs. Stewart.) I took away three feather pillows, a curtain, a small pan and a work basket which I found outside the house. I took this loot to the fastness. I did not see Ching Ming Kiang kill anyone but heard others say that he had. I saw two beds in the room I went in but the bedding had been removed except the things I took away myself." Here Ngang China Ming Kiang, the prisoner incriminated above was brought in and denied having killed anyone but afterwards confessed to the truth of the statement made. On being questioned he showed an intimate and guilty knowledge of the circumstances of the killing of several ladies and is without any doubt guilty of the capital crime. He is a brutal looking fellow of massive limbs.

The next prisoner, To Hwang-Kiang is a native of the same village as the leader to Chio-Hi and a member of the clan. He is a sickly looking youth of 18 years in a perfectly bloodless condition. He said, "I went to Hwa Sang with two other men. I had refused to go but they threatened me. I had a bamboo and a sword. I did not go into the house. I sat on the hill side crying. To Nong Tie gave me some bowls which I took away and left at the fastness. I gave the things to Lieng Seng-Chai at the fastness. I afterwards went with Lay Ingo Cheng to the house of Hu Cheng Hwi and then again to the fastness and then separated on the 16th. Yik Ming Eung fired a gun as the signal. I saw Lang Taw-Kiang with a gold watch."

The Ringleaders of the Massacre.



LEFT: Tu Chu-yi, the flagbearer—the man who ordered the deaths of the captured CEZMS women.
Cheng-Huai, “Long Fingernails,” the man sent from Foochow to implement the massacre.
Lui Hsiang-hing, the original Vegetarian organizer who sought to warn Rev. Robert Stewart.
Chang Ch’i, a former yamen “runner” (policeman) and key planner of attack at Huashan.
NOTE: The men’s names vary widely in the documents due to dialect differences.

Tu-Chi-yi in Cage, Part of the Chinese Torture Process to Extact Confessions.



Handtinted image published in *The Victorian Peeper*,
online 1 June 2010 at <http://victorianpeeper.blogspot.com/>

The next prisoner has been incriminated by others as being guilty of participation in the outrage. His name Tai Mung-Chu connects him with a large clan almost all of which are Vegetarians. He gave his evidence in a hesitating sort of way as if he was keeping much back and only giving out what he could not manage to keep. He said, "I went to the fastness and to Hwa Sang but I did not go into the house. I got as loot a few handkerchiefs and a piece of embroidered cloth. These I gave up to Lang Tau Kiang. I saw one lady lying at the back door of the upper house." Prisoner gave the names of 10 men of his village who were Vegetarians some of whom are guilty of murder.

15th day of examination. Saturday, September 21st. this morning before the Court opened 4 head prisoners, Long finger nails, To Chio Hi, Lau Ing Cheng, Tiong Chiah, were photographed by Dr. Gregory.



To Chio Hi, 52 years of age, was now examined. He has been referred to by all the prisoners as the flag-bearer of the expedition and the man who waved the flag and gave command to kill all the five ladies who were standing together. He described his introduction to Long finger nails, to whom he was brought by a man named Tai Ki Liong. "Long-fingers" told his fortune and said sorrow was coming on him unless he did something desperate to ward off the evil. The chief members decided to meet at Kung Sang Koi, the fastness, At first only leaders were present but afterwards others came until there were about 30 or 40. (The prisoner had quite evidently been warned by his friends and the officials not to give high numbers as present either at the fastness or Hwa Sang. The leaders discussed the alternative projects mentioned by others in evidence, viz., Hwa Sang, Tang Teuk, or the city. Some wanted one project, some another and all from different motives. At length lots were drawn and Hwa Sang decided on. Ming Ching Chek, or No. 7, wanted to go to Hwa Sang and nowhere else.

The prisoner did not add anything to our knowledge of the circumstances of the massacre as we expected he would do. He refused to give any names and when the list given by Lau Ing Cheng was read to him he only acknowledged 3 or 4 and denied that these went to Hwa Sang. He was confronted with Long finger nails and the two men blamed each other for the troubles which had come on them. He said he fled north with

Kong Chen Siong and was captured by the military officer.

This officer called on me, afterwards, and described the capture of the villain. His knowledge of the upper parts of the country enabled him to get away to a colony of lumbermen on the borders of the province. His whereabouts were discovered by Chio Chung-Sie, the military officer, by bribes to different persons. When he found he had got the true scent he went up with a small guard of found Chio-Hi in the in this lumber colony. He asked him his name and address and Chio-Hi said he was from Foochow, but on being seized he confessed that he was the true So Chio-Hi. The officials had offered a reward of \$900 for this man, as for each of the other heads of the Society.

16th day of examination. **September 23rd**. The first prisoner today was Lung Kung Hwong, alia Lieng Kick, an old man of 64 years. He had already been examined by the magistrates and confessed to having gone to Hwa Sang, but now, before the Court, he refused to acknowledge this. He acknowledged going to fastness with another man from his native village, but nothing more. He was removed as no amount of exhortation could elicit anything from him.

Although there is no evidence connecting him with murder he says he saw the four ladies lying dead on the ground after the command to kill had been given by To Chio Hi, and then he went into the ladies house and took away what loot he could, consisting of some handkerchiefs and ladies clothing.

The man tried to work upon our feelings and said he knew me and had seen Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and was overcome with grief at the terrible death which had come to them.

Kong Cheng Tiong, from the village of Lang Seng was next examined. He is a thin, spare man, underfed, and an evident vagabond. He professes to be a coolie and lumber man. He confessed that he went to the fastness on the 9th of the moon, and then with the rest on to Hwa Sang, and that he shared in the plunder.

The next prisoner was from the Ping Ang district, a native of a town called Wong-Chio-Lang, A poor wretched-looking fellow. He said, "I met To Chio Hi at a place called Kang Ka and he took me and two others to the fastness. I went to Hwa Sang. I did not take a weapon myself but was given a spear. I arrived at Hwa Sang at day-break with the others but I took no part in the massacre. I stood in the potato patch just

below the houses. I got a blanket which I afterwards threw away.” In his previous examination he said he stood on the flat near the upper house. And he now said he did not see Ming Chiang Chek but if he stood where he says he did he must have seen him. He is reported to have boasted in his own neighbourhood that he was wearing Stewart’s clothing and that he had blood on his hands which he refused to wash off.

Chui Liong Ting, a small shop-keeper from Lang Seng was next brought before us. This man was wanted for other crimes and the magistrates look on him as a bad character. He denied having gone to Hwa Sang and we could elicit no information from him at all.

Lai Chioo-Ing-Pah, a rather well known offender and prominent local leader in the Society was the brought in. He is very well-off and is said to have spent money freely in the Yamen since his arrest. He positively denied everything and we could do nothing with him.

17th day of examination. **September 24th**. The Magistrate and prefect having released a number of suspects without the consent or cognizance of the Consuls they protested and demanded that they be re-arrested. Of these, nine men have come back and it was now proposed that they should be brought before the Court and released on security being taken. On enquiry it was found their bondsmen had disappeared and were not to be found. They were therefore remanded until the bondsmen were forthcoming.

The prisoner Li Ki Sioh was now examined. He was taken but a few days ago. He is an important prisoner and guilty of murder, as his evidence shows. He is a short wicket looking man. Several prominent criminals, some still at large, and one since dead, belong to his village, Ling Seuk Yong. He is a charcoal burner, 33 years of age, and has two brothers. His younger brother has been held in custody as security for his capture. He said, “I went to fastness and then on to Hwa Sang after saluting the flag with the others. We arrived at day-light and I entered house with others. I saw Ling Hwang Kiang kill Mr. Stewart. I saw Mr. Stewart lying on the bed and Mrs. Stewart on the floor. I struck them both with a wood-chopper. (He said they were dead when he struck them but it is more likely he was participate in the actual murder.) I heard children crying in the next room. I afterwards went in there and stole the clock produced. I was then called by Li Siong Ping to help carry the loot away.” On cross-examination by the Consuls he said that in the inner room he saw the body of a woman lying on the floor and two children besides it. One was about 5 years old and one younger. The younger one was lying near the feet of the lady and the other standing at her side. This may have been either the nurse Lena or Miss Nellie Saunders. Most probably the latter as prisoner said the body was of a large person with full face. The children were, of course, Evan Stewart and baby [Hilda] Stewart. “The children did not appear to be injured. I did not see the ladies in the other house as after looting the upper house I carried loot away as before stated.” After prisoner was removed his brother came in and requested permission to return home. This was granted, after a lecture from Taotai on the iniquity of the Society. Subsequently two men were brought in and reprimanded for spreading false reports about the intentions of the Prefect.

The Prefect is reported to have said that the Christians were a troublesome sect of people and that after the Vegetarians were dealt with he would proceed to deal with them. This these two men had repeated, one at the very door of the Yamen and one in the country. The case having been reported to the officials these men were called in. They denied having said any such thing, though they had called on me, had acknowledged repeating this, and had begged me to intercede for them with the Prefect. As I wished to have them publicly rebuked, I had told them I would forgive them but they must ask the Prefect’s pardon before the Court, and yet here in Court they denied it all. After some exhortation by Prefect and Taotai they confessed and asked the pardon of the Court. I have little doubt but that the Prefect did use the words imputed to him, as it is well known that both he and the city magistrate are deeply annoyed at the amount of information we get, and at the large number of names we obtained through the native Christians. Their actions have clearly proved that what they do in the matter they are doing on compulsion, and that they will have a great grudge against the Christians.¹³ The duplicity and double dealing of the Chinese officials is simply incredible.¹⁴ After very considerable delay the Taotai was induced to order the issue of a

13 The corollary of Banister’s remark is that the local people, for it was not only Christians who informed on the Vegetarians, distrusted the local and provincial officials and welcomed the chance to use an alternative authority system. Other references indicate that subordinate staff in the Yamen provided the Consuls with drafts of various documents as soon as they were written.

14 Readers should keep in mind references to the failure of American officials to deal with anti-Chinese riots and murders in the United States. It is not surprising that Chinese officials resented having to account to foreigners for

proclamation, informing the people and the home-guard of the towns that ‘Vegetarians’ could not be admitted into the home guard of any place until a year had passed away and there had been no further trouble with the body in the districts of Ku Cheng and Ping Nang, and then only after investigation by the local officials and assurance given that they had of their own accord left this Society. Another condition insisted on by Consuls was that the Lieng Kak should be furnished with copies of this proclamation as their permanent instructions. This was designed to counteract the pernicious effort of a heinous proclamation issued by the District Magistrate under which members of the Society were allowed to join the home guard on apparent amendment (without any security thereof.) The draft of Taotai’s proclamation was submitted to Consuls and approved, and we were fairly satisfied that good would be the result of it. Today we were amazed and astonished beyond measure to find that yesterday the District Magistrate had issued the new proclamation with instructions to Lieng Kak containing the same objectionable phrases as before and bearing no resemblance whatever to the Taotai’s draft and still admitting the seditious vegetarians to the home guard without any reference to the local magistrates, and making no mention of the absolute prohibition for a year from this time. In fact it was almost identical with the one to which we had so objected, and this in the face of the fact that in some villages the heads of the Leing Kak are friends and relations of some of the blood-thirsty criminals who planned and carried out the murder, in cold blood, of innocent and helpless women and children. One’s blood boils with indignation at such gross deception and fraud, such utter heartlessness, on the part of the constituted authorities, which convicts them of issuing direct incentives to wrong and criminality. The Consuls at once sent in a copy of each of these documents issued, and also of Taotai’s promised proclamation and asked for explanation. On the following morning they waited on the Taotai for his explanation and he said he had scolded the District Magistrate for his conduct and he had put the blame on his underlings and said they had not obeyed his instructions. This is the usual thing in China, the underlings are blamed when it is not convenient to punish the official. In the afternoon one of the Deputies paid us a visit informally, to find out how we had got our information, and to further whitewash the District Magistrate. He was told that we knew all about it, and we knew the Taotai was going to tell us that it was the writers in the Yamen who had made a mistake! This morning a deputation of writers from the Yamen waited on me and informed me the unfortunate scapegoat had been put in the cangue and sent round to Taotai’s Yamen and there exposed to the gaze of the public. They wished me to intercede with the English Consul to ask for the man’s release. All the time the real offender is the district magistrate. The deputation said, “Water always flows down stream and never up,” meaning by that, that although this was the fault of the man higher in power, yet they, the underlings, must bear the blame.

Today the other members of Commission have gone to pay an official visit to the scene of the massacre. They are accompanied by Prefect and one of the Deputies.

We have now arrived at the end of our investigation of the chief criminals and have now to take up the subordinate cases. The Viceroy is doing his very best to delay the settlement of the case. Nearly one month ago there were sent to him 13 names of persons found guilty and sentenced to death. Sentence approved of both by Prefect and Consuls. He sent out orders for the execution of 7 only. These were executed on the 17th instant. The Consuls have again insisted on the death penalty being passed on the remaining men, reserving to themselves the right of showing any clemency to any of them. More than 10 days have passed and no reply has come from the Viceroy. I feel that now the real conflict with the Chinese authorities will begin, and that something more will have to be done than the Consuls have power to do.

proceedings in their courts when the Americans refused to take court action against known murderers and anti-Chinese rioters in the United States.

Huashan—Ruins of Foreign Mission Houses.
25 September 1895



Commissioners Inspection at Haushan.



Picture probably taken by Dr. J. J. Gregory.
J C Oswald Collection, Visual Cultures of Asia, Lyons University, France

The Viceroy is determined to minimize the whole thing and unless pressure of a determined kind is brought to bear on him the result will be that the position of foreigners in Fuh Kien will be worse than before the massacre, because the people will feel, the punishment for such an awful crime being of such an inadequate character, they need fear very little even in a still more atrocious crime is committed in the treaty port. Justice will certainly be frustrated and important criminals escape unless some pressure is brought to bear on the Viceroy in Foochow. The officials here are bound hand and foot by his instructions and dare not deviate in the least from them. In the meantime we are sickened with the delay to enforce punishment for such an awful deed of crime and the desire to reduce the question to the status of a mere street brawl in which lives have been lost, and to be settled by arithmetical computation of heads. It is inconceivable that a ruler of many millions of people should make such astounding statements as have been made by the Viceroy, through Taotai, to the Commission. On one occasion he said if we could only settle definitely how many heads we would require and at same time agree to close the case, he would have the number required executed at once. Again only yesterday he said that if many people were executed the names of the victims would be troubled in the other world. If he meant this to be taken seriously it shows he is incompetent to realise the gravity of such a crisis as the present, and if he meant it as a gruesome joke he showed a callousness and a brutality which equally unfits him for dealing with civilized people. He does not seem to understand that the worthlessness and incompetency of the representatives of his effete government are responsible for the existence of these murderous bands and the perpetration of this appalling crime.

September 28th. Since writing the above Mr. Mansfield has had a telegram informing him that the Peking authorities agree to all criminals being sentenced according to law. This seemed to end the matter and give Consuls the authority required to compel the Chinese authorities to do justice. Telegram said Viceroy had also been informed of this, and when the Taotai and Prefect came, in the afternoon, we thought an arrangement would be made, but again we were doomed to disappointment. The Taotai told us that he had received instructions from the Viceroy but no such authority to act as Peking telegram said, had been given in them. There was a long interview during which Mr. Mansfield and Col. Hixson made it very unpleasant for the officials. They are all greatly culpable, but the chief offender and cause of obstruction is the Viceroy in Foochow who sets Peking at defiance and puts his own interpretation on the instructions and on the law. The Taotai said he would send up the instructions give him by Viceroy, which he did, and found that the Viceroy placed the crime committed at Hwa Sang in the same category as a street brawl or private quarrel in which persons are killed. He says nothing of the band of armed men who have been terrorizing the country for a year and who met 300 strong at the fastness and there planned the expedition which culminated in the murder of our friends and the plundering and burning of their houses. Nor of the long night march, of 15 miles or more, over the country, nursing plunder and murder in their hearts all the while. Nor of the sudden surprise at the moment when our friends were most helpless, some of them being in bed at the time. If England permits this horrible deed to pass over by this Viceroy and his officials then may her people here in the East lost all faith in her honour and prestige.

