

1895, September 1.

The Church Missionary Gleaner, London, September 1895, p 130.

In these pages we shall not discuss the national and political aspects of the calamity at Ku-cheng or of Missions in China generally. Our missionaries have been accustomed to go to lands where there are no consuls for gunboats; they do not want the Gospel preached at the point of the bayonet; and if any of them have to lose their lives by violence, the last thing they desire is retribution. But although they may be willing to die, if need be, rather than leave a nation without hearing of Christ, this does not affect the duty of the government of the country they suffer in to preserve law and order and to protect life, nor does it affect the PAO CHEN right and the duty of England to try and induct the rulers of that country to do so; especially in countries like Turkey and China, where England has treaty rights. Exactly what should be done, and how, is a question for our Government, or for individual Englishmen, and not for a Missionary Society. Our duty is plain and simple, to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. It is legitimate to use treaty rights to do so, where they exist; but whether they exist or no, and whether they are observed or no, the duty remains the same; and no perils, however serious, no obstacles, however apparently insurmountable, can release us from the obligation to fulfil it. If a gunboat chances to be near, there is no more harm in using it as a place of refuge than any other place of refuge; but no true missionary let his presence be dependent on the gunboat's presence, nor does he wish its officers and crew to risk their lives in order to save his.

We feel constrained by the experiences of the first week in August to warn our readers that they must not accept everything that appears in the newspapers as necessarily true. When the news of the Ku Cheng disaster first came, our press agency published a telegram purporting to come (and for aught we knew really did come) from Shanghai, suggesting the occurrence of shocking horrors in addition to the cruel deaths of our sisters. Now Shanghai is for telegraphic purposes, little nearer to Fuh-chow than London is; and a Shanghai correspondent would not necessarily know more than we did. Of the statements made there was at the time no evidence, and there is since no confirmation. Again, strange and quite imaginary notices appeared in some papers on Tuesday, Aug. 6th, of what was going on in Salisbury Square. A "Council" or Committee was said to have been in long and anxious consultation with the Foreign Office. Nothing of the sort occurred. It was bank-holiday, and only one Secretary, one clerk, and the hall-porter were at CM House; and the Secretary merely called at the Foreign Office to inquire if they had any additional news. So is current history written! And the provoking thing is that these paragraphs were copied into at least two Evangelical Church papers which circulated among CMS friends. The secular papers would be ashamed to treat sporting or theatrical affairs in this ignorant and careless fashion: but how can we complain of them when papers representing our own circle know so little about us, and take so little trouble to ascertain facts.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne), Special Kucheng Number), Vol XXII, No. 21, September 1895, pp 345-363. (Rev. H. B Macartney, Jr.)

Monday, August 5, was one of the darkest days in memory. Light could hardly struggle through the clouds and rain. Morning called me to a house of woe, and noon-time saw the mourners standing by an open grave in drenching showers. Meanwhile the body of the beloved Canon Chase was coming to the city, and as I followed, a telegram was sent after me to this effect—that far away in the North, in the Flowery Land, ten of our English people had perished—that the Stewarts, and the Saunders, and Mary Gordon and others had fallen...

An hour later saw two of us with the mother of our dear Victorian girls; and there at the "Willows," just at sorrow's centre, sorrow seemed to cease' light, not deepening darkness, came to us at eventide, for the parent's eyes were "lifted up," not to the hill of Fu Kien nor to the scene of carnage, but to the Mount of Zion and to the Palace of the King. *There* she saw her children; *there* she saw their white apparel and the radiant smile beneath the crown of glory, and thus she comforted those who came to comfort her.

The New Review, (London), September 1895.

E. Lynn Linton,
A WORD IN SEASON.

No one would wish to tone down into a merely “regrettable incident” the enormity of the late massacre at Ku-seng. Wherever British subjects choose to go they must be protected by the Government when possible, or avenged if they are injured, where this is impossible. This is the first duty of a strong nation; and hitherto England has not been wanting its fulfillment. But some has to be said about those who deliberately thrust themselves into circumstances of peril.— who go where they are not wanted— teach what is abhorrent to their hearers—and live in a manner which their hosts think to be vile in itself and contaminating to their own society—those who, of set purpose, interfere with faiths, customs, and prejudices which are ingrained in the very substance of a people’s character.

It is the fashion to credit all missionaries with the loftiest motives. Such base consideration as a congested home market, the need of making a living, the love of adventure and a desire to see foreign parts, are not supposed to weigh the traditional straw with the men and women who squander themselves abroad as missionaries to the heathen. They are all loyal martyrs and heroes, ready to die for the Truth, and only anxious that unbelieving outsiders should be gathered into the fold of the faithful. Volumes of nonsense are talked and written about our “devoted brethren” and “saintly sisters,” who get their living by doing those things for which others have to pay large sums to Cook and the P. and O. Company. And we are asked to reverence as godly, qualities which, stripped of their religious garniture, we should envy in an explorer and deprecate in a busybody. If any one were to hint at—here the difficulty of finding work at home—there the tremendous force and fascination of the nomadic instinct—he would be held as a scoffer—a ribald Voltarean incapable of understanding the sublimities of enthusiasm; —and yet perhaps his warp would be stronger than those others’ woof.