Now that we have come to the end of the names of prisoners who have confessed to being at Hwa Sang, the officials feel that our work is done and we may go away. None of the leaders and instigators have been executed as yet. There are more than 100 men at large who went to Hwa Sang, yet the officers in charge of troops have returned to the city and in some cases the soldiers also have been recalled. All these things point to a general and authorized plan to do nothing more. Men in all the country side are boasting of having gone to Hwa Sang, and some of them of having drunk the blood of the victims; and they are sharpening their weapons for a general massacre of the Christians which they say will take place as soon as we and the soldiers withdraw. The matter of the proclamation is still unsettled and altogether than outlook is of the gloomiest kind.

W, Banister, Ku Cheng, September 28th.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to CMS London, 27 September 1895.

Cable from Foochow

Viceroy and local officials strenuously impeding attainment of justice proclamations harassing native Christians unless pressure exercise on Viceroy result of investigations will be utterly inadequate and work impossible. Banister.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 28 September 1895.

Ku Cheng, Foochow, 28 September 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

A few days ago I sent a telegram to you which described the state of things here as well as the brevity of a telegram permits. It does not exaggerate in the least the real condition of things.

Christians would not approve of severe retaliation but justice and care for the future demand that substantial punishment should fall upon these wicked men.

The real and most culpable criminals are the officials who have presided here for the last two years, and who have permitted a band of organized ruffians to terrorise the country and oppress innocent people.

The attitude which the Viceroy takes up is that the crime is in the same category as a street row or private brawl. He openly and defiantly alters the instructions from Peking to suit his pleasure.

There has been no promise whatever of protection for the future except that soldiers shall remain for an indefinite period in the district but the promises of Chinese officials are worthless. As a rule they mean nothing. It is now more than 20 days since a proclamation was issued in which the Vegetarians, a sect guilty of sedition, murder and plunder, were classed with the Christians, and placed in a better light than the latter in the eyes of the people. Everywhere the people are saying that it was the intention of the officials to exterminate the Christians when they had finished with the Vegetarians.

There have been repeated promises to have this withdrawn and others substituted but so far while there has been guilty fraud on the part of the City Magistrate, to avoid withdrawing the offensive proclamation, the fact remains that up to the present it is in force all over the district. The result is that everywhere the Vegetarians are raising their heads and while sharpening their weapons are threatening future massacres when we withdraw after our investigation is over.

The Consuls are doing their very best and have exhausted all their powers of persuasion.

Our only hope is that the Minister at Peking and the Foreign Office at home will realize the extreme gravity of the situation and feel that the interests of our people all over China are deeply involved in the settlement of this case.

I believe when we withdraw that the Christians will suffer great persecution, notwithstanding the promises of protection which will be made by the local officials.

I have as yet heard no definite proposal for the protection even of missionaries against the expected threats of vengeance by the Vegetarians upon all foreigners who may come to Ku Cheng. While no attempt is made to restrain these people it is difficult to see how work can be resumed by either mission. It will be testing time for the native church organisation and the faith and devotion of the native Christians will be put to the proof.

I am sure you will not cease to pray for us and all the dear native brethren. I am sending a report of our daily proceedings to Mr. Stock which will give you some information about the nature of our work of investigation. I am yours very truly, W. Banister.

P.S. I see from the times that Bishop Burdon has resigned. This is the first intimation I have had. If this is true I hope you will bear in mind that this is the time to give FuhKien a Bishop of its own.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to CMS London, 29 September 1895.

From Suikow. Vegetarians again aggressive situation daily becomes graver inform foreign office. Banister.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, Church Missionary Society, London, 7 October 1895.

Ku Cheng, Foochow, 7 October 1895.

My dear Mr. Stock,

My reports have been sent to you by each mail from Foochow by Mrs. Banister. You will therefore have a good idea of the course of events since we began our work of investigation. Our work is now practically over—at least the first stage of the investigation. Out of over 60 persons brought before the court we have convicted 45 who are guilty of actual murder or direct complicity with it. Of these 7 only have been executed, 5 others have refused to confess that they were at Hwa Sang and this leaves 33, one of whom has since died in prison. The rest will all have the death sentence passed on them but some will not suffer death. We have absolute proof that about 160 people were at the Hwa Sang massacre. These men ought all to be captured and punished and could be if the officials so willed. We have ascertained the names of these uncaptured criminals and urged the mandarins to arrest them but under orders from the Viceroy of Foochow they are not doing anything to capture them.

This had brought about the deadlock in the work of the Commission and unless something is done by the government our work will be incomplete and the Vegetarians will be encouraged to further acts of violence. In fact they are even now in many places openly making threats of future vengeance on those who have assisted in bringing their fellows to justice. Their anger is openly directed against the home guards and the native Christians. They are encouraged in this by the attitude of the District Magistrate and the Prefect who have openly expressed their disapproval of the Native Christians in supplying us with names of criminals and other important information without which the foreign portion of the Commission would have been completely at the mercy of the native officials and corrupt Yamen underlings. The information which they have given has been very valuable and the Consul has expressed his gratification for the services rendered by them.

But what about the future? None of us knows what is before us and what the immediate future will bring to us all personally, and what it will bring in the work we have so much at heart. The whole of China seems seething with excitement and it is directed in two ways—against the foreigner, and against the reigning dynasty. The people are persuaded and with good cause I think that nothing can be worse than the present state of things, and they are therefore ready to aid and abet any movement which may bring change. This excitement is directed according to local circumstances, in one place foreigners are the object of attack, in another the officials or their representatives. The papers I sent you by this mail will show you how wide spread is the spirit of discontent. People are telling each other that the end of this dynasty has come.

The martyrdom of dear Stewart and the other sainted and beloved workers may or may not be the last stroke, but it surely is one link in the chain of events which will assuredly lead to the transformation of the empire.

The papers have just come to me from Foochow containing the reports of the action of the Committee and the many expressions of sympathy from friends at home. It will help us not a little to know that our friends are doing their best for us at this time.

As I have looked from day to day into the faces of these men who so cruelly shed the blood of God's dear saints, and as I have heard their callous confession and description of the way they committed the awful crime, I have asked myself why should the stainless ones die thus, and these men and others like them live.

Through our tears of bitter grief we can only look up to God and believe that though we know not now, we shall know hereafter that their sacred blood has not been shed in vain. Fuh Kien is becoming hallowed soil, brought by the blood of the martyrs. The true apostolic succession shall never be severed, and I know there are many now at home in England who are ready to take the place of these fallen standard bearers.

A little while ago I received an account in Chinese of the last few days at Hwa Sang. It was written by Nellie Saunders' teacher. The party had been keeping their Keswick week on the 'Mount of Glory' (for Hwa Sang may be thus translated, soon to be for them the glorious mount of their transfiguration into Christ's glorious image).

Elsie Marshall was the last speaker and she spoke on Luke IX 29, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whomever will lose his life for my sake the same shall find it.' Prophetic words soon realised and fulfilled for them all. 'For His sake' they yielded up their lives and now know what it means. NO more mists

and clouds, no more doubts and fears, all all known in eternal light and glory. Their faithfulness unto death will be forever a blessed memory for the Fuh Kien Church.

I am sending a photo of the Commission as it sat in Court. I enclose a tracing of the persons. I hope to send a number of others when I get back to Foochow. I think Mrs. Banister has sent some to you already.

I am, Yours very truly, W Banister.

Report No 7. 12th October.—
The North China Herald, 8 November 1895.

12th October.—The Commission of Enquiry at Kucheng has now arrived at the second stage of its labours—the stage when the Chinese authorities think they have done enough to appease the desire of the foreigners for retribution. It was inevitable that this point should be reached, and also that the two governments concerned would have to decide on the amount of pressure needed to enlighten the representatives of law and order in China as to the gravity of the present situation and as to their duty at the crisis.

After waiting patiently for two weeks—and after many hours spent in consultations, writing of telegrams and correspondence with Peking and Foochow, Mr. Mansfield decided upon the important step of a visit to Foochow for a personal interview with the Viceroy. He left Kucheng accompanied by myself on the 11th of October, and arrived in Foochow on 12th of October, just two months after the Commission left Foochow for the scene of the inquiry. You all know what has been accomplished in those two months, but the most optimistic friend of China can hardly say that her officials have made adequate efforts to arrest and punish the men guilty of this dastardly crime, or that any serious attempt was made to deal with the case in the spirit and manner its gravity demanded.

The weekly edition of the *Times*, dated the 9th of August, in due time reached me at Kucheng and in that issue I find it stated that Sir H. Macartney gave assurances to the Foreign Office that the Tsungli (Zongli) Yamen were fully alive to the gravity of the case and proclamations and instructions had been issued to the provincial authorities to punish the offenders and protect the lives and property of missionaries and residents in China. This was intended for the British public, but the writer knows as well as any resident in China that the Emperor's writ does not run in this Empire and that orders issued by the Tsungli Yamen can only be carried out by the will and at the pleasure of the Viceroys or Governors of the provinces—and that any one of these Viceroys or Governors can snap his fingers at the Tsungli Yamen and alter, or evade, or comply with the instructions just as it pleases him.

The present moment is opportune for reviewing the conduct of the officials engaged in this case, viewed from within the Commission, and to show how far they have proved willing to act up to Sir H. Macartney's promises. To begin with the event of the awful 1st of August, the 11th of the Chinese moon. The massacre was committed in the early dawn, and before 8 a.m. the sole remains of a happy party were the smoking ruins of two cottages, the ashes of one-half of the party, the bodies of the ladies lying on the hillside, and the wounded survivors gathered in Miss Hartford's cottage. In Kucheng at this hour there was a Deputy Ho, a former magistrate, and he, in the presence of Dr. Gregory, wrote a telegram informing the Viceroy of what had occurred; this telegram reached the office at Suikow 30 miles off, at 7 p.m. the same day and was received by the Viceroy before his evening meal was finished. All the world besides was ignorant of the tragedy, but the Viceroy knew, yet he made no sign and gave no information to the representatives of the two nations concerned. The whole of Friday passed, still he said no word—no intimation was given from the *yamen* to the Consuls of England and America though there had been time to telegraph the news all round the world. Late that night a crumpled note written by the Rev. S Phillips from Whasang reached me. It said: 'The Vegetarians have risen—an awful thing has happened—five of our ladies are killed—the Stewarts are missing, but supposed safe.' Then for the first time the news was made known to the outside world. Another night passed without any sign from the Viceroy—and when Col. Hixson saw him on the Saturday morning to ask for the use of a launch for the relief of the survivors he made light of the matter and refused at first the use of a launch. Now comes another link in the chain of sequences which has resulted in the present deadlock. The Viceroy despatched the Foochow prefect to investigate and report, before he saw or communicated with any representative of the outside world—the while the blood of our honoured dead was soaking into the soil of Whasang. The prefect arrived at Kucheng on the 5th August, the 15th day of the Chinese moon, and lost no time in making his report, such as it was, the said report being made on the 20th of the moon, five days after his arrival.

On the arrival of the Commission at Kucheng, private information was given me that the report of the prefect to the Viceroy was made in a sense unfavourable to the Christians in Kucheng, and criticizing Mr. Stewart, and trying to show that the whole trouble in Kucheng was no more than a conflict between two rival

sects. The object of this became more clear as the enquiry proceeded, in the anxious efforts of the officials concerned to minimise the affair and reduce the numbers of those engaged in the massacre to the proportions of a petty quarrel. It was, of course, extremely inconvenient that it could be known that the local officials, including the prefect, had allowed an organisation of this kind to grow to such dimensions as to be able to set the whole civil government at defiance and break out into open acts of violence and rebellion. The desire of the officials to minimize the numbers has been a marked feature all through the enquiry.

The truth of our first information respecting the prefect's report to the Viceroy was verified in an unexpected way. A few days ago our friend the deputy waited on Dr. Gregory and myself and gave us a long account of his connection with the case, and amongst other things he told us that the prefect had reported to the Viceroy in the manner related above and that all the subsequent conduct of the officials was guided and arranged so as to coincide with it, even going so far as to revise the depositions of all prisoners before the said depositions were sent to the Viceroy for his inspection, making them substantiate the view laid down. Thus we noticed that all the depositions presented to the Consuls by the officials were made to say that the whole strength of the movement in Kucheng did not amount to more than 1,000 men. 'We know,' said the deputy, 'that this is not true.' And we of the commission also know from the information laid before us, and from the common knowledge of the people, that there are some 3,000 or 4,000 in Kucheng and Pingnang in connection with larger bodies of the same sect in the northern parts of the province and Kiangsi.

Another point also was made cover up all evidence as to the rebellious nature of the movement. Whenever allusion was made by any member of the commission to this point, or any attempt made to emphasise this view, there was a clearly manifested displeasure in the faces of the native officials and the matter was passed over as quickly as possible. Before the march to Whasang began, the flag of the body was saluted by all the party—it was inscribed with the characters, "Exterminate the foreigners. *Save the true Lord.*" As they saluted the flag they called on heaven to witness their oath to stand or fall together. At the time of the previous difficulty with the officials the Vegetarians posted proclamations underneath those issues by the magistrate, saying the officials oppressed the people and the people must rise. Another proclamation in verse, written by the prisoner Long Finger Nails, was posed up on the roads in the neighbourhood of the fastness, and its meaning is clearly conspicuous. These points were emphasized by different members of the Commission, but the officials looked over them as unwelcome interruptions to the object they had in view and they were quickly passed over. In the face of these facts the prefect makes a report in which he reduces the guilt of these men to that of sudden outburst of anger against a rival religious sect. This was undoubtedly the view and explains to a certain extent the attitude of the Viceroy, and his persistent unwillingness to treat the case in a manner befitting its gravity.

Again, to show how this only part of a definite plan of action previously agreed on, no sooner did the number of convictions of men guilty of taking part in the massacre reach to 45 (and the seven executions had taken place) than a marked change took place. All arrests stopped, and all prisoners who were brought into court for examination would acknowledge only to being present at the fastness and not at Whasang. This was certainly due to instructions from Foochow, and at an interview when both Taotai and prefect were present the hint was given that as no more Whasang cases had to be dealt with, the work of the foreign members of the Commission was practically completed. We then began to examine *privately* a number of witnesses gathered from different parts of the district who had actual personal knowledge of facts elicited. It is, of course, well known that no one will come forward openly to bear witness in a Chinese court. The class system of relationship and the intertwining of family interests make it impossible to obtain independent witnesses in the manner of foreign courts of justice. But after our inquiry at the *yamen* stopped at this deadlock, the English and American Consuls, Captain Newell and myself examined twenty-eight different witnesses brought from different parts of the district—and the following facts were proved absolutely beyond contradiction—(1) On the night of the midnight march from the fastness, the *Liengkahl* on watch in the village of Angchiong (through which the band passed on its way to Whasang) counted 259 armed men as they marched past to their work of plunder and murder. On the 9th day of the moon (30th July) the day before this march, the same *Liengkahl* had petitioned in person the Kucheng magistrate for soldiers to resist a rumoured attack on the chapel in their village. Had the soldiers been sent there would have been no Whasang massacre to stain the record of foreign intercourse with China. (2) After the massacre was over the murderers returned *via* the village of Twaikang, about nine miles to the east of Whasang, where they halted and

leisurely proceeded to cook their midday meal. No fear of pursuit or capture, but clearly a complete sense of security was present in their minds. The villagers counted over 130 of these men, who sat down to their dinner in the village or on the hillside. These were all armed, and carrying loot of different kinds and quantities. This number, of course, only includes the main body, who went in this direction, and takes no account of other scattered bodies of men who returned, as we know they did, to their own villages in other directions. (3) Later in the day, about the middle of the afternoon, this main body of men passed down the valley from Twaikiang to the village of Kasai and here again they were counted (and many of them recognised) as they passed through the village, by two independent witnesses. There were 116 men carrying loot and arms. (The diminution in numbers was natural, as men were dropping off on branch roads for their own homes as they proceeded further from the scene of the outrage.) (4) It is proved beyond doubt that there must have been at Whasang, on the fatal 1st of August, at least 150 or 160 men, all engaged in one way or another in the terrible doings of that morning. Of these 45 had been convicted up to the present date, seven of whom had been executed. This left over 100 men still at large.

The difference between the 289 who passed out from the fastness on the night of the midnight march, and the 160 present at Whasang, would be accounted for by desertions, under cover of the darkness, through fear or compunction.

We got a list of 92 names against whom there was evidence, and who were still at large when Mr. Mansfield and I left Kucheng on the 11th of October. Although all but 29 of these names had been sent in to the magistrate some time ago, yet no attempt whatever had been made to arrest them. The only appearance of any desire to get them was the dispatch of a company of soldiers, who went as far as Ngysong, about nine miles from the city, and stopped there, telling the villagers they had only come so far to deceive the foreigners who were pressing the officials so much that something had got to be done to satisfy them. The episode of the proclamations has been already dealt with in previous communications, but two other points in reference to the conduct of deputies sent out on special service, shows what methods are used by them to deceive. At the time of the disturbance in march, when the magistrate closed the gates of the city, and people and missionaries were shut up for three days, the late Viceroy sent a deputy, Li by name, to examine into the matter. He was the likin officer at Suikou, the river-port thirty miles from Kucheng, and must have known by common report, the state of things in Kucheng at that time. He went into Kucheng, stayed there one night, returned next day, and reported that there was no trouble and that the soldiers asked for need not be sent. They were not sent, and the result we know. After we had repeatedly pressed on the Taotai at Kucheng the fact that we had definite information as to the numbers of on the return march from Whasang, clearly showing there were many more men there than the officials allowed, he sent two deputies to enquire on the route taken. This was done at our suggestion, but the result was the same old story of fraud and deception. Before the deputies arrived at the village of Twaikiang, where 180 men were counted, they sent on ahead an interpreter to instruct the members of the *Liengkah* what to say. He told the head of the *Liengkah* that the deputies were coming to ask how many passed through their village from Whasang and that they were not to say too many, but to tell the deputies that about 60 or 70 was the number. The deputies arrived—exhorted the *liengkah* ‘to tell the truth, not too many and not too few, but the right number.’ ‘Now’, said they, ‘how many men passed through from Whasang that afternoon?’ ‘Some sixty or seventy,’ was the reply. ‘That is right,’ said the deputies, ‘and now you must sign this paper to that effect.’ Thus in enacted a solemn farce in the name of justice.

The saddest thing in this sad duty has been the ceaseless fight with lies and duplicity, and all to get the barest justice in the end. I see from the Shanghai papers just to hand that 11 men have been executed within six weeks of the perpetration of their crime, which was robbery with violence of the goods of a wealthy Chinaman. We have been fighting for two months to get bare justice for the cruel and coldblooded murder of innocent women and children. The sole cause for the difference—the promptness and severity in the one case, and the slowness and haggling in the other—lies in the fact that in one case the sufferer was a rich Chinese, and in the other only despised foreigners. If this is possible can we wonder that men should go about and boast, as is done this day in the Pingnang district (adjoining Kucheng), that the killing of a few foreigners is a very small matter indeed? We hope to return to Kucheng in two days and begin another stage in our proceedings, after Mr. Mansfield’s personal interview with the Viceroy.

W Banister , CMS

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 16 October 1895.

House Boat, River Min, 16 October 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

My last letter was written to you from Ku Cheng. From my reports and telegrams sent home you will see that our progress in the work of investigation and trial has been interrupted by the wilful opposition of the Chinese Officials. After waiting patiently for some time hoping that the Minister at Peking would be able to bring the Viceroy at Foochow to a better mind the English Consul, Mr. Mansfield, felt it his duty to proceed to Foochow and have a personal interview with the chief obstructionist, the Viceroy. He and I therefore left Ku Cheng last Friday, October 11th, and arrived in Foochow on Saturday just 2 months since our departure. It happened that without the Consuls knowledge the English Admiral also arrived at Foochow on Friday afternoon. His arrival bought up to strength of the British ships at Pagoda Anchorage to four, and one at Foochow near the foreign settlement. This coincidence has had a very salutary effect upon the Viceroy for when Mr. Mansfield paid his visit to him in the city on Monday morning he had ceased to desire further obstructions.¹⁵ He gave way completely and entirely and granted all the Consuls demanded. We are now returning to Ku Cheng with the earnest hope and expectation that peace will be restored to Ku Cheng and that the demands of justice will be fully met. I have only time and space first to give you the barest details of the plans proposed by Mr. Mansfield and granted without hesitation by the, I suppose, repentant Viceroy.

I thought to let you know as soon as possible. With the exception of 4 leaders who are to be retried by the Provincial authorities in Foochow where they will be executed, all the other chief criminals will be executed at once on our return to Ku Cheng.

All the remaining criminals will be exiled, and of those who are still at large, those who are guilty in the first degree will be executed on capture. The 100 persons whose names we have given to the officials will all be arrested but if any remain for some time uncaptured they will be proclaimed as outlaws and forbidden to return to Ku Cheng. In order to secure this result and see that other measures promised by the Viceroy are carried out a Consular official will visit Ku Cheng periodically to inspect and report to his superior. Soldiers will also remain in the district.

There is an immense difference between the promises of the Chinese and their performances and there may again come a deadlock, but if these promises are carried out we shall I think soon be able to see our way to the resumption of our work in Ku Cheng.

It is impossible for me to say when this will be, but you may be quite sure that we shall not delay to resume our work whenever God makes it plain that it is our duty. I believe that God does rule and reign and that although clouds and darkness are now about us, they will in due course be dispersed.

In the meantime I think the great missionary need just now is patience. Patience with God's plans, patience under criticism, patience amidst our unrealized hopes.

Will you pray that every member of the Mission, both male and female, may have this gift of patience.

I am yours very truly, W Banister.

SEE PART SIX. AFTERMATH, FOR THE AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE FOLLOWING THE BRITISH CONSUL'S VISIT TO THE VICEROY IN FOOCHOW MENTIONED ABOVE.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow. 25 October 1895.

Mr dear Mr. Banister,

On the 22nd instant we sent a telegram to Archdeacon Wolfe to the following effect "Brethren must not act as members of Commission." The history of the telegram is as follows:—On the appointment of the Commission in the Times your name with that of Mr. Star appeared as members of the Commission. On

15 The British naval presence had more impact than might at first appear. On 23 August 1884 a French force under Admiral Amedee Courbet destroyed the Chinese Fujian Fleet. The following day the French severely damaged the Foochow Navy Yard. See <http://history.cultural-china.com/en/34History6616.html> — online 1 July 2010.

receiving a telegram from you informing us of the proceedings of the Commission being delayed, we went to the Foreign Office and informed the authorities of the terms of your telegram, and remarked that there was special weight to be attached to your telegram in-as-much as you were a member of the Commission. The Under-secretary at once demurred to my statement, and from that day to less than week ago some of us have been cherishing the idea that neither you nor Mr. Star were members of the Commission. Subsequently your diary, and especially one letter from Mr. Star, again threw doubt upon your position in connexion with the Commission, and at the same time we sent you the telegram above quoted. Most fully do we sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you found yourselves placed. On the one hand it was evident that if the Consul claimed your assistance on account of your personal knowledge of the dialect and your intimacy with the people and country around Ku-cheng, in the interests of justice it was exceedingly difficult for you to decline to serve; on the other had for you Missionaries to be directly connected with the transactions of the Commission would obviously prove very detrimental to any subsequent missionary work being undertaken by you in that neighbourhood. Today we learn from the Foreign Office that our Government do not understand that you were asked to act as members of the Commission of Enquiry.

You may rest assured that your Conference, to be held from the 19th prox. shall not be forgotten by us, and we earnestly trust that a special measure of God's Spirit may be granted to you all, that your counsels may be very markedly directed in this critical period of the history of the Church in Fuhkien.

Again assuring you of our deep personal sympathy with you in deep strain to which you have been exposed.

Ever believe me, Very sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould, Sec C.M.S.

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

My dear Banister,

Since our conversation of Friday about the C.M.S. telegram forbidding brethren to take part in the Commission I have been thinking the matter over again, and I feel quite sure the Committee would not send out such an order without having some good reason for doing so. I think therefore we are bound to obey whatever our own personal feelings may be on the Subject. I full see and appreciate all the difficulties the new Consul may have in getting the truth without a competent interpreter, but my advice would be now that the real criminals have been tried and are about to be executed that at this stage we withdraw from taking any further part in the matter. Of course it will be easier down here for the Consul to get on with the Examination with his own staff that it would have been in Ku-Cheng, and you can get out of it now without any blame from the Consul by throwing the responsibility upon the telegram from home. The Consuls will see this at once, as they too are under authority and would be bound to obey orders from their superiors whatever their own feelings may be of favoring a contrary course. This of course is only my view of the case, if you wish to act upon your own responsibility you can do so. I do not know what the brethren might say, but I feel the Committee order should be obeyed, however important I may think your help would be to the Consul in getting at the truth.

I gave the two cheques from Bennett [CMS treasurer, East Asia, Hong Kong] to Mrs. Banister yesterday. [A short discussion of local mission finance closes the letter.](#) John R. Wolfe.

Richard W. Mansfield, British Consul, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow, 3 November 1895.

Sir,—It is with great regret I learn from your note today and its enclosure, that your Society has telegraphed requesting that their missionaries do not act on the Commission (so called) to enquire into the circumstances of the Huashan Massacre. It appears to me that the Society have been somewhat misled by the word "Commission" which has been loosely used in the newspapers. As far as the British side of the case is concerned no one of us could rightly termed to a commissioner. I as Consul at this port, was simply fulfilling my ordinary duties, thought with special instructions from my Minister befitting the gravity of the case. Vice-Consul Allen and you were with me at my own request made without reference to Peking, to assist me

in the clerical and linguistic work I could not perform single-handed. These are the simple facts of the matter.

I cannot too highly speak of the invaluable assistance of both of you, and it is not too much to say that without your intimate knowledge of the country and your thorough acquaintance with the local dialect, a satisfactory result of my task would have been very difficult to arrive at, and innocent persons might have suffered in consequence.

I perfectly understand that in all societies, where there is a governing body, the members of the Society are bound to respect the wishes and instructions of that body; but it would be most unfortunate at this juncture, with a new Consul very shortly taking up my work, that he should be deprived of the assistance your thorough knowledge of the case, and experience would be to him. Perhaps my explanation given above with regard to the composition of the so-called commission would alter the ideas of your Society on this question, but in any case I trust that you will not refuse any private assistance you may be able to give the Consulate in bringing the remainder of the Huashan case to a satisfactory conclusion.

I should like to add that I was much struck at Ku t'ien by the friendly attitude towards you of the population generally, as giving proof of the good work you have done there during your long residence.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, R. W. Mansfield, Consul.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 5 November 1895.

CMS College, Foochow, 5 November 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

Just one line to catch the mail ... You will have seen from the telegrams in the papers that the Commission has closed its labour at Ku Cheng and we returned to Foochow on October 27.

Your telegram arrived here a few days before my return and while the Archdeacon was absent in Hok Chiang. It was too late to affect my position at Ku Cheng. On the return of the Archdeacon we consulted together and our final decision was that we must wait for further advice from you. The Archdeacon wrote the enclosed letter which I forwarded to the Consul with a letter from myself.

I enclose for your perusal the official despatch from Mr. Mansfield which explains the position. The Archdeacon and I both feel the force of the Consul's words, but at the same time we are bound by your telegram.

Will you wire your permission or otherwise in the words, "Act," "Not Act." Mr. Mansfield will be leaving at this stage of the proceedings for home and Mr. Clement Allen has been appointed to take his place.¹⁶ He will be quite fresh and new to the case and will need help from some one.

The result of the investigations ... to date is as follows:

16 Executions.

19 Banished or imprisoned for life.

27 for periods of 10 to 5 years imprisonment.

20 for other minor punishments.

There are 94 more criminals against whom we have evidence and whose arrests we have demanded from the Chinese. The new Consul Mr. Allen will have to deal with them as they are arrested and brought to Foochow for trial.

I gather from your telegram that you think I am still at Ku Cheng.

I do not need to add more but ask for an immediate answer.

Miss Smyly leaves today with Mildred Stewart and the other children.

16 Allen, Clement Francis Romilly, Esq., (born 1844, died 1920); F.R.G.S., Member. Asiatic Society, H.B.M.'s Consul Foochow from late 1895. In China from c1869, Consul: Pakhoi 1888, Chefoo 1898. Allen was a scholar of some note. Allen, Clement F.R. "The Chinese Book of Odes for English Readers." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 16 (n.s.), pp. 453-478. London: Trubner, 1884. [pdf format] (A Google book). Allen, C.F.R., *The Book of Chinese Poetry: being the collection of ballads, sagas, hymns and other pieces known as The Shih Ching*, (London, Kegan Paul, 1891). Allen, Clement F.R., "China's Needs," *The East and the West*, (Westminster, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1903). Praises the work of the SPG but makes no direct references to the CMS in China.

I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

P.S. The above Mr. Clement Allen is not the Vice Consul Allen mentioned in the despatch.

CMS East Asia Archives. Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 5 November 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

The major part of the letter concerns a failed transfer of part of the CMS Mission to the English Presbyterian mission.¹⁷

You will have received Mr. Banister's letter re the Ku Cheng Committee in consequence of the telegram, "Brethren take no part in Commission." I feel Banister's help has been great, though I regret he makes the part he has taken in it a plea why he should not take charge of the district now. This is unfortunate, as Banister is the only man who can best take charge of Ku Cheng. Collins would never do for Ku Cheng. He cannot settle down to any organizing work and this is just what Ku Cheng needs. I shall deeply regret if Banister will still persist in not going there. It will do much injury to our work everywhere if Ku Cheng is left unoccupied for any time, as the Chinese will see that their plan has admirably succeeded in frightening the Missionaries away and the same plan will be carried out in other places, and the Chinese Authorities will care little how many poor miserable coolie heads may go provided they gain their ends of keeping Missionaries away! It is highly important therefore that Kucheng be occupied at once. There can be no danger in the City, though it advisable to let no ladies go into the remote villages of Kucheng just yet.