This affair at Ku-seng may cost the lives of some hundreds of people. Were China better prepared than she is, and were she not still sore with her Japanese beating, it might have caused a war. And really, when one thinks of it, it is rather hard that a number of unoffending people should have to die because certain irrespressibles among ourselves will adventure themselves where they are not wanted, and where they carry their lives in their hands—knowing this from the first well enough. This missionary business is growing serious; and now that women have taken it up as a profession, like any other, it is more serious still. Frankly, it is both an aggression and an impertinence when dealing with the old civilisations of the East. These are not like the embryonic organisation of savages. They are closely-welded systems—the result of ages of trial and experiment, and are part and parcel of the mental and moral life of the nation. Customs, religion, laws, morality, all are inextricably interwoven, the one with the other. To touch one is to touch all, and to tear away a social image is to tear away a moral precept. This English men and women will not understand. They think, for example, that if they can but give the purdah women a taste for gadding, induce them to show their faces unveiled. Have At Homes, ride bicycles, and do all that we do—in the name of Christ—they, these proselytising zealots, will then have done their duty to God and their neighbours in this world and have secured their own good standing in the next. They swarm over India, knocking at the door of the Zenana, and doing their best to disturb the ancient serenity and seclusion of the Hindu home. The conditions of that home are evil, to their way of thinking, inasmuch as they are different from their own. They do not stop to remember both the ethnic and ethical differences between the East and West, not can they believe in happiness where those differences exist. Without the personal freedom and social activities, the out-of-door amusements and rebelliousness to authority of normal English women, life seems to them emphatically not worth having;—and their downtrodden sisters must be rescued. Women without men’s society—pretty young wives with their dear boys intimately harboured in the boudoir—women without newspapers and the fervid details of the latest scandal—women content to live in privacy and the domestic duties of the home; it must be that these wretched creatures, who by the way, know nothing else and desire nothing else, long for death to come and take them from their bitter destiny.

The Zenana missionaries give no weight to education and inherited tendencies, nor do they picture to themselves how they look to these sheltered women to whom freedom would be desolation and crime. They cannot imagine with what dismay and disgust a purdah lady would look on a female globe-trotter, not how the indelicacy of sexual freedom would fill her with shamefaced abhorrence. Far more than longing to

imitate the self-reliance of the enterprising female journalist who can go from Dan to Beersheba by herself, and come out victorious over all difficulties, she would draw away her skirts from this, to her dense mind, degraded sister, and would feel how happy she was to be able to sit close and live protected from danger. Our Zenana missionaries see neither themselves as others see them, nor those others as they are. Their measuring tape reaches just to their own height, and all that goes above or below is evil. And they foresee as little as they judge. They make no account of what would become of the British raj in India should the mission bear the fruit desired—should the Hindu man become self-reliant and his Zenana self-assertive. They care nothing for the certain outburst of gross licentiousness that would follow the tearing down of the protecting purdah—that throwing open the door of the sheltering Zenana. A few busybodies would have been industriously happy in their work of interference and destruction, which they would dignify with fine-sounding adjectives—a few sentimental sympathisers in England would have attending drawing-room meetings where they would have been “favoured with an address” delivered by some obscure “Zenana worker,” for the moment hoisted into notoriety; and they would have gone home penetrated with the belief that our poor sisters are held in a captivity from which they are longing to see themselves free, and are in no wise content with their lives as custom, inheritance, and teaching have prescribed. Of the conservative quality of morality—of the fact that different systems suit different nations and that the English social system can never be the pattern for the East to copy—of the fact, too, that the few women who do break away from the old traditions and become free and insurgent are not the best of their class, and that indeed, Hindu converts of either sex are for the most part scamps and good-for-nothings to whom the very converters give a wide berth—of all the fatal disturbance they are doing their best to create in the Indian Empire to which we have sworn absolute non-interference with its old-time faith and customs—these fanatical missionaries have not a thought. But when they arouse a corresponding fanaticism on the other side—with translation into deeds—then the Government must perforce interfere, and more blood still has to be shed that the minds of aggressive busybodies may be appeased... **After a perfunctory reference to the Kucheng massacre the rest of the text is an attack on women and relates to missionary work in India.**

Chinese Recorder, September 1895, pp 450-452.

Diary of Events in the Far East.

August 1895

Huasang (Whasang), Fuhkien Province

Includes text of Chinese Imperial Decree-Proclamation on toleration. (See FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 12, 1895. (Received Washington Sept. 26), No 2309, Denby to Olney.).

The Sunday at Home, September 1895.¹

THE WHASANG MASSACRE

The Massacre at Wasang, near Kucheng, which sent a thrill of horror through Christendom, was ascribed to a band of ... Vegetarians. The blow fell suddenly. So terrible a calamity has rarely had place in missionary annals. Of the party in the station, the Rev. R. W. Stewart, his wife, and two ladies, were burnt in the house; another lady was speared, and thrown down a precipice; yet another had her throat cut; two others were speared in the head; the young son of Mr. Stewart had his skull fractured; a sister died from shock; in all ten perished, “in one fell swoop.” Four others of the children and another lady were seriously wounded.

The gravity of the incident was immediately recognized in political as well as religious circles. These are by no means the first who have fallen victims to Chinese fanaticism and hate. Outrages have been frequently reported of late years, in which mission-stations have been assailed. Romish priests and nuns have suffered; French and Swedish missions have been attacked. The most atrocious libels have been circulated; and those who have planned and carried out the worst outrages have been shielded from punishment. It would appear moreover that the arrival of Japanese ships off Fu-chau had caused some excitement earlier in the year. “They have many well-wishers among the Chinese,” wrote Mr. Stewart then from Ku-cheng; “here eight out of ten of the lower and middle classes would rejoice at a Japanese victory. They hate their own governments, and are rebels at heart; it would take very little to make them so in fact.” And in the same letter he describes

1 *A Family Magazine For Sabbath Reading*, London, Religious Tract Society.

an attempt made by a party of “Rebel Vegetarians” to seize Ku-cheng itself. It would seem that the Whasang massacre, though so carefully plotted, was due in part to the disorganized state of the whole region. The feud is not simply one of contending religions; and this is seen so clearly in China that the foreign community has been unanimous in demanding protection. There are, however, many reasons for fearing that the officials connive at, if they do not instigate, these acts of violence. At the time we write, there are rumours of other outrages, and great anxiety is felt lest the flame of mischief should spread. Scarcely had the facts been fully ascertained, when the public learned that the English Government had taken immediate action. The British Minister at Peking called upon the Tsung-li Yamen to grant a military escort to the British Consul at Fu-chau, to enable him to visit the scene of the massacre to hold an inquiry. The Chinese Government was also called upon to issue an Imperial Decree, ordering capital punishment for the offenders, and to arrange for the issue of stringent orders for the protection of all British missionaries now in China. To these demands the Chinese Government assented without demur.