I think unless there is some serious reason against it, Banister might be allowed to help the new Consul, at least privately in the examination of the other criminals that may be caught and brought down here, though I don't believe the officials will exert themselves to arrest any others. All these reports of the Consul's conduct are grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. I was the only person who met him on the morning in question, and though he did not return at once he did what was necessary in a much shorter time by going to the house on the hill than he could have done by returning to his office. The letter written by Mr. Smyth, an American, and a most excited individual was truly an atrocious one and altogether misrepresented the case. Our own dear Brother Phillips too lost his head and too violently spoke against the Consul. After all his not returning till evening is a very small mistake if a mistake at all, to hand such a load of false and cruel charges against H.M. Consul who has ever shown himself an able and firm official, and ever willing to help the Mission in all that was fair and just.

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

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

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

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

CMS College, Foochow, 23 November 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

Your letter dated October 16 came in yesterday just after we have finished our Meetings and Sub-Conference.

I hasten to reply to your remarks upon two points. The first is with reference to the report of the Commission which you acknowledge.

It was written at first with the object of keeping the Committee informed of our work from day to day, so that you might not depend only upon the public press for news. When garbled reports and distorted extracts from private letters began to appear in the papers I thought it better with the consent and full approval of Mr.

17 The full text of this letter will be found in Part Five, 1895, November 5.

Mansfield my Consul whom I was assisting to give to the public a full and complete report of the daily occurrences at Ku Cheng. Therefore besides sending a copy to you, I sent also to the North China Daily News, and the Times. As you observe in your letter it is written in careful and restrained language, and I notice that the Times in its leader makes the same remark.

I am glad to find that the Times considers it of sufficient importance and interest to print it in full.

One other motive had also an influence with me, viz., the fact the lamentable ignorance of the public at home of the condition of things out here, and their amazing belief in the fraudulent morals and the specious duplicity of Chinese official utterances is to a certain one of the causes of the present state of things. I am sure the reports cannot do any harm to the CMS or to Missionary interests. They have been read with great interest out here, and have been looked upon as the official report to the press.

The second thing is with regard to myself. I thank you for your kind words of sympathy. It is all over now, thank God, and so far the results have been good.

I waited with some interest for any communication from you which would have enabled me to gather the Committee's view of my position. My dear wife and myself felt that we could calmly wait for and accept the Committee's decision as to the Will of God, and his guiding hand, whether it pointed to Ku Cheng or Foochow. Your telegram came on Sunday last and I accepted it as the will of God for me at this crisis. It was a disappointment to some of my dear friends both CMS and CEZ here, and my own heart was drawn to Ku Cheng with all its solemn and sacred memories, but I can not trifle with my faith in a wiser will than mine, and a providence which had as clearly guided in circumstances as peculiar.

We have all felt how serious were the issues depending upon our Conference this year, and we have all been much in prayer that we might be guided aright.

The chief question was the selection of a missionary for Ku Cheng. We were unanimous, with one exception, that our dear brother Martin was the best fitted for the great work to be done in Ku Cheng. He was therefore appointed. He is widely different from dear Stewart, but no one who knows him can doubt for a single instant that God is with him and in him. He has passed through the furnace and the marks of the Spirit's impress are upon him. I have much confidence in him that God will greatly use him to His glory. He himself is, I think, very pleased to go there.

The next question before us was the administration of Ning Taik, Lo Nguong and Lung Kong. The Archdeacon wished to give up this latter district and devote all his energies to Hok Chiang and Foochow.

The question was complicated by the fact that we are losing the services of Mr. and Mrs. McClelland. I fear for a very long period if not permanently. You will hear from themselves and will regret as we all do the loss of such a promising missionary as Mr. McClelland.¹⁸ Light and Star have only just passed their final examinations, and are obviously unable as yet to cope with the many questions arising in the work of the Church Councils, and the administration of the Church in these districts unaided by any of the senior brothers. It was therefore decided that Light and Star should be located at Lo Nguong, but that I should assume the chairmanship of the three Church Councils of Ning Taik, Lo Nguong and Lung Kong along with my work in the College. Light and Star will therefore do the visitation of the outstations, and the itinerating work in the districts. They will be thus trained and prepared for the more important work involved in the full charge of these districts when I return home on furlough in two years time.

The only alternative to this arrangement was that I should leave the College and that Mr. Lloyd should take my place there. This was seriously proposed by the Archdeacon and the Bishop but the other members of conference declined to share in the responsibility of such a step. In fact the proposition was lost for want of some one to second the resolution. I feel that both Light and Star may become useful missionaries, but they manifestly need experience and some direction before they can be placed in charge of the important interests in these districts. I am sure the Committee will pray for them both, and for me also that we may work in perfect harmony and mutual cooperation.

One other matter I might mention and that is the fact that the Conference have recommended Miss Annie Wolfe for acceptance by the Committee as a Missionary in Local Connexion. She is well fitted by a knowledge of the language and the possession of a missionary spirit for the work. We were unanimous in recommending her. The important question is her location and it would be well if the Parent Committee would settle this. The stations open for her, (she is willing to go to any sphere) are Ning Taik, Lieng Kong,

18 The issue was Mrs. McClelland's unhappiness in China and her wish to resume a normal parish life in England.

Hok Chiang or Foochow. Her father naturally would prefer the latter, but the wisdom of this the Committee must judge. Mr. Phillips, Miss Hankin, Miss Johnson, leave tomorrow for England. Pray much for us.

I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 18 December 1895.

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe,

Since last writing, we have received yours of November 5th.

Herewith we forward to you a copy of a letter which we are sending by this mail to Mr. Banister and Mr. Star, relative to their continuing to act in connexion with the official enquiry regarding the Massacre at Kucheng.

In our letter of December 5th, we communicated to you the wish of the Committee that the Ladies who leave England on the 17th prox. shall continue to reside in Foochow until permission is granted by the Parent Committee for them to commence work in the country districts. Miss [Minna] Searle and Miss [Amy] Oxley [from Australia] will in due course be arriving in Foochow. Kindly bear in mind that the Committee desire that they too come under this regulation and remain in Foochow until permission is granted for them to reside elsewhere by the Parent Committee, and similarly the Rev. J. R. and Mrs. Stanley Boyd....

We remain, dear Archdeacon Wolfe, Yours very faithfully and affectionately, B. Baring-Gould and P. Ireland Jones, Secretaries, CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. William Banister, Foochow, 18 December 1895.

My dear Mr. Banister,

Many thanks for your letter of November 5th. I was able to bring it before our correspondence Committee yesterday. The situation was very carefully and fully discussed. The Committee I need scarcely say, still continues to take the same view regarding their Missionaries acting as assessors on such a Commission, as was indicated by their telegram on October 22nd, "Brethren must not act as members of Commission", but the letter of the Consul they regard as putting the Commission altogether in a new light. We now understand that in the full sense no commission has been appointed at all, but that it has been a Chinese court of Justice, and that Mr. Mansfield has simply been fulfilling his ordinary duties, though with special instructions from H. M. Minister befitting the gravity of the case, and that at his request you and Mr. Star have assisted him in the clerical and linguistic work with which he could not have performed singlehanded. Our error as to the position which you had Mr. Star have occupied in this investigation has partly arisen from the word "Commission" having been loosely used in the newspapers. With the fuller light now bestowed, the Committee feel that they would not be justified in declining to approve your acting in accordance with the distinct request of the Consul, especially as he indicates that in the event of your standing aloof innocent persons might in consequence suffer. It is under these circumstances that in accordance with the request in your letter of November 5th, the Committee telegraphed to Foochow the word, "Act."

Of course I need hardly tell you that we all deeply sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you found yourselves placed. On the one hand the demands of justice seemed to call for you to take the responsible position assigned you by the Consul, and on the other there was the grave risk of injuring your ministerial influence in the future as missionaries. We can but pray that GOD in his goodness will overrule all that has occurred and not permit it permanently to mar your influences in the extension of His Kingdom in the future.

We are anxiously waiting to hear the results of your important conference last month.

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

CMS East Asia Archives. Rev. William Banister to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London 26 December 1895.¹⁹

House Boat, River Min, 26 December 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

I am writing to you from the Mission Houseboat on route from Hok Chiang, where I am going to examine the Day Schools. I have to write on a matter which has suddenly produced rather a deadlock in respect to carrying out of arrangements made at our recent Conference.

As you will have seen from the Conference Minutes which will have reached you ere this, it was decided that in view of the changes in the Mission I should take the Chairmanship of the Church Councils of Ning Taik, Lo Nguong and Lieng Kong. (Mr. Light and Mr. Star working the districts.) Lieng Kong, as you know, was the Archdeacon's district and it was included in the arrangement because the Archdeacon had repeatedly and strongly expressed his desire to be relieved of that charge. Otherwise it would never have been included in the proposition made at the Conference. As you know, the Archdeacon had another proposal before the Conf. which was not carried—but when this proposal was passed he raised no objection and seemed satisfied. We all took it for granted that this was the case, and I heard nothing to the contrary till three days ago, Dec. 23rd. On this date there was a meeting of members of the Mission then in Foochow, to discuss some matters of formal business—and there were present the Archdeacon, Mr. Lloyd, myself, Mr. McClelland, Mr. Light, Mr. Star, and Mr. Bland. We met at Two p.m. and discussed business matters until Three o'clock when Mr. Star and I left to attend a meeting of the Committee of the North Fuh Kien Tract Society of which we were members. We arranged to return and proceed with our Mission Meeting at Four o'clock—but unfortunately we could not finish our Tract Soc. Meeting by that time, and it was not till Five p.m. that we were able to return to the Archdeacon's house. We met the other members just leaving—the Archdeacon, however, said he wished to speak to me and I entered the house with him and sat down in his dining room. He then said, "Look here, you do not intend to introduce the Native dress into the Lieng Kong district, do you?" I replied that I really had no intentions at all on the subject and did not intend to say anything about it. I said I thought he knew exactly what I thought on the subject and that I could not speak for others. I said my view was that I would be no party to coercion one way or the other and that any one who was, or who should be, associated with me, should have perfect liberty to use any kind of dress they liked. Miss Oxley [new missionary from New South Wales] was then mentioned, and I again repeated in substance what I have already said, that if she, or any one else, asked me about the dress I would tell them to decide the matter entirely for themselves. He then said he was satisfied, and I thought the matter was at an end, and that this was only a casual conversation between us.

On my return home, however, I found from Mr. Bland's report of what had been said at the Meeting, that something much more serious was in the Archdeacon's mind. This was fully explained by Mr. McClelland, who at my request gave me a detailed account of what had been said by the Archdeacon at the Meeting in my absence. Thus I learned that the Archdeacon had said that unless I promised not to allow any one to wear Chinese dress in the Lieng Kong district he would refuse to give up the Chairmanship of the Church Council, and that he would see me and tell me this, but told me nothing whatever of this intention of his to extract a promise from me, not did I know, till the evening of this day, Dec 23rd, that he had the least intention of refusing to assign the work to me.

I now felt this was a very serious state of things indeed, and all the more so when I learned from Mr. Star that the Archdeacon had said to him a few days before that he would probably not resign the district till the end of 1896.

It was now over a month since the Sub-Conference was held, and on the assumption that the Conf. resolutions would be carried out Mr. Star, Mr. Light and I had been making arrangements for carrying on the work of next year. We had arranged the dates for the Meetings of Church Councils, and the parts of the districts that should be the spheres of influence for each of the two brethren. It had also been arranged that the Native Clergyman of Lieng Kong, Mr. Sing Sing Ang, should be the vice-chairman of the Lo Nguong Church Council. I naturally felt, therefore, and I still feel, that I ought to have been the first to be put in

19 Wolfe's version of events were set out in a letter to London. CMS East Asia Archives. Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 23 December 1895.

possession of the Archdeacon's views, and that what he had now stated publicly in the Meeting should have been told to me as openly. I felt the matter could not be left in this condition of uncertainty. I therefore addressed the following Circular Letter to the Brethren.

Dec 23rd. My dear Brethren,

I wish to ask your advice on a matter which has only this day been brought to my notice. It is in connection with the resolution of Conference appointing me Chairman of the Native Church Councils of Lieng Kong, Lo Nguong, and Ning Taik. I have for the first time, today, from several members of the Mission, that Archdeacon Wolfe does not consider that he has ceased to have charge of Lieng Kong, and that he objects to my assuming charge of the Ch. Council until certain conditions are complied with, and until I make certain promises.

The Committee of the Society will assume the responsibility of deciding whether the resolution passed by Conf. shall be carried out or not.

The Rule of the Soc., as stated on page 12 of the Red Book (17-18) is, that a Missionary must act under the direction of the representatives of the society. The Sub. Conf. is the representative of the Society in this Mission.

I therefore ask the members of the Sub-Conf. to guide me on this matter. I would advise that the Lieng Kong district be left in the hands of Archdeacon Wolfe until the reply of the Committee in answer to the Conf. resolution be received. Though up to the present moment the Archdeacon has not expressed to myself his views on this subject I must assume that what he has stated to other members of the Mission does express his feelings on the matter.

The question of Lo Nguong and Ning Taik districts is on a different footing, the office of Chairman having been vacated by the Rev. T. McClelland in view of his immediate return home.

Will the Brethren kindly say what part of the Conf. resolution I am to comply with now, and whether I must wait until the reply of the Committee has been received before taking any responsibility in regard to any of the districts. Yours etc.

At a meeting held the following day, called by Archdeacon Wolfe to consider the proposed location of Miss Oxley, I explained to the Members of the Mission what had passed the previous evening, and what I had said to the Archdeacon. I also expressed my deep disappointment and sorrow that the Archdeacon should have thought it necessary to demand from me any such conditions as those of which I had now been told. I re-stated my position, as nearly as possible in the same terms as written above.

The Archdeacon then denied having wished to exact a promise, or impose any conditions on me, but, unhappily, the impression on the minds of those members who were present during the former meeting and heard his words, was that he decidedly expressed such intentions. Anyhow, the fact remains, that though I re-stated my positions which was that I would not, and could not, exercise any pressure either for or against the native dress upon any one who came to work in the district, the Archdeacon now distinctly refused to resign the district.

I refused to do more than this for two reasons, (1) Because no missionary has any right or authority to lay down conditions for his successor. This is the right only of Sub-Conf. and Parent Committee. (2) Because I hold that this question of the native dress is a personal matter upon which full liberty has been granted by the P.C. to its missionaries.

The Archdeacon may refer to the case of Mr. Martin and Ku Cheng. I do not know what the Archdeacon may say to you, but I can assure you that Mr. Martin has my fullest confidence, and I have naturally, as deep an interest in Ku Cheng as the Archdeacon has in Lieng Kong, not because anything was said to him by me or by the Sub Conference but because he himself voluntarily expressed to me his intentions almost in the same words I sued to express my views to the Archdeacon, viz, that I would not interfere with afny one, but allow them to please themselves in this matter of dress. But if Mr. Martin had not voluntarily said this, I would not have mentioned the subject to him. I believe him to be a man who will do what is fair and right.

I am intensely troubled and pained.

I would beg to leave Lieng Kong in the hands of the Archdeacon until he returns home on furlough which I am told he intends to do at the end of 1896.

Something is due to his position and long-standing as a missionary in this field, but I cannot promise,

even for him, to use coercion in such a matter as this of dress.

Mr. McClelland was present at both meetings. He will be able to tell you if I have stated the facts as to what passed correctly. He leaves this with Mrs. McClelland next week. Will you kindly refer to him when he arrives.

Mr. Star and Mr. Light will still go to reside at Lo Nguong, and we have decided that until we hear the final decision respecting Lieng Kong, from you.

Mr. Star shall have Ning Taik district as his field of work and Mr. Light Lo Nguong.

The circular letter has not yet been seen by Mr. Martin and Mr. Shaw, and another mail will probably pass before it comes to you, with the comments of members of Conf.

Mr. Martin has gone on a visit to Ku Cheng²⁰ and Mr. Shaw to Hing Hwa, but they will both be back in Foochow in a few more days.

Mr. and Mrs. Boyd arrived on Christmas Day. We look on their coming as a God-made appointment for Ku Cheng.

Things seem quieter but it is unwise to prophesy and one shrinks from making statements about the future.

Your telegram "Act" arrived a few days ago. If the Chinese authorities continue on their present indifferent attitude there will be a necessity for me to act in obedience with your telegram. They are making no efforts whatever to arrest the remaining criminals.

Trusting you will be guided aright in the matter of Lieng Kong. I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. J. S. Collins. County Cork, Ireland, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 10 June 1896.²¹

c/- Rev. G. W. Healy, St Fin Barre's, Co Cork, 10 January 1896.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,—I received yesterday a copy of a letter from Mr. Banister which he sent you with regard to Conference and the transfer of the Lieng Kong district.

I trust the Committee will give him the strongest moral support in his very difficult position, as it was by their express wish that he remained in Foo Chow and also was unable to comply with the wishes of Archdeacon Wolfe, which has brought all this trouble on him.

Banister is a man of peace and is certainly not to blame for any difficulty which may have arisen.

I am not sorry that the difficulty has arisen because it has brought to light the very irregular proceedings of little meetings held in Foo Chow immediately after Conference, when some of the members have already left and which for the past 3 years or so have been used to nullify the deliberate decisions of Conference.²² I have known most important matters discussed and changed when certain men had gone back to the country.

I am sure that the Committee would do well to insist on the transference of Lieng Kong now to Mr. Banister, according to the decision of Conference, (if it was confirmed on Tuesday last week.)

If the matter is seriously discussed at either the General or Group Committee I hope you will allow me to be present and give evidence.

The whole arrangements having been made for the working of Lieng Kong under Mr. Banister the confusion now arising would be very perplexing to the natives.

I consider "the Dress question" merely a pretext on which to harass Mr. Banister²³, but if that it discussed

20 CMS East Asia Archives. Rev. John Martin to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 25 December 1895. A short visit approved by the British Consul but no permission to live in Ku Cheng.

21 See picture Part Four: The Huashan Martyrs, page 2.188.

22 An independent appraisal of Wolfe observes, "Wolfe dominated the Foochow mission. No one could persuade or deter him—not the missionary society at home, not the bishop of Hong Kong, not his colleagues at the mission," Carlson, Ellsworth C., *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847-1889*, Cambridge, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1974), p 169.

23 It is impossible to be certain if the issue of creating a separate diocese of Fujian was in the background of this alleged harassment. On 1 December 1895 a petition "signed by 306 Foochow native clergymen, preachers, etc.," seeking the appointment of Archdeacon Wolfe as the new Bishop. A reply from CMS London, 19 February 1896, indicated that the Society "did not see their way to make any special effort in this direction." When the diocese was created in 1905, Archdeacon H. M. E. Price of Osaka, Japan, was appointed. Banister became Bishop of Kwangsi and Hunan in 1909. Archdeacon Wolfe died in Foochow 15 December 1915.

I should particularly like to be present as I have hitherto avoided the subject, being under the impression that the matter was decided already. Yours very truly, J. S. Collins.

CMS East Asia Archives. Rev. William Banister, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 15 January 1896.

CMS College, Foochow, 15 January 1896.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,—I am just writing one line with the enclosed circular letter. I have already said to you all I care to say on the subject.

The meeting referred to in the letter was held and that is the meeting mentioned in my letter to you as having been held on Dec. 14th. I am, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

Dec 23rd. My dear Brethren,

I wish to ask your advice on a matter which has only this day been brought to my notice. It is in connection with the resolution of Conference appointing me Chairman of the Native Church Councils of Lieng Kong, Lo Nguong, and Ning Taik. I have for the first time, today, from several members of the Mission, that Archdeacon Wolfe does not consider that he has ceased to have charge of Lieng Kong, and that he objects to my assuming charge of the Ch. Council until certain conditions are complied with, and until I make certain promises.

The Committee of the Society will assume the responsibility of deciding whether the resolution passed by Conf. shall be carried out or not.

The Rule of the Soc., as stated on page 12 of the Red Book (17-18) is, that a Missionary must act under the direction of the representatives of the society. The Sub. Conf. is the representative of the Society in this Mission.

I therefore ask the members of the Sub-Conf. to guide me on this matter. I would advise that the Lieng Kong district be left in the hands of Archdeacon Wolfe until the reply of the Committee in answer to the Conf. resolution be received. Though up to the present moment the Archdeacon has not expressed to myself his views on this subject I must assume that what he has stated to other members of the Mission does express his feelings on the matter.

The question of Lo Nguong and Ning Taik districts is on a different footing, the office of Chairman having been vacated by the Rev. T. McClelland in view of his immediate return home.

Will the Brethren kindly say what part of the Conf. resolution I am to comply with now, and whether I must wait until the reply of the Committee has been received before taking any responsibility in regard to any of the districts. I am yours very truly, W. Banister.

REPLIES:

I think a quiet and brotherly conference on the Subject of Bro. Banister's circular is the better course to take. **J. R. Wolfe.**

I should suggest that the resolution of Conference be carried out in so far as it relates to Lo Nguong and Ning Taik, and that Lieng Kong remain under the Archdeacon as heretofore until the decision of the Parent Committee, who whom the matter has been referred, be received. **Ll. Lloyd.**

I think, under the circumstances, Lieng Kong had better remain altogether in Archdeacon Wolfe's hands until the decision of the home Committee is received. **Leonard Star.**

I quite agree, that under the circumstances, the District of Lieng Kong remain as it was before Conference, until we hear from home. **W. Light.**

I agree that the matter of the Lieng Kong District be left till the Committee send out their reply from home. **Chas Shaw.**

I think the resolution of the Sub.Conf. should be carried out, especially as at that Conference the

Archdeacon said nothing about not being willing to give up Lieng Kong. Arrangements have been made with the Native Pastor of Lieng Kong and it seems to me to be a great pity to make another change. I should prefer, as the Archdeacon suggests, a Conference on the subject with the members of the Sub. Conf now in Foo Chow, but will not object to leave Lieng Kong under the charge of the Archdeacon until we hear from the Parent Committee. **John Martin.**

I fully endorse Mr. Martin's remarks. There is not the slightest reason to apprehend that the CMS will do anything but ratify Sub-Conference arrangements in re Lieng Kong; not sort of protest having being at the time entered on the minutes. While contrary to usage to await CMS confirmation of minutes in (re Ku Cheng, Lo Nguong and Ning Taik arrangements to date) where no unusual course has been taken, I can see no better course, may under the circumstances, than to await their reply.

It should be distinctly understood however, that this does not included further waiting afterwards until replies to further correspondence have been received. If this contemplated, it would be much more satisfactory to have another subsidiary Sub. Conf. meeting at once for guidance of CMS as to local opinion. (No signature.)

CMS East Asia Archives. Rev. William Banister, Foochow, China, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 23 January 1896.

CMS College, Foochow, China, 23 January 1896.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,—I am writing to you upon two points which require some consideration from you and the committee.

The first is in reference to a protest which has been sent home by last mail to the Committee of the C.E.Z., from its missionaries here. It refers to certain action taken by Archdeacon Wolfe in conjunction with H.B.M. Consul, Mr. Clement F. R. Allen who has succeeded Mr. Mansfield.

The facts are as follows. Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe called upon the Consul to explain certain matters in reference to Ladies going into the country. In his conversation with them the Consul made some very alarming statements, and said that he was making some definite proposals, to the Peking authorities, i.e British, which he had talked over with Archdeacon Wolfe. This as you may imagine was very startling news indeed. I therefore asked them both to draw up a Memo of their conversation with the Consul and I would see him.

I enclose a copy of the Memorandum which they both signed as containing the gist of what the Consul said to them.

On the following day I took this Memo with me and saw the Consul myself. The result of our conversation was that he said the Memorandum really represented what he said to these two sisters, except that he would now modify one point in reference to the ladies going up country before they knew the language, and be satisfied with some settled centre instead of insisting upon Foochow.

I have no doubt that the C.E.Z. Committee will complain to the P.C. with regard to the connection of Archdeacon Wolfe with the matter. I think they may fairly do so. The Consul is a public official and he is at liberty to make what reports and suggestions he likes to his superiors. When they come publicly before the Committee and the Missionary Societies in a public manner the questions raised can there be dealt with upon general principles with due consideration to the liberty of the subject, and the right of religious associations to conduct their own affairs as they think best.

But when a missionary of another friendly society, who is the senior missionary of the station, and an Archdeacon, lends his authority and the undoubted influence which his position gives him, to a public official to reopen a controversy upon question which might well have been buried in the graves of our Huasang Martyrs, then I think he is acting ultra vires and in a way which must cause deep pain and distress to the representatives of the C.E.Z. and to some of the Archdeacon's fellow missionaries, including myself. When the protest went home last week, I sent the enclosed letter to Archdeacon Wolfe, informing him of what had been done, and asking him to make what explanations he thought best to you. He has never acknowledged the receipt of that letter, nor has he sent me any reply.

In writing to Gen. Robinson last week, I also sent him a copy of Mr. Martin's letter to H.B.M. Consul. Will you kindly ask him to let you see it. I wanted very much to send you a copy but there

was not time before the mail closed. I sent it to Gen. Robinson, because I felt it would reassure him of Mr. Martin's most kind and friendly attitude towards other ladies. I hope you will not mind my sending it to him first under these circumstances.

By this mail I am sending to Gen Robinson an annotated copy of their regulations prepared by dear Stewart and which I found amongst his papers at Ku Cheng. Happily it had not been taken to HwaSang, or we would have missed this his last contribution to the settlement of an important question.

I also send you a copy with the same notes made. I also send you suggested regulations for the CMS Ladies. I am sending the same to Mr. Martin and asking him to write his views upon the question to you. I do this because when Mr. Martin was at home he saw the secretaries of the C.E.Z. and made some suggestions in the direction of change in certain things. Gen. Robinson wrote to me on the subject, and then it was that I found Stewart's suggestions. I showed them to Mr. Martin and he said they exactly met his views and he would heartily recommend the change. I have therefore no doubt that the C.E.Z. regulations for Fuhkien will be as amended in accordance with Mr. Stewart's last suggestions. I think they ought to satisfy everybody. But what about the CMS Ladies? Can you not issue similar instructions to CMS Ladies? In the suggested regulations I send herewith you will see that I have only substituted CMS Conference for the Corresponding Secretary of the C.E.Z. This is needed all the more just now when 10 new ladies have been added to the list of workers under the CMS, and perhaps ... more in a short time.

You have now 4 brethren at home. Mr. Phillips, Mr. Collins, Dr. Taylor and Mr. McClelland. Will you put the matter before them and get their views.

I have nothing further to add just now though I might say a great deal more upon these two questions. Much, very much, depends upon a fair settlement of the points raised.

If the Consuls proposals to Peking are placed in a safe pigeon hole in the Legation, and remain there, then all will be well, but if there is any chance of changes being made in the direction indicated, then I think Fuhkien will lose some of its workers.

Things seem quiet now in all districts, even Ku Cheng is much quieter than we had anticipated. Mr. Martin has gone for a second visit and letters from him report things quiet.

In the neighbourhood of Foochow, we are all much encouraged by the very decided and wide spread interest in the Gospel, in all directions. We are receiving inquiries almost daily from different parts of this district. I wrote the first draft of this letter in bed but I am downstairs for the first time today. In response to the urgent request, of my dear fellow worker, the Rev. Ting Feng Ki I have sent out the students in eight bands of four each to take advantage of this widespread interest in the island of Nantai [site of the foreign settlement of Fuzhou known today the Cangshan district] to engage in a preaching tour in the crowded villages near us. I am looking for a report full of encouragement when they return. I am, dear Mr. Baring-Gould, Yours very truly, W. Banister.

P.S. Since writing the above I have again seen Mr. Allen, the Consul, and He read me some of his report to Peking. I shall have something further to say to you on the subject next mail. He has addressed a despatch to me containing the substance of his proposals, and it fully accords with what has been said already in the Memo enclosed in the Ladies protest to their committee. It contains some unfounded charges against the C.E.Z. and no reference in any shape or form whatever to CMS lady missionaries. In fact, he leaves out the CMS Ladies altogether in his report.

COPY OF LETTER TO ARCHDEACON WOLFE.

CMS College, 18 January 1896.

Dear Archdeacon,—I send you herewith a memo of an interview between the Consul and Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe.

I received it on Monday evening and on Tuesday morning I saw the Consul, acting for the C.E.Z. He admitted that it was a correct report of the interview.

The only modification he would now make was that he would accept any settled centre as a substitute for Foochow.

The Missionaries of the C.E.Z. have sent home a signed protest to their Committee. I write to inform you of this because the Consul gave you generally as the source of his information, and also that you may have

an opportunity of making such explanations as you think fit to the Committee of the CMS to whom the matter will be referred. I am yours very truly, W Banister.

ENCLOSURE NO.1.
COPY OF MEMORANDUM SENT TO REV. W. BANISTER BY
MISS BURROUGHS AND MISS NEWCOMBE.

Monday Eve, 18 January 1896.

Miss Newcombe and I had an interview with the Consul this afternoon.

The Consul said he would be glad to have our opinion on certain propositions concerning missionary work which he was going to lay before the authorities in Peking. He had spoken about the matters with the Archdeacon, and if we would write out our views he would send our papers also to Peking. The propositions were:

That all ladies coming to the Fuh Kien province should reside in Foochow while learning the language and becoming acquainted with the customs of the people.

That all missionaries should wear the English dress. He considered that Chinese dress would tend to excite the suspicions of the people.

That all C.E.Z. ladies should be entirely under the control of the Archdeacon as (the Consul said) C.M.S. ladies and gentlemen were. The Consul said the Archdeacon should be a complete Pope over the C.E.Z. ladies.

Signed. F. M. Burroughs

M. Newcombe.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 31 January 1896.

My dear Archdeacon,

In your letter of December 2nd, you suggest that an official letter should be sent from the C.E.Z.M.S. to the Conference distinctly stating that dual control has been abandoned, and explaining what are the powers and duties of their Secretary at Foochow, because trouble has again arisen. I at once brought this matter under the notice of the secretaries of the C.E.Z.M.S. and they assure us that they are not aware of any difficulty having arisen from such dual control. It is I find very difficult to deal with this matter when we have only abstract statements before us, but I am most anxious that the question raised should be settled, and now seems an admirable opportunity for so doing. In order to help me in this matter will you most kindly give me carefully selected instances of cases in which what you term dual control has caused strain in the Mission Field, with names and dates, and I will at once try what can be done to meet your wishes. Personally I quite hoped that the ladies Conference would go far to remove all cases of strain in this direction.

Pray accept my hearty congratulations at your second daughter's name being added to the list of C.M.S. missionaries in local Connexion. I trust that God will increasingly use her in His service and that for many years to come in whatever sphere He may see fit to employ her.

With kindest regards, Ever sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould, Sec. CMS.

P.S. What is the meaning of the statement in Minute 8, in the Sub-Conference of November 21, "Messrs. Star and Light admitted to Conference, having passed their second year's language examination." Does this mean that they have passed their final?