The Christian Church suffers with those who have fallen. Mr. Stewart, who perished with his wife and family, was attached to the Church Missionary Society. Some of the ladies were members of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, but two were supported by an Australian Association.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 1 September 1895.

JAPAN MUST FIGHT FOR COREA

Russia’s Attitude Sure to Bring on a Conflict.

THE NEXT WAR IN THE ORIENT.

Only the Lack of Ironclads Prevented the Mikado from Opening Hostilities

At the Time of the China Peace Negotiation—

Chester Holcomb Talks of the Situation in the East—

Massacre of Missionaries.

San Francisco, Cal. September 2—Chester Holcomb, who has just returned from China after twenty-one years service in the American legation in Peking says, “That Japan and Russia will become mixed up in a dispute which will result in war, goes without saying, and the commencement of actual hostilities is not far off. The Japanese have a big grievance against Russia and Russia is preparing to make things warm for the Japanese. It has given Russia an opportunity she has long waited for.

No one knows better than I how narrowly Japan escaped war with Russia when she got through her war with China. The Japanese were so incensed at Russia’s attitude in the matter of the cession of the Liao Tung Peninsula that the Japanese officials talked seriously of engaging in a squabble with Russia. I was in Japan at the time and heard it all. A certain member of the Japanese cabinet, whose acquaintance I made when he was sent to Peking as the Japanese minister to China, said to me at the time, ‘Russia has six ironclad battleships. We have but one, and that we captured from the Chinese. If we had but four ironclads, or only three, we would defy Russia.’ This is just what Russia wanted them to do. Russia will yet so aggravate the Japanese that they will declare war. Then Russia will attempt to drive Japan out of Corea, where they are now masters of the situation. The Japanese are dictating affairs in Corea, for while the king remains on the throne, he does nothing that counts in authority. The fight between Russia and Japan will be over Corea and it will come just as soon as Russia finds that she wants an open port on the Pacific.”

Mr. Holcomb traces the persecution and killing of missionaries to the China-Japan war. He says: “At the commencement of the recent war between China and Japan, it was generally feared that the lives of foreigners in China would be in great danger as long as the war lasted, but as a matter of fact, there was practically no danger as long as the war lasted, and it is only since the hostilities ceased that the danger has commenced. We had proof of that in the recent massacres, and I think I can explain the reason. In the first place, the great mass of Chinese are disappointed with the result of the war and are taking revenge on the foreigners whom they can kill with impunity. In the second place, the killing and pillaging receives great encouragement by reason of the depredations committed by hordes of disbanded soldiers all over the country. The Chinese government has a peculiar method of disposing of its troops at the close of the war. When the soldiers are no longer needed they are discharged from service at the place where they happen to be at the time. The fact that an army may be several hundred or a thousand miles away from home when it is disbanded, and the fact that the soldiers may not possess any means of getting home, does not interest the

government in the least. The troops are turned loose, and to use an American expression, they have to 'beat' their way back to the place from whence they came. That they should pillage and commit depredations is, therefore, natural with such people under such conditions. Just before I left Japan I learned that an American missionary who has been laboring near Peking since 1890 had been assaulted and severely cut by a knife. His name is D. S. Sheffield and I have known him quite well for years. It is only fair to say, however, that the assailants were arrested and will be tried for their offense. If such prompt action was taken in the cases of other offenders the wholesale killing of missionaries in China would be speedily stopped. It is almost impossible, however, to mete out justice to offending Chinese in the interior provinces and the assault is the fault of the government.

San Francisco Call, 1 September 1895.

AVERTED THE CRISIS.

ECHOES OF THE RECENT WAR.

References to Government changes in Japan following Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895.

... The United States Minister in Peking has appointed the Rev. Spencer Lewis of Chungking to represent America on the commission appointed to investigate the Szechuen outrages. It is admitted that Mr. Lewis possesses all the necessary qualifications from a missionary point of view, but dissatisfaction because a Secretary of Legation or a Consul-General is not nominated, in order to give the commission greater weight.

A curious device has been employed by the anti-foreign agitators in Chengtu to perpetuate and intensify the feeling against missionaries. After the latter had all been driven out and their houses burned or razed, sedan chairs containing children began to arrive at the sites of the ruins. The bearers averred that the little ones were for the foreigners, who had purchased them. This was quite an artistic sequel to the digging up of bones said to have belonged to infants eaten by the foreign devils.

Chengtu has been decorated with placards accusing the Japanese of stirring up the Szechuen riots in order to embarrass the Peking Government, and promising the Christians that if they will worship the idols and conform to the customs of the multitude they shall be spared. In spite of all that has happened the officials suffer these placards to remain exposed...

The terrible massacre of Christian missionaries near Foochow took place at their sanitarium, which is situated at Whasang, not far from Kucheng. Then persons were killed... They were all British subjects. No American was among the sufferers... **Recounts report of Dr. J. J. Gregory.**

1895, September 2.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 4.10 p.m. Sep 2, 1895.

No.5. You should insist on summary execution of all principals in massacre.

I have requested Yamen to authorize decapitation on the spot. If criminals sent to Foochow all moral effect would be lost particularly as they are liable as outlaws to severe punishment apart from question of massacre. O’Conor.

The Times, (London), 2 September 1895.

OUTRAGE ON CHINESE CHRISTIANS.

SHANGHAI, AUG. 31. Some Chinese Christians have been brutally harried near Hing-hua, in the province of Fo-kien. Their houses were burnt, their property plundered, and their cattle “lifted.” The magistrate, though he was asked five times for assistance, refused it. The magistrate had published an ambiguous proclamation referring to the Ku-cheng massacre, and inciting a rising against the Christians. Worse troubles are expected.—*Our Correspondent.*

New York Times, 2 September 1895.

CHINESE CHRISTIANS HARRIED.

Their Houses Burned, Property Plundered, and Cattle Stolen, And No Protection Given Them.

LONDON, Sept. 1.—The Times will to-morrow publish a dispatch from Shanghai saying that some Chinese Christians have been brutally harried near Hing—Hua, in the Province of Fokien. Their houses were burned, their property plundered, and their cattle stolen. One man was fatally wounded.

A Magistrate was asked five times to assist the Christians, but he refused to do anything to prevent the outrages. This Magistrate had published an ambiguous proclamation referring to the Ku-Cheng massacre, inciting the rising against the Christians.

Further worse troubles are expected.

A dispatch from Shanghai says that the sixteenth person sentenced for participation in the massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng has been executed. The dispatch adds that, as yet, nothing has been done in regard to the claims made by the British and American Ministers respecting the attacks on missionaries in Szechuan.

1895, September 3.

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

Despatched Peking, 3 Sep, 1895.

No.10. Sir, With ref. to your desp. No 21 of the 7th inst., in which you bring to my notice the important services rendered by Dr. J. J. Gregory to the survivors of the late massacre at Ku-t'ien, I beg you to convey my best thanks to Dr Gregory and to inform him that I have had much pleasure in reporting his humane conduct to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for F.A. I am, etc. N. R. O'Conor.

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 3, 1895, No 1136. Adee to Denby.

SIR: I inclose for your personal information a translation of a cablegram from the Tsung-li Yamen to the Chinese minister here, dated August 27, 1895, which was handed to me by the minister on the 29th ultimo. It has reference to the investigation of the Kutien riots, and requests that Mr. Hixson be instructed to exercise greater moderation.

In view of your cablegram of the 28th, the minister has been told that an instruction such as requested by him could not be sent to Mr. Hixson, whose investigation is apparently approved by you and consequently by the Department, especially as the request was too vague to act upon.

It is, of course, at the same time assumed that Mr. Hixson will bear in mind that the importance of his official position and the character of the special functions assigned to him demand a dignified and temperate though impressive treatment of the matters arising the course of the Kutien investigation, as befits the Government he represents. I am, etc., Alvey A. Adee, Acting Secretary.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 3, 1895. (Received Washington Oct. 21), No 2333, Denby to Olney.

SIR: In addition to the matter wired in my telegram of the 31st ultimo, I desire to make a few observations on the proposition that the delinquent local officials in the province of Szechuan should be severely punished, and that as soon as possible.

The ex-viceroy Liu, was superseded before any riot took place, for causes not affecting foreigners. His successor arrived at Chengtu two months or more ago. Liu started for his home. At the urgent instance of the British minister and myself, he was stopped en route and ordered to return to Chengtu to await the result of the pending investigation. As very conclusively showing his guilt, there were found in his possession missals, books, vases and other things which had been stolen from the Catholic church and even from its altar.

Liu has, and has had, since his return to Chengtu, nothing to do with public affairs.

As to the proof that this man and several of his subordinates are guilty of culpable negligence, or even direct connivance in the matter of the riots, there is abundance of it. The French commission has completed its labors and the proof of guilt is complete.

The sum of 700,000 taels has been agreed on as the French indemnity, but I understand that it will not be accepted until the guilty officials have been punished. The British minister and I also have affidavits. It is to be regretted that we have not the report of the official commission as a basis for action. For the British minister and myself it has been found impracticable to have such a commission. As you have been informed, such a commission was proposed, but the acting British consult at Chungking, who was to have been the head of the commission, found himself unable to leave Chungking, because he greatly feared that if he did so there would be an antiforeign riot at that city. I have no official at Chungking. The French were more fortunate. They had two bishops and many members of the clergy in Szechuan, and these persons had remained at their posts, whereas the British and Americans had left.

Distances and difficulty of access must also be taken into account. Chungking is 1,400 miles above the

mouth of the Yangtze. It is about 600 miles from Chengtu. It is 434 miles above Ichang, which is the head of steam navigation. I have been frequently told that it takes sixty days to ascend the Yangtze from Ichang to Chungking.

I have continuously hoped that the British minister would see his way to send a commissioner to Chengtu, but I now incline to the opinion that he has abandoned the idea of doing so.

I have fully, in several dispatches, discussed the question of having a commission, and I await your orders on the subject. But whether a commission be organized or not, I regard it as of the greatest importance that the guilty officials should be punished as soon as possible. Their degradation, banishment, imprisonment, whatever the penalty be, should be published in the Peking Gazette, and there should be assigned in the announcement that the reason why the punishment is inflicted is that the officials have been guilty of culpable negligence, at least, in failing to do their duty in protecting foreigners.

I have understood that an appeal has been made to you by the Chinese Government to order me to discontinue pressing the Government to punish the guilty officials. It is plain to me that the first step to take in the treatment of questions growing out of antforeign riots is to make an example of the local officials. That such action would greatly tend to the prevention of riots is universally believed by foreigners in China.

What should be done if China were to refuse this simple satisfaction need not now be considered.

I have, etc., Charles Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 3, 1895. (Received Washington Oct. 21), No 2334, Denby to Tsung-li Yamen.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a communication sent by me to the Tsung-li Yamen, the 30th ultimo, relating to the investigation now proceeding at Kutien.

The British and American consuls thought it advisable that the decisions arrived at by the commission should be held to be final, and not subject to revision by the viceroy. It is usual in China to transmit to the viceroy of the province the judgments of all tribunals which involve the death punishment, but there are exceptions to this rule, especially in riot cases.

As the consuls are on the ground and understand the conditions better than I do, I thought it advisable to accede to their request. It will be noticed that I do not make a strenuous demand in the matter, but confine myself to a simple request.