(Handwritten addendum) Dr. Rigg leaves for the Mission on Feb 14th. Dr. B. van Someren Taylor hopes to return in April. Mrs. Taylor will remain for the present in England. (A letter of 5 February states that Mrs. Taylor will return when a Mission House is erected at Hingwa.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, and H E. Fox, CMS Secretaries, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 14 February 1896.

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe,

- (1) Since last writing, we have received nothing from you.
- (2) With respect to the Minutes of your Fuhkien Sub-Conference, the committee approve the location of the Rev. J. Martin, to Kuechngh; the Revs. W. Light and L. E. Star to Lo-nguong, working the

districts of Lieng-Kong, Lo-nguong, and Ning-taik; the Rev. W. Banister, taking general charge of these districts, and acting as Chairman of the Church Councils, while retaining the Principalship of the Foochow College; the Rev. Ll. Lloyd, to Foochow, to take charge of the English Services, together with the financial work of the Mission, as well as literary and evangelistic work; the Rev. F. E. Bland, to Foochow, with a view to his taking charge of the Boys School; and the Rev. J. A. Cutten, to the Hingwa District. Miss J. Clarke to Ningtaik; and, when the P.C. have approved of these ladies leaving Foochow for the country districts, of Miss Clemson, to Fuh-ning; and Miss Leybourn and Miss Brooks to reside with Miss Goldie. With regard to Miss Goldie's residence we observe that you speak of the Church House, Foochow. Does this mean within the city? If this be the case we rely upon you obtaining from the Medical authorities a Certificate as to the sanitary condition of this house. We feel sure that we can confidently rely upon you to use every possible precaution against our Lady Missionaries being located in houses where they will be exposed to any unnecessary risks. This is specially important in the case of Miss Brooks, who has by no means a strong constitution.

- (3) Your letter which raises the question of the transference of Lo-nguong from yourself to Mr. Banister as Missionary in charge, shall be brought under the consideration of the Committee which deals with the Fuh-Kien Mission, at their next meeting.
- (4) We observe that although you have a Sub-Committee which deals with the sites, plans, and estimates for buildings, as far as we know, you have no standing sub-committee to deal with urgent questions of business between the sessions of the Sub-Conference. The Committee feel that it is desirable that such a standing sub-committee should be formed, its members being elected by the Sub-Conference, its duties would be to discharge the functions belonging to the Sub-Conference between the sessions of that Sub-Conference, and reporting to it at its next meeting.
- (5) With respect to your request contained in your letter of December 24th, 1895, regarding the printing of Prayer Books and Hymn Books for use in the Mission, we regret to say that it will be outside the scope of the W. C. Jones Fund to apply its funds for such a purpose, we would recommend you to make an appeal through us to the S.P.C.K. [Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge], in which case it will be necessary for you definitely to state the dialect in which you are anxious the books should be published, and at the same time, have your request counter-signed by Bishop Burdon.
- (6) Herewith we forward a letter in response to the Petition dated December 1/95 sent to the Society, and signed by 306 Foochow Clergymen, preachers, etc., dealing with the possibility of a Bishop being appointed in charge of Fuh-Kien.

We remain, dear Archdeacon Wolfe, Yours very faithfully and affectionately yours, B. Baring Gould, H. E. Fox, Secs. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. W. Banister, Foochow, 28 February 1896.

Dear Mr. Banister,

Thank you for your letters of Nov. 23, Dec, 26, 95 and Jan. 15, and circular letter to the Fuhkien missionaries re the oversight of the Lieng-Kong District. Great pressure prevents my writing more than a line this week. Herewith I enclose a copy of a portion of a letter I am sending by this mail to Archdeacon Wolfe. Believe me, yours very sincerely, B. Baring-Gould, Sec. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, and E. Stock, CMS Secretaries, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 28 February 1896.

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe,

- (1) Since last writing we have received your letter of Jan. 14. with enclosures.
- (2) We have heard with much interest of your recent visit to Hok-Chiang, accompanied by Miss Wolfe and Miss Boileau, and rejoice that you are able to report everything quiet and the people friendly. We are most thankful to hear of the manifestations of which you speak testifying to the extreme

readiness of the people to be taught, although we regret to find that the roman Catholics are causing you so much anxiety.

- (3) With respect to the question of ladies ultimately residing in Kengtau and Ko-sang-che, without a resident married European missionary, but under the protection of a married catechist, it would be helpful to us if you could send us the opinion of the Missionaries as a body. But we trust that we have already made it quite clear to you that in the first instance the P.C. cannot sanction any of the new ladies going into the country districts until, having received a request unanimously approved by the Fuhkien Missionaries, the P.C. have granted permission.²⁴
- (4) You will be glad to hear that Miss K. Power has safely arrived in England... The Rev. H. S. Phillips was married to Miss Hankin on the 18th inst.
- (5) The Committee have carefully considered the recommendations of your late Sub-Conference relative to the appointment of Mr. Banister to take charge of Ing-taik, Lo-nguong, and Lieng-kong, together with your letter dated December 23, and a letter from Mr. Banister dated December 20. The Committee gratefully appreciate all your valued services during a period of many years, in which you have been in charge, amongst other districts, of Lieng-kong, and they do not the least marvel at your shrinking from being severed from a district over which you have watched with so much solicitude a long time. On the other hand they cannot but feel that in consequence of the considerable reinforcements of lady missionaries who will be at work in Hok-Chiang and in Foochow, the strain which will be laid upon you must necessarily be very largely increased. Moreover they are greatly influenced by the strong recommendations of the Sub-Conference. Hence under all the circumstances of the case they would ask you very kindly to waive your own natural feelings, and carry out the resolutions of the Sub-Conference, which have indeed been approved by our Committee, and pass over the charge of Lieng-kong to the brethren, Mr. Banister being the superintending missionary. The committee feel that this will free you from the responsible work involved in the superintendence of the other districts remaining under your charge.
- (6) With respect to the question which has been raised with regard to the adoption of the Native Dress by European missionaries in Lieng-kong, the Committee are well assured that both you and Mr. Banister desire to act with absolute loyalty to the Resolution of the P.C. which was adopted on January 23, 94, to the following effect: "That the Committee consider that Missionaries have absolute liberty in regard to the question of Chinese costume, and they are not prepared to issue any instructions on this matter." It is hardly necessary for us to add that the Committee heartily appreciate the expression of your readiness cheerfully to abide by their decision with respect to the matter.

We remain, dear Archdeacon Wolfe, Yours very faithfully and affectionately yours, B. Baring Gould, E. Stock, Secs. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, and W. Burroughs, CMS Secretaries, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 4 March 1896.

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe,

- (3) Approval to build house for up to 6 CMS women missionaries at Kuliang hill-station.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 10 March 1896.

My dear Archdeacon,

Many thanks for your letter of January 19th. On the present occasion I want to deal with the unhappy misunderstanding which has risen between yourself and Mr. Banister. From your letter to me, and also from

²⁴ Taken with earlier letters, it is apparent that the London Committee is aware of Wolfe's disregard for the views of the other CMS missionaries. It is also clear that the decision on the location of missionaries, male and female, rests with the Sub-Conference and the Parent Committee and not with Archdeacon Wolfe or the British Consul in Foochow. Note the earlier letter (14 February 1896 para 4) directing Wolfe to work through an elected sub-committee of missionaries between meetings of the Sub-Conference.

communications which I have received from Mr. Banister I gather that Mr. Banister did not in the first instance take counsel with you as to the exact position which you had occupied in reference to the memorandum which the consul proposed to send to Peking. This I greatly regret and I have told Mr. Banister that if he had in the first instance consulted you, you would as your assured me have been able to assure him that you had never made a single one of the suggestions to the Consul but that he (the Consul) was absolutely responsible for ever one of them. On the assumption that I am right in the conclusion to which I have been driven I have told Mr. Banister how deeply I deplore the fact that neither Miss Burroughs, Miss Newcombe, nor he himself took an early opportunity of a personal interview with you in order that you might explain to them the facts of the case. Had they done so I fully believe that the misunderstanding would have been swept away and the Consul would not have had the opportunity of seeing independent members of the same Mission maintaining conflicting views of duty. At the same time I fear it is possible that you, my dear friend, fell into the same mistake in connections with the visit of Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe to the country, apparently with Mr. Banister's permission; I gather that you did not in the first instance go to Mr. Banister, but feeling that the consequence of the action of these two ladies might seriously compromise other workers, went direct to the Consul. If I am right in this supposition, I greatly deplore that you did not in the first instance consult Mr. Banister. The lesson to be drawn from all this is I think clear. On calm reflection I am sure that you and Mr. Banister will fully agree with me that if such unhappy misunderstandings are to be avoided in the future it can only be through God's goodness in enabling all concerned to evince one towards another more absolute brotherly sympathy and mutual confidence. My firm persuasion is that the great Adversary is full conscious that there is up and down the Fuh-Kien Province a most remarkable wave of spiritual influence, and he is determined to mar, and if possible destroy the work of God. Surely no device of Satan is more likely to effect this than to cast among the workers the apple of discord. For the Master's sake, therefore, and for the work's sake, earnestly do I plead with you and Mr. Banister and the Ladies to forget the misunderstanding of the past, and to determine that by GOD's grace you will not allow anything which is likely to break in upon the perfect mutual confidence, sympathy, and loyalty which ought to band together every one of the workers throughout the Fuh-Province.

Autatis mutandis I am sending an identical letter to this to Mr. Banister,

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

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. W. Banister, Foochow, 10 March 1896.

My dear Mr. Banister,

Many thanks for your letter of January 23rd, with its various enclosures, including a copy of the Bye-laws of the C.E.Z.M.S. with our lamented friends Stewart's notes thereon. You have I trust long ere this received a copy of the new regulations which have been passed with regard to C.E.Z. ladies' work in the Foreign Field. They will I am sure largely meet the wants in Fuh-Kien. The regulations however which you forward shall be carefully considered and after consultation with the authorities at Salisbury Square I will communicate with you again. On the present occasion I want to deal with the unhappy misunderstanding which has risen between yourself and Archdeacon Wolfe. In your letter you speak of "certain action taken by Archdeacon Wolfe in connection with H.B.M. Consul" yet again you write, "When a Missionary of another friendly society who is the senior missionary of the station, and an Archdeacon, lends his authority and the undoubted influence which his position gives him to a public official to re-open a controversy, etc!" From these quotations I, gather that previous to your interview with the Consul and also previous to your communication with the C.E.Z.M.S. with regard to the subjects raised by the Consul, in his proposed communication with Peking, you did not seek any personal interview with the Archdeacon himself. I am confirmed in this view also by the following words which occur in your letter "When the protest went home last week I sent the enclosed letter to Archdeacon Wolfe informing him of what had been done, and asking him to make what explanations he thought best to you" and in the copy of your letter to the Archdeacon dated January 18th which you have kindly forwarded to me, I note that you tell the Archdeacon, "the Missionaries of the C.E.Z.M.S. have sent home a signed protest to their Committee. I write to inform you of this because the Consul gives you generally as the source of his information." However the Ladies state in their memo, which they sent to you, dated January 18th, "He (i.e. the Consul) has spoken about these matters with Archdeacon."

Had you in the first instance talked matters over with the Archdeacon I gather from his letter dated January 20th, he would have assured you that he has “never made a single one of these suggestions to the Consul, but he is himself(the Consul) absolutely responsible for every one of them” and again, he writes with regard to the question of dress “H.M. Consul asked my opinion, and I gave it to him freely, but I am in no way responsible for the proposal which he has represented by this document to have made or about to make. I had no part whatever in suggesting these proposals” etc. If I am right in the conclusion to which I have been driven, you will deeply understand how deeply I deplore the fact that neither Miss Burroughs, Miss Newcombe nor yourself did not apparently take the first opportunity of a personal interview with the Archdeacon in order that he might explore with you the entire facts of the case. Had you done so I fully believe that the entire misunderstanding would have been swept away and the Consul would not have had the opportunity of seeing independent members of the same Mission maintaining conflicting view of duty. It is quite possible that the Archdeacon fell into the same mistake in connection with the request of Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe when they had gone into the country, as I understand, with your permission. I gather that he did not in the first instance come to you, but feeling that the consequences of the action of these two ladies might seriously compromise other workers, went direct to the Consul. If I am right in these suppositions, deeply do I deplore that you were not in the first instance consulted.

What then is the lesson to be drawn from all that has occurred? On calm reflection I am sure that you and the Archdeacon will both agree with me that if such unhappy misunderstandings are to be avoided in the future it can only be through God’s goodness in enabling all concerned to evince one towards another more absolute brotherly sympathy and mutual confidence. My firm persuasion is that the great Adversary is full conscious that there is up and down the Fuh-Kien Province a most remarkable wave of spiritual influence, and he is determined to mar, and if possible destroy the work of God. Surely no device of Satan is more likely to effect this than to cast among the workers the apple of discord. For the Master’s sake, therefore, and for the work’s sake, earnestly do I plead with you and the Archdeacon and the Ladies to forget the misunderstanding of the past, and to determine that by God’s grace you will not allow anything which is likely to break in upon the perfect mutual confidence, sympathy, and loyalty which ought to band together every one of the workers throughout the Fuh-Province.

Mutatis mutandis I am sending an identical letter to this to Archdeacon Wolfe.

Ever sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould, Sec. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, and W. Burroughs, CMS Secretaries, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 11 March 1896.

Consul gives permission and Committee approves return of CMS Ladies to all stations.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 11 March 1896.

CMS does not wish to raise the issue of the ‘Treaty Rights’ of missionaries in the interior. Cites Curzon’s book on “The Far East.”

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, Foochow, 29th April 1896.

Dear Mr. Lloyd,

It is with much pleasure that we have to inform you that the Committee have duly sanctioned the Proposed Rules of Language Examinations in Fuh-Kien which you were good enough to forward to us in your letter of February 20th...

Herewith we enclose a copy of the draft scheme in order that it may be printed in Foochow, and we shall be obliged if you will forward a few copies to us in due course.

LANGUAGE EXAMINATION

First Examination.