I learn from telegrams from Consul Hixson that matters are proceeding satisfactorily at Kutien. I have not thought it necessary to wire you each day on the subject. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

(Inclosure to No. 2234.)

Mr. Denby to the Tsung-li Yamen.

YOUR HIGHNESSES AND YOUR EXCELLENCIES: I have the honor to inform you that representations have been made to me by the consul of the United States in Kutien that the Chinese official in charge of the investigation which is now proceeding at that place has very limited powers and is required to refer every important point to the viceroy.

The consul suggests that the effect of the investigation would be much greater if the viceroy were not allowed to dictate or revise in any way the decisions of the Kutien investigating officials which are approved by the consuls, and that details as to conviction and execution should be fixed and carried out regardless of any action by the viceroy.

I am informed that in exceptional cases, such as riots, such power of ultimate decision may be conferred on an investigating tribunal, and I respectfully ask that this may be done in this case.

There was lengthy correspondence between Minister Denby and Washington over the Chengtu incident and the fate of Viceroy Liu. Denby stressed that Americans in China wanted senior officials severely punished. Washington demands an independent American commission. Denby's demands for punishment of Viceroy Liu are at the heart of Chinese objections to an American inquiry, stating yet again that Americans were not affected seriously by the Szechuan riots.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 3, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

8.00 a.m. Denby, Peking. Taotai you named in last wire appointed purely Chinese office in Foochow in no way concerned with Kutien investigation. Suspect evasion and duplicity of Yamen or Viceroy. Latter has quashed every proposition made by Consuls: his attitude is obstructive; his despatches flippant, tending to offensiveness. Captain Newell joined twenty-seventh (August) and concurs in all done. Hixson.

Victoria Daily Colonist, (British Columbia, Canada), 3 September 1895.

RIOTING AT FOO CHOW.

An Ecclesiastical Dignitary Denies the Reports.

LONDON, Sept. 2.—Archdeacon Wolfe has sent a cablegram to this city stating that reports of riots at Foo Chow, China, are untrue. The Archdeacon probably alludes to the reports of a riot at Foo Chow which were published on August 22. According to these dispatches a mob had attacked the American mission, injured four native scholars and forced the American teacher to take flight.

1895, September 4.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 1 p.m. Sep 4, 1895.

See Viceroy urge comply with Consul's application for extra prison accommodation. O'Conor.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, August 15, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Vice-Consul Churchill, Foochow.***

10.22 a.m. Min Chin-chi, Hartford's assailant and trident owner, arrested. Now twenty-six arrests, twenty-seven tried, twenty-three convicted: evidence ready to convict thirty-one more. Forward Shai-Pek. Hixson.

***CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, China, to Rev.
Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 4 September 1895.***

CMS Foochow, September 4th, 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

I am sorry to have some more bad news to send. A few days after the sad events at Ku Cheng, the news of the tragedy reached Hok Chiang and the people were much excited. The Viceroy here at Foochow, I suppose, had given orders to the Magistrate at Hok Chiang to issue a proclamation with a view it is supposed to warn the people against molesting foreigners.

The people of Hok Chiang on hearing of the Kucheng massacre, as I have said, were much excited and appeared greatly to rejoice that so many foreigners had been killed. On this the magistrate issued his proclamation which between the lines evidently sympathized with the feelings of the people, in reference to this atrocious massacre, and added fuel to the flame of excitement. The populace now made no secret of their feeling and openly declared that this proclamation encouraged them to exterminate the Christians, and in a very short time our enemies got the report circulated all over the district, that the Viceroy from Foochow had issued orders that all foreigners were to be killed and the native Christians exterminated. Immediately after the issue of this proclamation referred to above, about forty men belonging to the yamen of this magistrate visited the houses of the Christians in the city and demanded of each two dollars towards the idolatrous processions and other idolatrous ceremonies about to take place in the city and suburbs. The Christians of course refused, and referred the yamen men to the Imperial Edict forbidding Christians to be compelled to subscribe to these things. The names of the Christians were then taken down, and threatened with an order from the magistrate to compel them to subscribe. The following day these yamen men accompanied by the Warden of one of the divisions in the city, and some of the leading literati of the city, proceeded to a village close to the city where several families of our native Christians resided, and plundered their houses, took away their cattle and their farming implements. These persecutors returned on the following morning and took away furniture and more cattle and every thing of every value that they could lay their hands upon. On the following Monday, the 26th ultimo, over 100 men led on by these leading literati again came to this village and demolished all eight houses belonging to the Christians, cruelly beat and wounded the men and some of the poor little Christian children. Some of these wounded men are not expected to recover so that many women and children are literally left without house or home or means of support. During all the time the faithful pastor informed the magistrate, and five times begged of him to stop the work of blood and violence, but this officer not only turned a deaf ear to Mr. Yek's appeals but issued in the midst of it all another proclamation saying that the Christians were in fault because they refused to subscribe to the idolatrous ceremonies, and openly said in this proclamation that they must not refuse to do so. This was of course an encouragement to the persecutors to continue their work which I am sorry to say is being carried on now all over the district wherever the Christians are found. We can do nothing but pray. We are not allowed by our Consul to visit the scene of the persecution but I think if some measures are not shortly taken

I must disobey the orders of the Consul and to down to my poor persecuted people at Hok Chiang.

The Consul in charge has done all in his power to get the Viceroy to act but he has received only words, words, empty words. It is dreadfully trying to be compelled to receive the most touching appeals from our native brethren to come to their help, or do something to help them and to feel that we can do nothing. The Consul says that he too is powerless and truly there is no help for us but in God, and we can and will trust Him, still. There must be some wise purpose in His infinite wisdom and loving providence for permitting all t his trouble and sorrow to fall upon us at once, and we are silent for we are satisfied that good will come out of it in God's good time. Still we are only human and we must feel sad and grieve over it all. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that we foreigners are hated by these Chinese mandarins and that the evil minded and proud literati are spreading malicious reports against the Missionaries ...

My heart is boiling over with indignation at the way the Chinese authorities are treating these sorrowful and serious matters. There is not the slightest regret manifested on their part for the horrid, the atrocious murder of our dear friends and fellow workers at Ku Cheng. The native Christians, so far, are standing firm, they are mourning on account of the cruel fate of Mr. Stewart and the Kucheng Sisters and a spirit of fierce vengeance has taken possession of the minds of some of them. I had to preach last Sunday to my city congregation from Rom. XII< 19,20,21.

The Consul has not yet returned from Kucheng and Mr. Banister who is with the Commission of Enquiry there reports that he (the Consul) is working most effectively. I feel very sorry that what I think to be undeserved censure has been liberally meted out to him by some people here. I hope our work may not be injured in any way but I have fears that it may as H.M. Consul has asked all missionaries to remain in Foochow for a time. In consequence Boys and Girls Boarding Schools all over the country have to be suspended at least for a time, and of course this means a very serious injury and stoppage of our work. Now please do not discourage a single worker from coming this fall! ...

Yours very sincerely, John R. Wolfe.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received a letter from Mr. Banister which has sorely grieved and disappointed me, and indeed all of us who have heard its contents. He declines to accept the Charge of the Ku Cheng district which he volunteered to do when we received the news of the massacre. As he has written home and told you his reasons for declining I need not detail them, but it has disappointed me greatly.² He takes a very gloomy view of the whole business which I cannot but think arises from his being present and hearing all the horrible details from the very murderers themselves, so that his nervous system has been shaken and altogether overwrought. I do not myself think there is the slightest danger to him or anybody else who may take charge of Ku Cheng. The people are all friendly and have been helping the police in every way to discover and arrest the lawless Vegetarians. In fact the peaceable population are extremely glad to get rid of the tyranny and lawlessness of this sect or society or whatever it may be called, and after all it is now discovered to have had no strong or serious following, and apparently no organization worth the name. There seems also now no reasonable doubt but that the entire sect of society will be effectually rooted out of the Ku Cheng district. The Chinese Government will of course keep a military force in the district till this is done, and they will not have much trouble in doing this as there is really no force to deal with as once was supposed. It is now as clear as noonday that had the Chinese authorities wishes, they could have with one or two hundred men cleared the district of these murderers a year ago when they were asked to do so. The High Authorities at Foochow, especially the Viceroy, are responsible for this massacre for not having done their duty and taken steps to stop the trouble when they could easily have done so.

With reference to Ku Cheng, Banister's refusal to take charge places us in a very real and serious difficulty. We have no one else who can take charge of it half as well as he can. He knows all about the work there and the entire district is known to him so well. I think if you write to him he will, after he has had some rest, and his mind quieted from not seeing or hearing these dreadful details of the murderers which he has been compelled to listen to during the past week or fortnight, he will probably change his mind and accept the charge of that deeply interesting district. I hope the gloomy view which he takes now will not communicate itself to t he others. If so it will be melancholy indeed and will deeply injure our work. Our dear brother is naturally disposed to look at the dark side too much. I hope and pray he will change his view

2 See CMS East Asia Mission, Rev. W. Banister to Baring-Gould, 28 August 1895 and 4 September 1895 in Part 4, The Banister Reports.

of things with reference to Ku Cheng. If not I cannot see what can be done... J.R. Wolfe.

Mid-day Herald, Singapore, 4 September 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

The British and United States Consuls have gained their point and are to be present at the sittings of the Commission of Enquiry into the Massacres. The Court commenced its work on the 21st ultimo, and the Chinese officials afforded every facility for carrying on independent investigation. The Chinese prisoners have been subjected to shocking tortures, in order to wring confessions from them. Six of the actual murderers have been convicted and eighty arrests are reported. Several missionaries are present at the enquiry.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 4 September 1895.

The envoys of the United States and Great Britain in Peking are bitterly arraigned by their countrymen residing in China for alleged neglect of duty in connection with the anti-missionary outrages at Ku-Cheng and Cheng Tu. Not sufficient evidence is produced to justify the denunciations lavished upon them.

Immediate retribution of the atrocities is demanded and as this cannot be summarily inflicted the ministers are accused of heartless indifference to the claims of justice and humanity. The British consular officials are the more bitterly arraigned, the incumbent at Foo Chow being particularly charged with reprehensible delay in ordering an investigation. The American consuls, on the contrary, are eulogized for the energy of their efforts to hold the offenders to account but their activity is declared to be unavailing in consequence of the apathy displayed at Peking. It is certain, however, that Minister Denby and his English colleagues have induced the emperor to order the degradation of the chief magistrate of Ku Cheng and to issue a decree for the extirpation of the vegetarian society by Foo Kien, the viceroy. Whether this command can be enforced is considered extremely doubtful, the imperial authority being much impaired in the southern province.

The willingness of the envoys to accept a Chinese escort for the English and American commission to Ku-Cheng is more severely blamed than any other of the reputed misdeeds. In the opinion of the foreign community, a strong body of marines was essential to the dignity of the expedition. Many Englishmen believe that the governor of Hong Kong should be required to provide a detachment of troops from the Colonial garrison. It is evident that at present nothing that diplomats can do will satisfy their countrymen. The governments at Washington and in London are urged to take direct action and exact reparation without consulting their representatives at the Chinese capitol. Several of the American missionaries appear confident that this appeal will be granted and that the regular course of procedure will be set aside. When they find themselves disappointed their rage against Mr. Denby will be greater than ever, but time will probably show that the present censures were never warranted by the actual circumstances. The idea that an American minister in Mr. Denby's position could deliberately repudiate his responsibility and betray his trust is too monstrous to be long credited in any quarter.

The New York Times, 4 September 1895.