SUBJECTS	Written	MARKS
I. Vernacular into English.	To make a fairly accurate written translation of about an Octavo page, from an approved text Book.	100
ii. English into Vernacular.	To make and write in the Romanized colloquial a fairly idiomatic, and grammatically correct translation into the Vernacular of about an octavo page from the "Peep of Day."	100
iii. Grammar.	Baldwin's manual pp1-46 & 192-195.	30
iv. Dictation.	To write from dictation in the Romanised colloquial, a short passage, about half a page octavo, not exceeding in difficulty the approved text book.	30
v. Classical.	(a) Write, name, and number the following fifty radicals:- 9, 18,30, 32, 38, 40, 46, 50, 53, 61, 64, 72, 75, 85, 86, 94, 96, 102, 104, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 128, 130, 140, 142, 145, 149, 153, 157, 159, 163, 164, 167, 169, 170, 173, 181, 184, 187, 188, 195, 196. (b) Write, read, and translate into Colloquial the First Hong Kong Primer. © Read and translate into Colloquial Chapters i-viii of St. John's Gospel. (d) Name the radicals of each character in Chapter 1 of the same.	
vi. Vernacular into English.	Viva Voce. To read distinctly, and to translate with some facility, a passage selected at the time from (a) St. John's Gospel, (b) the Morning Prayer (c) Hymn Book, first thirty hymns (c) the Colloquial Astronomy.	100
vii. Conversation.	To carry on with persons unacquainted with English, a simple and intelligible conversation in the ordinary matters of daily life, and on religious subjects.	100
First Examination.		
Written		
i. Vernacular into English.	To make an accurate translation into English of passages from the sacred Edict pp 1 & 2, and the Christian Three Character Classic.	100
ii.	Write, read and translate into Colloquial the Second Hong Kong Primer, the First Hong Kong Reader, and The Great Learning.	
iii. English into Vernacular.	To translate, with accuracy of grammar and idiom;-	

	(a) A page of a good English prose book.	80
	(b) Ten English sentences.	80
iv. Grammar.	Baldwin's Manual. Part 4 th Part 5 th , pp 163-166, 169, 171-176, and the common titles on pp 184-186.	50
v. Original Composition.	To write in the Romanised colloquial, a short sermon on a text selected by the Examiners, and given to the Examiner at the time of examination in this subject.	50
vi. Vernacular into English.	Viva Voce. To read aloud and translate at sight with fluency and ease, Passages selected at the time by the Examiner from:- (a) New Testament and Psalms, (b) Liturgy, (c) Newspapers or from any book not exceeding in difficulty the approved text book in section 1.	120
vii. English into Vernacular.	To translate, after a brief time allowed for perusal:- (a) A passage of easy English prose (about half a page octavo.) (b) A paper of ten conversational sentences.	40 20
viii. Conversation.	To converse fluently and intelligibly with two or more persons of different classes, who are totally unacquainted with English.	130
ix. Exposition.	To give a fluent and intelligent extempore exposition in the Vernacular, lasting about 10 minutes, on a miracle or parable of Our Lord, notified at the time of examination.	50
x. Acquaintance with Religion.	To give in the Vernacular a brief account of one of the chief non-Christian religions of the country.	40
xi. Letter reading.	To read and translate fluently a letter legibly written in the Vernacular character.	90.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Revs. W. Light and L. Star, Foochow, 15 May 1896.

As I gather from the Archdeacon there has been some slight misconception on your part with regard to the wishes of the Committee with respect to the official communications between members of the Missionary staff and H.M. Consul. I herewith forward to you a copy of a paragraph which we are sending by this mail to Archdeacon Wolfe. The Committee feel it to be of the utmost importance that all official communications with the Consul should go through the hands of the Archdeacon, while at the same time they are equally desirous that the ipsissima verba (having due respect to strict accuracy of statement) of any application from the individual missionary should be forwarded to the Consul and vice versa.²⁵ You will I feel sure, on consideration, see that the above is a reasonable scheme, and I trust will find that in its practicable working does in no wise hamper you.

Trusting that God will abundantly use you in the important work which has been entrusted to your charge. Ever believe me, Very sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould. Sec. CMS.

25 The issue was Wolfe's behaviour in reading letters to the Consul and making his own observations about their contents without reference to the missionary concerned.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 15 May 1896.

- (a) Acknowledges “growth of interest.”
- (b) CMS Ladies postings.
- (c) With respect to the Regulations for Women’s Conference, the P.C. reserve to themselves the right of placing any ladies on the Ladies Conference who may be excluded by the Regulation to which you refer but it is hardly likely that they would deem ladies in local connexion except under very exceptional circumstances, was in the case of Miss Wolfe, as having a claim for such a position being conceded to them.
- (d) In our letter of March 7/95 we wrote;-
“the Committee are especially desirous to take every possible step to prevent any misunderstanding arising should there be occasion to carry on communication with H.M. Consul respecting the position or action of any of our Missionary brethren. They therefore request that all such communications be forwarded to you for submission by you in writing to the Consul, and that a copy of such communication be forwarded to the Missionary on who behalf you are acting. This, we trust, will prevent any possibility of misunderstanding arising

We must ask you kindly to regard this as still holding good. Cordially do we approve your suggestions that the Missionary himself should write an official letter embodying all the facts of the case, and send this letter through you in order that you may become conversant with its contents, and, if necessary, suggesting modifications before forwarding it to the Consul, but the letter should be sent by yourself, and the answer should come through you to the Missionary in question.

You will, we feel sure, take care that the ipsissima verba, so far as they are accurate, of the Missionary brother be communicated to the Consul, and the ipsissima verba of his reply be forwarded to the Missionary himself.

We are sending copy of this paragraph to Mr. Light and Mr. Star for their information...

We remain, dear Archdeacon Wolfe, Very faithfully and affectionately yours, B. Baring-Gould and F. Baylis, Secs, CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 12 June 1896.

My dear Archdeacon,

Many thanks for a letter received from you on the 8th inst. undated, in reply to mine of March 10th.

With respect to the “Favoured Nation” Clause I regret to say that our interview some months ago with the Authorities at the Foreign Office led us to feel that the Consul at Foochow is fully justified in declining to claim rights for British subjects under that clause, at all events they told us that they did not conceive that it would be right for us to attempt to claim our rights under that clause at the present time, hence I regret to say that we must be content to be without privileges which rightly or wrongly are claimed by, as you tell me, the Americans and the French.

With regard however to the main portion of your letter which deals with the unfortunate misunderstanding which has occurred between yourself and Mr. Banister regarding the action of Consul Allen and the ladies of the C.E.Z.M.S.. I do not know that it is of much use to enter further into the discussion. The whole correspondence has revealed the difficulty attending an attempt fully to grasp the position matters in Foochow while sitting in an office in London. Readily do I allow that your letter throws much new light upon the subject which we did not possess when I wrote my letter of March 10th. On the other hand new light is cast upon the position occupied by Mr. Banister by a letter received from him by the last mail. Under these circumstances, most earnestly do I trust and pray that you will do all that in you lies to let Mr. Banister see that you do desire to forget the past and let the mutual misunderstandings be absolutely buried. You, my dear Archdeacon, will be the first to recognize how painfully detrimental to the cause of god is the continuance of any strained relationship between prominent workers in the Field.

Pray do not hesitate to take Mr. Banister into your fullest confidence whenever matters arise which give

you cause for anxiety regarding the work of Ladies under his immediate charge. You may rest assured that I will strongly urge him to act on similar lines with regard to yourself.

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

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Rev. W. Banister, Foochow, 12 June 1896.

My dear Mr. Banister,

Many thanks for your letter of April 27th. It is scarcely necessary for us to assure you how deeply I sympathise with you in all the strain through which you have been passing during many months, and I was exceedingly sorry, though not surprised, to hear that for a time you had been laid aside by fever, but what grieves us most of all is the evident strain which is subsisting between you and the Archdeacon. At this distance from Foochow it is of course absolutely impossible for us, with the fragmentary knowledge at our disposal, to be able to understand the position of matters in their entirety, but I do not the less deplore the misunderstanding on both sides has clouded the missionary horizon in Foochow. Readily do I acknowledge that your letter does throw new light upon many points on which I was ignorant when I wrote to you my letter of March 10th, but I cannot believe that anything is to be gained by further commenting on the past. You will, I feel sure, do all that lies in your power to let the misunderstandings of the past be buried in oblivion and exhibit a brotherly spirit towards the Archdeacon, toward whom, from many points of view, I know that you entertain a sincere respect.

I am asking the Archdeacon to deal with you with the utmost confidence whenever matters arise which give him anxiety in connexion with the Ladies who are placed under your supervision, and you will I feel convinced readily exhibit the same full confidence in him whenever matters arise regarding which he ought to be cognizant.

It is right that I should add that new light has also been thrown upon the position of occupied by Archdeacon Wolfe by a letter which I have received from him by last mail.

And I now gladly turn to deal with a matter which I trust will largely tend, with God's blessing, to the unifying of the work of the Ladies of both societies in Fuh-Kien. Herewith I forward to you a memorandum on the administration of work of Lady Missionaries of the two societies in Fuh-Kien. It has been drawn, as you will see, in response to letters received from you dated January 23/95 in which you forwarded a copy of the Bye-laws of the C.E.Z.M.S. dated 1892 annotated by the late Mr. Stewart with recommendations which had received the general approval of yourself and Mr. Martin. The document will, we think, explain itself. Our great difficulty has arisen in connexion with the appointment of an administrative body to act between the sessions of the Ladies' Conference. The whole question has been most carefully gone into, and we have conferred with all the Fuh-Kien brethren now in England, the C.E.Z.M.S. has also conferred with many of their Lady Missionaries at home, and it is with much thankfulness to God that we are now able to place the accompanying document in your hands as heartily approved by the Parent Committees of both societies.

The question as to the admission of Lady Missionaries connected with the C.E.Z.M.S. into the District of Fuh-Ning is one which may be held to be dependent upon the agreement made under date April 2/95 between this society and the C.E.Z.M.S., but as far as C.M.S. is concerned, the Committee have no objection whatever to C.E.Z.M.S. Ladies working in the Fuh-ning District in connexion with the T.C.D. [Trinity College Dublin Fuh-Kien Mission] as well as C.M.S. Ladies if at any time the T.C.D. Mission and the C.E.Z.M.S. Committee should desire it, but we have reason to believe that as at present advised the C.E.Z.M.S. Committee do not wish their Ladies to engage in work in the neighbourhood of Fuh=ning.

Every very sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould. Sec. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 12 June 1896. Cc Mr Bennett, Hong Kong, Mr.

Martin, Ku Cheng.

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe,

Herewith we forward to you a memorandum on the administration of Lady Missionaries of the C.E.Z.M.S. and C.M.S. in Fuh-Kien. It has been drawn, as you will see, in response to letters received from Mr. Banister

dated January 23rd, 1896, in which he forwards a copy of the Bye-Laws of the C.E.Z.M.S. dated 1892 annotated by the late Mr. Stewart, with recommendation which had received the general approval of Mr. Banister and Mr. Martin. The document will, we think, explain itself. Our great difficulty has arisen in connexion with the appointment of an administrative body to act between the sessions of the Ladies' Conference. The whole question has been most carefully gone into, and we have conferred with all the Fuh-Kien brethren now in England, the C.E.Z.M.S. has also conferred with many of their Lady Missionaries at home, and it is with much thankfulness to God that we are now able to place the accompanying document in your hands as heartily approved by the Parent Committees of both societies.

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We shall be obliged if you will kindly bring before the members of the Sub-Conference the wishes of the Committee with respect to delegating certain administrative functions to the Ladies' Conference, and subsequently placing a copy of the enclosed memorandum in the hands of each of our Lady missionaries.

We have been in correspondence with the Foreign Office with respect to the payment of Dr. Rennie's bill for attendance on the wounded, and the cost of rebuilding the premises at Hua-sang, and the Government were willing to apply to the local Chinese authorities for payment in consideration of the above, but our Government has been informed that our Committee are still of opinion that for them to make any claim might be detrimental to their missionary work in the future, and they therefore abstain from doing so themselves or asking others to claim compensation on their behalf, and information has just come in from the Foreign Office that in view of the consideration put forward, Lord Salisbury does not propose to take any further steps in the matter, and Her Majesty's Minister at Peking has been so informed by telegraph.

We remain, dear Archdeacon Wolfe, Yours very faithfully and affectionately, B. Baring-Gould and F. Bayliss, Sec. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Miss E. S. Goldie, Foochow, 12 June 1896.

Dear Miss Goldie,

Herewith I send to you a copy of a memorandum which has, after weeks and months of careful and prayerful consideration, been drawn up and approved by the Committees of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. with regard to Women's work in Fuh-Kien. Earnestly do I trust that with God's blessing it will largely tend to unify the mode of work of all the Lady Missionaries throughout the Province.

Wishing you ever increasing encouragement in your work, Ever very sincerely yours. B. Baring-Gould.
Sec CMS.

On letter received from the Rev. W. Banister enclosing copy of Bye-Laws of C.E.Z.M.S. dated 1892 containing recommendations which have received the general approval of Mr. Banister and Mr. Martin.

It appearing desirable that certain modifications with regard to the administration of the work of C.M.S. Lady Missionaries, should be adopted with a view to facilitate the smooth working of the entire Mission in the Fuh-Kien Province so that as far as possible the Ladies connected with both Societies should work under a system which is identical.²⁶ It was resolved that the following scheme be adopted.

That the C.M.S. invited the Fuhkien Sub-Conference to delegate to the Ladies'

26 A small but subtle statement that the CMS and CEZMS, although separate societies, saw their work in Fujian as an integrated whole with the two organisations working under the same rules and practices. This is significant in view of Archdeacon Wolfe's objections to dual control, which remained unchanged, and his objections to women wearing Chinese dress which had been overruled in CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, and E. Stock, CMS Secretaries, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 28 February 1896 (see above.)

Conference such administrative powers as are committed to it by the C.E.Z.M.S. thus giving it an equal place in the Councils of both Societies, it being understood that the resolutions of the Ladies' Conference in the case of C.E.Z.M.S. through its Corresponding Secretary, shall be immediately submitted to the Sub-Conference to be carefully considered by them and then either to be sanctioned and carried into effect, or referred for decision to the respective Parent Committees with such comments as the Sub-Conference may think proper to append. Pending such decision it is understood that no action be taken in the Field. The Ladies' Conference will appoint their own Chairwoman and Secretary.

That the Ladies' Conference be asked to appoint annually a Standing Sub-Committee consisting of not more than seven of its members being resident within not more than three days postal communication of Foochow, representing in due proportion the C.M.S., and C.E.Z.M.S., and the different spheres of work in the Province, which Standing Sub-Committee shall have interim power concerning the women's work of both Societies, and reporting their action to the ensuing Ladies' Conference; such matters being dealt with in the case of the C.E.Z.M.S. by their Corresponding Secretary, and in the case of the C.M.S. by the Senior Missionary at Foochow, but in both instances after consultation with the Superintending Missionary of the District.

Subjects which hitherto have been referred by Station Committee, to the Corresponding Secretary (except where dealing with personal relationship to the Society or matter of finance) will now be referred through him to the Standing Sub-Committee.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould and W. Ireland Jones, CMS Secretaries, London, to Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, Foochow, 3 July 1896.

Dear Mr. Lloyd,—

As you are aware the question of the financial separation of the Fuhkien Mission from Hongkong has frequently been under the consideration of the Committee, and the circular letter which we received from you, dated April 17, together with the Minute of the Finance Committee of April 15, has led the Committee once again carefully to consider the matter. The fact of having at Foochow at the present moment one who we believe to be so eminently fitted to carry on such financial duties has had its share in leading the Committee to sanction the proposal of your Finance Committee were informing Mr. Bennett by this mail that that the request from the Kongkong Mission is approved, and that we are inviting you to act as financial secretary in Foochow for the Fuhkien Mission.

Earnestly we trust that God's blessing may rest upon this new arrangement, which will, we believe, save very much unnecessary labour and expedite the transaction of business.

Herewith we enclose a copy of a letter which we are sending by this mail to Adn. Wolfe.

We remain dear Mr. Lloyd, Yours very faithfully and affectionately, B. Baring-Gould, W. Ireland Jones

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, 3 July 1896.

My dear Archdeacon,

Pray accept my best thanks for your letter of May 1st containing your most interesting account of the spirit of enquiry evinced by the inhabitants of Hi sang Island. We are greatly cheered to hear of the augmented interest which seems to have been roused amongst the people of Fuh-Kien to such a large extent. We cannot but pray that you and all the brethren may have special wisdom given to you in dealing with them and if, as we trust, it is the result of the Holy Spirit's work, that he may carry on the work thus commenced ...