CHINESE ASSAULTS NOT TRUE.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3.—No news has been received at the State Department from Minister Denby, or any other source, confirming alleged reports of attacks on native Christians in China and their mission buildings. The reports are therefore regarded as untrue.

The New York Times, 4 September 1895.

From the Pall Mall Gazette.

In their proselytizing work the missionaries come into conflict with the social habits of races which are quite as convinced of their capacity to judge what is best for them socially as the missionaries. Especially is this the case in all questions in which the relations of the sexes are involved. Zenana missions and the like are, no doubt, admirable in theory, as they are in intention, but in practice they arouse more jealousy and suspicion

than all the other methods of proselytism put together.

No nation is more sensitive about interference with the privacy of the home than our own, and missionaries and their wives must realize that Chinese and Hindu and Mahomedan heads of families resent meddling with their household arrangements as much as the average Englishman. And this brings us to one last point in connection with this question. Whatever may be said in defense of missionaries risking their own lives—and the lives of many others, it must be remembered—there can hardly be two opinions among sensible men as to the folly—a much stronger term might be used—of exposing women to the risk of such outrages as have recently been perpetrated.

If this dangerous work is to be carried on in countries such as China, let it be carried on as it is in the case of the Jesuits—by celibates. We certainly have a right to ask that missionaries should realize before they begin their task not only the dangers to which they expose themselves, but those to which they expose all members of the race who happen to be fellow-residents with them.

1895, September 5.

Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194

O'Conor Peking to Mansfield Ku T'ien

Cypher Despatched Peking, 12.10 p.m. Sep 5, 1895.

Your telegram No.3. By principals I meant those directly implicated in planning, instigating and committing actual murder but we do not want barbarous holocaust.

You are best judge as to minor penalties and necessary for leaders being taken to Foochow.

You should make careful enquiry as to conduct of officials. O'Conor.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 5, 1895, No 2336, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—In further acknowledgement of your despatch No 1109 of July 18th last, I have the honor to inform you that I have taken measures to inform the American missionaries, through the Consuls, that when occasion arises in cases of purchases of real property by them, I propose to take advantage of the provision of the Berthemy Convention as recently amended, which dispenses with the necessity of securing the prior authorization of the local authorities, and that I will claim this privilege not only in behalf of any reputable American missionary organization, but also in behalf of any American citizens engaged in mission work. I have etc. Charles Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 5, 1895, No 2337, Denby to Olney.

Sir:—It is known to you that great excitement has prevailed at the Treaty Ports in China on account of the recent anti-foreign riots.³

Indignation meetings have been held at all the ports. The people at these meetings deal in generalities. In the general public sentiment demands blood-letting and warlike measures.

I still think that the action heretofore recommended by me would be proper; that is to say: that China should be notified by the Western powers that if a riot occurred at any place at which a ship-of-war was then stationed, such place would be instantly bombarded. If no ship were at the locality it would be bombarded as soon as one would reach the source of the disorder. At points not accessible to ships the question of reprisals becomes more difficult. On account of a riot occurring in the interior the nearest seaport might be bombarded. China is in a very dangerous condition. Riots are imminent everywhere. There is a general spirit of unrest among the people and great discontent against the Government.

The people know vaguely that there has been a foreign war and that China has got the worst of it. They know also that the foreign powers did not intervene to assist china, and they hold all foreigners responsible. It looks as if a wave of anti-foreign feeling were passing all over the Empire. At Peking the foreigners are held responsible for the cholera. The gods are denounced for not causing more foreigners to die of cholera. It is reported here recently that a Chinese idol was taken into a Catholic church not far from the legation and it was demanded that the cholera should attack foreigners. It is also reported that the headman in this incipient riot was taken at the time he was in the church with cholera and died within two hours.

I cite these facts as tending to show the absolute necessity for energetic action on the part of the Western Powers. The main important point now is to secure the punishment of the Ex.-Viceroy of Szechuan and some of his subordinates for their negligent and culpable conduct at Chentu, and to proclaim by Imperial decree that they were punished because they failed to do their duty in protecting foreigners. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

3 The tone of this note is so far from the Minister's normal measured caution that it might be interpreted as a modern 'spin' document intended to demonstrate to the American community in China and public opinion at home that their diplomatic representatives shared some extreme anti-Chinese feelings.

1895, September 6.

CMS East Asia Mission, Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, Church Missionary Society, London, to Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, China, 6 September 1895.⁴

My dear Archdeacon Wolfe,—On August 27th we telegraphed to you;—“Constant enquiries about ladies Reply.” We had no answer to this until last Monday, Sept. 2, when we received your telegram:—“Riots Foo Chow untrue” and an hour or two afterwards a second one:—“Ladies safe.” We do not know that your former telegram refers to, but of course in a general way it is satisfactory. As regards the second it did not at all enable us to satisfy our enquiring friends. In fact, it might be interpreted as if they had just been in fresh danger, but had escaped. Accordingly we telegraphed again on September 2:—“Two telegrams received where and how ladies.” To this we have no reply. I am sure you must be very full of work and responsibility of all sorts, but we do find it very difficult indeed to answer the constant enquiries made to us by anxious relatives. We do not know clearly whether the ladies are all at Foo Chow (and Ku-pang) or not. We do not know whether Miss Codrington may have started homeward. We do not know whether any are suffering illness from the shock. We are quite helpless to answer the questions that pour in on us. People say, Why do you not telegraph for information? This is what we have done and we do not receive it. In the first week of our receiving the bad news of the massacre we telegraphed to you “Wire daily” which of course meant just for a few days. But we never had one single telegram in reply.⁵ The newspapers were daily served with telegraphic intelligence, but of course it only referred to the negotiations and the Enquiry, etc., and made no reference to the missionaries personally. We are quite at a loss to imagine the reason of your silence though we are sure there must have been some good reason which we do not know.