My main object in writing by this mail is to reply to your P.S. regarding your furlough. Of course the Lay Department will be quite prepared to finance your voyage from Foochow to California and back, but we shall be much better pleased to be responsible for your return ticket from Foochow to London via California. As you are aware, we are in the midst of our Three Years Enterprise and we are exceedingly anxious that this period should not pass away without having the benefit of your powerful advocacy in England. We want

your presence in our Committees, in our pulpits, on our platforms. For the sake of the cause itself we want your presence in England because we believe that it will be a real spiritual refreshment to you after your prolonged residence in the Foreign Field.

Earnestly do I trust you will be able to arrange for this visit and I need not assure you of the most cordial welcome from many who have been for years supporting you and yours by their prayers.

With kindest remembrances to Mrs. Wolfe, and all your party.

Ever believe me, Very sincerely yours, B. Baring-Gould, Sec. CMS.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould and F. Baylis, CMS Secretaries, London, to Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, Foochow, 17 July 1896.

Dear Mr. Lloyd,

1. Since last writing, we have received nothing from you.
2. In addition to Mrs. Taylor and Mr. and Mrs. Collins returning to Fuh-Kien, the Rev. Dr. Synge, of Trinity College, Dublin, who is, as far as we know, the first clergyman who has been ordained in Ireland for the Mission Field, and is a fully qualified medical practitioner, is coming over to take up work on behalf of the T.C.D. Fuh-Kien Committee in Fun-ning also Mr. Woods, who has been engaged for some years in connexion with the Irish Church Missions, is being sent out by our Committee especially to take up work in connexion with the schools of Kucheng and neighbourhood under Mr. Martin. Dr. Synge and Mr. Woods will leave England on October 23rd. On the present occasion we are only sending out one additional lady, viz., Miss E. Thomas, who sails on October 9th we trust under the escort of Bishop and Mrs. Fyson²⁷ as far as Hong Kong and then on to Foochow under the care of Miss Mead and Miss Lambert who are returning in the same vessel. The exact location of Miss Thomas we are leaving in the hands of the Ladies' Conference. If all be well, early in January we hope to send out two sisters, the elder of whom, Dr. Mary Harmer, is a fully qualified medical lady, and we hope the two sisters will be ultimately be located in the city of Hok-chiang.

Under these circumstances, we trust that Archdeacon Wolfe will fully realise that his impression that Fuh-Kien is forgotten will be for ever banished. On the present occasion we rejoice to be able to send up a little band of recruits, men and women, to Su-chuen besides a small reinforcement for Mid China.

3. With reference to a letter from Archdeacon Wolfe dated May 1st, inasmuch as Archdeacon Wolfe has not been in England since 1881, and feeling the importance of his advocacy on behalf of Mission work in connexion with the T.Y.E. [Three Year Enterprise], the Committee while approving his visiting California, strongly urge him also to come to England for a period of at least six months. Very earnestly do we trust that Archdeacon Wolfe will see his way to carry out this earnest wish of the Committee.
4. Refers to a Ladies' House in Foochow.
5. Dr. Rigg re purchase of a house in Kien-ning. Requests view of Sub-Conference.
6. We are given to understand that the question of the division of work of C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. Ladies in the city of Foochow has been delegated to the Ladies' Conference, who will in due course report their recommendation to the Sub-Conference.
7. Re transparency in Mission financing in Fuh-Kien.

27 Bishop of Hokkaido, Japan. <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/jp/batchelor/yezo1902/01.html>
See also <http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/hhmontgomery/mankind1907/awdry04.html>

*The Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXVII, October 1896, pp 479-483.)*²⁸

THE PASTORAL LETTER
TO THE CHRISTIANS IN THE FUHKIEN PROVINCE

Greeting: As by the divine favor the truths of Christianity have been proclaimed far and wide in this province, and many have embraced them and hope for salvation; and as in many places troubles arise from the superstitious beliefs and practices of the heathen, leading them to treat you unjustly in temporal affairs and even persecute you for your religion; and as you naturally look to your foreign teachers for aid in your distresses, often expecting help which we are unable to give, and hence you are led to distrust our goodwill toward you, therefore we, as a body of over eighty missionaries assembled at Ku-liang, near Foochow, have considered the matter and have decided to issue this Pastoral Letter, setting forth what in our opinion are your rights as Christians in Fuhkien and how you should endeavour to secure them. We would therefore present to you the following points:—

1. All should understand that embracing Christianity implies a purpose to seek and practice personal holiness, to honor and serve God, to be filial to parents, to be loyal subjects and to love others as ourselves.

2. It is the duty of every one to be a true Christian, and it is possible to be such under whatever human laws or in whatever circumstances he or she may be placed.

3. Persons who have violated the civil laws by committing murder or theft, by gambling or counterfeiting, or who are guilty of any other crime, should not be received into the Church unless they have given good evidence of repentance and conversion, and should they be received they must still remember that they are amenable to the laws of the land for such crimes, and have no right to expect exemption from punishment because they become Christians.

4. We have no right to expect that foreign governments will interfere and compel the Chinese government to alter its ordinary laws or their regular mode of execution.

5. The treaties with Christian nations now give the sanction of the Imperial government to any person, official or citizen, to embrace Christianity and guarantee to him religious liberty, so that he cannot lawfully be compelled to contribute money for idolatrous or immoral purposes. For many years the officials at Foochow, from District Magistrate to Viceroy and Tartar-General, have proclaimed the right of Christians to be exempt from local taxation for such purposes.

6. Aside from cases involving religious liberty Christians should not as such claim discriminating legislation on their behalf.

7. In cases where religious liberty is at stake every effort should be made by those concerned to settle them amicably, and thus avoid appealing to the courts. Where this cannot be done they should appeal to the officials in the ordinary way, paying the usual fee. In no case should they look to the missionary to take the initiative.

8. Although there seem to be hardships in poor people securing their rights under the present

28 Wehrle (1966) pp 62-63 comments: "Without a doubt the pastoral constituted a worthy statement of principles for the conduct of missionaries and their fold ... it was a good instrument and it gave the [British] Foreign Office a renewed opportunity to take up the question of missionary conduct. True to form, the Foreign Office chose to remain passive. No attempt was made to use this pastoral as a guide for missionary conduct throughout China.

The Foreign Office sought to tone down the references to superstitious beliefs and the inevitability of the transformation of China by Christianity.

The lay secretary of the CMS, who was asked to eliminate the objectionable portions of the pastoral, replied that while he would endeavour to obtain the required modifications the pastoral had its origin in China and the society's control over those far-off missionaries was limited.

Wehrle failed to mention the obvious. It was not a CMS pastoral letter and there was nothing the CMS could have achieved by trying to influence the Americans.

Wehrle (63) states that after 1897 the Foreign Office gave up its various ideas about controlling missionaries in China.

Wehrle (63). Undoubtedly the word had passed among the consular force that Lord Salisbury was not receptive to any suggestion which might extend responsibility and control over the missionaries.

Government yet Chinese Christians should remember that in the providence of God they are Chinese, that the regular government taxes are light comparatively, and that in the present untrustworthiness of the people the system of yan-en fees for services rendered is unavoidable. As the people become Christianized then gradually Christian laws and methods will become possible and can prevail.

9. At present foreign missionaries and Consuls in appealing to the officials can exert only a moral influence on behalf of the native Christians to assist them in their troubles and reforms, and it must lead naturally to hatred of Christianity and of the Christians themselves on the part of the officials for the foreigners to be too forward in undertaking the lead in prosecuting cases for the Christians.

10. As a general rule missionaries should appeal to the officials in behalf of Christians through their Consuls only in cases of severe persecution. The collecting of old debts, claims for fields and other property formerly taken from them by extortion and all similar civil cases should be left for the natives to manage themselves, and in all such cases they should be instructed to seek only for what is just and right. The Chinese method of magnifying one's own wrongs and of taking advantage of other people's ignorance should not be indulged in or allowed among Christians. We should remember the apostle's declaration that it is better to suffer injury than to do it to another.

11. With respect to property shared year by year in rotation we recommend that the Christians in the several prefectures, or in the entire province, unite and present the case to their officials, showing the injustice that must result in case the Christians on account of moral inability to perform ancestral worship should be deprived of their share in their patrimony. To aid in the matter it could be suggested that the money for the sacrifices and feasts should be divided among those entitled to it, and the balance belong to the party who has the control of the property for the year. Or the proposition might be made that the expenses for the repair of graves should be provided annually and the rest go to the manager for the year, or that the property be equitably divided among the heirs. The last course would naturally be the rule if all the heirs become Christians. In such application to the officials it should of course be shown that Christians are not wanting in filial piety, though they refuse to sacrifice to their ancestors.

12. With respect to reforms in marriage and social customs, such as the protection of widows from the power of their late husband's relatives; the daughter's right to share in her father's property; the matter of infant betrothals; the selling of daughters to be slave girls, and other questions which may arise, the same general method may be followed as suggested in No. 11. According to the present genius of the Chinese government this is the only way open for Christians to secure any reform in their civil rights that may be desired.

Now we publish these points for your information, and recommend that all the foreign missionaries, as well as the native Christians, conform their practice to the spirit of these statements, hoping thus to secure more harmony in practice among missionaries towards the native Christians, better feeling on the part of the Chinese officials towards both the missionaries and the Chinese Christians and more uniform good feeling on the part of the native Churches towards the foreign helpers of their faith. We trust therefore that the object of this letter may be correctly understood by all our Chinese brothers and sisters in the Lord, and that mutual love and warmer zeal in the service of Christ may result.

Hoping that the God of all blessing may bestow on you all His riches favors, multiplying you exceedingly till all the people of the province cast away their idols and turn to the true God; granting to you grace for holy living, making you abound in every good work, helping you to joy in tribulation if need be and fulfilling in you the hope of eternal glory.

We are, fraternally yours,

Charles Hartwell, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, missionary, Foochow.

P W Pitcher, American Reformed Church Mission, Amoy.

Jas Sadler, London Missionary Society, Amoy.

G M Wales, English Presbyterian Mission, Amoy.

N J Plumb, [American] Methodist Episcopal Mission, Foochow.

W Banister, Church Missionary Society, Foochow.

Geo B Smith, [American] Methodist Episcopal Mission, Foochow. Secretary of Committee.

We further plead with you:—

1. For your unceasing prayer that we may be given wisdom and understanding in the direction of the native Christians.
2. For your constant sympathy and consideration amongst the many difficulties which beset us in the prosecution of our missionary services in this country
3. We further plead with you for a vigilance and watchfulness that all our rights as missionaries and as citizens, secured to us under treaty, be safe guarded, and that restrictions which are not justified, either by treaty or by circumstances, be not imposed upon us.

Charles Hartwell, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, missionary, Foochow.

W Banister, Church Missionary Society, Foochow.

Jas Sadler, London Missionary Society, Amoy.

P W Pitcher, American Reformed Church Mission, Amoy.

N J Plumb, [American] Methodist Episcopal Mission, Foochow.

Geo B Smith, [American] Methodist Episcopal Mission, Foochow. Secretary of Committee.

Ku-liang, Foochow, China, Aug 26th 1896.

Beard, Willard L, Letter to relatives, 10 November 1895, Day Missions Library, Yale University Divinity School Library.

Last Thursday morning at 9:04 o'clock five more Kutien murderers were beheaded here at Foochow. They were brought down some time ago, but had to be reexamined and identified by the Consuls. Four of these were the leaders in the massacre. One of them carried the flag and shouted "Kill outright". Another was the instigator of the plot. The fifth man did not go to Hua-sang at all and advised the others not to go. He wanted to plunder and said the missionaries had little money or valuables. He advised attacking the officers Yamen at Kucheng. So his case was entirely in the hands of Chinese. The execution took place on the parade ground just outside the city wall. Dr. Kinnear and Mr. Peet attended. Dr. took 10 pictures- snapped all the time from the time the prisoners were brought to the place until the business was all over. He said the Chinese Prefect was very kind to him and kept the crowd away so that he could work his instrument. He estimated that not less than 10,000 people were on the grounds- 22 foreigners were there 22 at least- many of the Chinese officials were there. I attended the meeting that morning at Giu eio dong. On the way home, I walk on the street about 30 rods. I met the Eng. Consul, Dr. Gregory (M.E. Mission), the executioner carrying his sword and followed by an excited crowd and two other foreigners. I started from my home immediately with Dr. Kinnear- just as soon as he arrived from the execution, to go over to the river. All along the street the one topic of conversation was the execution and frequently the natives "that man was there and took pictures". We heard this four miles from the parade grounds. This shows that the event was thoroughly known. That the people know that foreigners are not incapable or afraid to punish the evil doers. There has existed an idea in the minds of the natives that missionaries especially were what we term chicken-hearted. That they could injure them with impunity. This event I think must do much to disabuse their minds of the illusion. The reports about the executions have been very confused. I was at the consulate Wed. and the following is the official number. At Kucheng the first time 14. Second time 7. At Foochow 5. – 26 in all. But in my mind it is not that this number has been beheaded. That should cause us to rejoice, but that a just court has been held and that guilty men have been executed. The Chinese have a way of offering to kill any number at a time like this. But they take no pains to find the guilty ones. Indeed they pick up coolies and beggars, any worthless friendless fellow, and he head counts one. But Consul Hixson insisted on a fair trial. He found by cross examination one of the men whom the Chinese wished convicted was a professional beggar. Under torture such a man would confess or say that he was one of the guilty party. On the other side the Chinese let a number of the prisoners go after the first examinations. Consul Hixson demanded they be brought back. One of these men was guilty and thro him they got the names of 25 more implicated in the business. The precedent has been established that a foreign government can demand and receive due recognition- in the settlement of such cases, and that a foreign government can also compel a fair examination of the prisoners. Now let Christian governments follow the good precedent and never be satisfied with a few dollars and a few beggars heads.

CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Secretary CMS London, to Rev. W. Banister, Foochow, 20 November 1896.

1. CMS has referred pastoral letter ([see above] to Foreign Office.
2. Foreign Office demurs with 3 paras.
 - (i) objects to “superstitious beliefs and practices of the heathen.”
 - (ii) objects to use of term “idolatrous” and would prefer more euphemistic mode of expression.
 - (iii) objects to use of term “immoral” as being possible of misunderstanding.
 - (iv) objects to “the Chinese method of magnifying one’s own wrongs etc” is regarded as a discourteous mode of expression.

3. These are political objections offered in an unofficial and friendly spirit.

4. **An extract from Consular Intelligence Report for June Quarter 1896.** (Consul C.F.R. Allen.)

We have to face the fact that at present there is great friction between the authorities and the Christian Churches. I lately had a visit from the Bishop of Victoria who made a tour in this district. He said that he was much struck by the enormous influx of Chinese into the Churches, but added, “I wish I could understand the reason of it.” Anyhow this influx excites the alarm of the mandarins and the strong opposition of the gentry. I wish that I could say that all the missionaries met the crisis with the wisdom required, and with the patience and caution shown by the Bishop and the Archdeacon. Every case which has been brought before the Magistrates and has been given against the Christian, is brought forward by one of the junior missionaries as a case of persecution, in which my intervention is called for. One of these cases involved the theft of some cockles, another was an ejection without compensation, three others were squabbles about property. In one of these a missionary so far forgot himself as to lend a friend of the plaintiff who was a member of his congregation his Chinese visiting-card to use in court, which the man did, and if the Magistrate is to be believed, rescued his companion. I had an indignant complaint of the missionary’s behaviour from the [provincial] Board of Foreign Affairs but the missionary in question defended his action and was so grossly unreasonable that I threatened to refuse him a passport unless he was more judicious in future.