We are hoping that next mail will bring the first letters written after August 1st. But it may be they will not come until the following mail. In any case they will only give us the first intelligence and it will be some time before we get letters telling us of the condition and health of the missionaries after they came to Foo Chow, if they did come.

I have no doubt Mr. Baring-Gould will be writing to you next week. But he does not return until tomorrow and I think I ought not to let this mail past without quoting and telegrams sent and received.

With kindest regards to you all, I remain, Yours very sincerely.

4 Wolfe subsequently referred to: “Mr. Stock’s somewhat sharp letter to me.” Archdeacon John R. Wolfe Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 18 October 1895.

5 CMS East Asia Archives. Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, 28 September 1895. Wolfe’s explanation made sense. “I have not wired daily because after all our party was safe...there was really nothing...to justify us in spending so much money on sending home daily telegrams.”

1895, September 7.

The Times, (London), 7 September 1895.

CHINA.

The leader of the attack on the missionary station at Ku-cheng and the initiator of the massacre has been arrested. In all 130 persons have been arrested and 23 convicted, but no sentences have been pronounced, as the Viceroy of Fo-kien claims the right to review the evidence.—It is officially announced in Washington that the United States Government has decided to make an independent investigation into the Cheng-tu riots. This change of plan is stated not to be due to dissatisfaction with the delay of the British Government in proceeding with the inquiry.

The Times, (London), 7 September 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 6. It is authoritatively announced at the State Department that the United States Government has decided to make forthwith an independent investigation into the Cheng-tu riots with the co-operation of the Chinese representatives. It was at first arranged that the United States should co-operate with Great Britain, but the change of plans was occasioned partly by the detention at his post and his inability to begin the inquiry for a month of the British Consul at Chung-kind, to whom, with the concurrence of the American missionary member, it was first proposed to intrust the preliminary investigation of the facts.

It is understood that there are other reasons for an independent inquiry, but that the United States Government is not yet prepared to make them public. At the State Department a denial is given to the report that the policy of the United States has changed because the American Government is dissatisfied or feels resentment at England's delay in proceeding with the inquiry.

The Chinese Government will supply an escort to the Americans taking part in the investigation, and will also probably furnish an official to co-operate with the American member in the Ku-cheng investigation. The United States officials now on the Chinese coast will probably conduct the inquiry. It will take them a month to reach Cheng-tu.—*Reuter.*

HONG-KONG, SEPT. 6. The leader of the attack upon the missionary station at Ku-cheng and the initiator of the massacre has been arrested. Chinese soldiers attempted to kidnap him so as to secure the reward offered for his apprehension. The total number of arrests is now 130. Twenty-three of the prisoners have been convicted, but no sentences have been pronounced, as the Viceroy of Fo-kien demands the right to review the evidence.—*Reuter.*

The Daily Public Ledger, (Maysville, Kentucky), 7 September 1895.

THE CHENG TU RIOTS.

The United States Government Will Conduct an Independent Investigation.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7.—The United States government has decided to enter forthwith upon an independent investigation of the Cheng Tu riots with the co-operation of a Chinese representative. There are also understood to be several reasons why the state department has decided upon an independent investigation such as France has already made and such as England will make later. The department is not yet prepared to make these public. The investigation is expected to be made by some official now on the Chinese coast. It will probably take a month to reach Cheng Tu, which is the capital of the interior province of Szechuan (sic), and lies some 1,500 miles from the nearest ocean port.

1895, September 8.

The New York Times, 8 September 1895.

THE CHINESE CASES.

That it is a particularly characteristic Chinese trait that is revealed in a dispatch from Hongkong which sets forth that the Chinese soldiers have attempted to kidnap the leader of the Ku-Cheng mob in order to secure the reward that was offered for his apprehension. It is necessary to bear in mind that these valiant defenders of their country undoubtedly sympathized with the animosity of the mob and its leader against "foreign devils," and would very likely have been actively engaged in the riots if their engagements had permitted. It is also necessary to bear in mind that it was their duty to arrest the man without fee or reward. Considering these things, it is easy to estimate from the dispatch the value of the Chinese sense of military honor and military discipline. It is again abundantly evident how the Japanese were able to overcome the Chinese, and how any nation would be able to overcome them in which the sense of patriotism, public spirit, and duty was not entirely dead.

It is probable that the arrest of the ringleader was due to the efforts of the British representatives, unaided by the Chinese officials, and operating by means of the bribes that no Chinaman has been known to refuse. The fact that more than twenty convictions have already been had of persons charged with complicity in the riot ought to be exemplary. It is noteworthy, however, that the Viceroy of the province reserves the right to review the evidence on which these convictions were obtained. This insistence again indicates that everything is rotten in the State of China, because, according to the united testimony of the victims, this Viceroy was himself *particeps criminalis* [*i.e. an accessory*] in the outrages perpetrated at Ku Cheng upon British subjects, by passive negligence, if not by active participation. It is to be expected, however, that British influence will be strong enough at Peking to bring a pressure to bear upon this Viceroy which shall convince him that the characters of culprit and reviewing judge cannot decently be assumed by the same person.

It is desirable that we should co-operate with Great Britain in the attempts that it behoves both nations to make to establish an effective responsibility on the part of China for the protection of foreigners within her borders. But it seems to be due, not to any lack of cordiality between the representatives of the two countries, but to the special circumstances and to the urgency of the case, that it has been decided that the United States shall enter upon an investigation of the riots at Cheng-Tu. The main point is that no involutions of Chinese red tape shall prevent us from making an investigation which shall fix the responsibility for outrages upon American citizens, and that some conspicuous demonstration shall be made that it is unsafe to perpetrate such outrages upon American citizens in China. This is difficult because the Central Government appears to have so little power at the extremities. As Burke said of the Sultan, it may be said of the Emperor of China, that "he governs with a loose rein in order that he may govern at all." But it is manifestly out of the question that we should permit American citizens living in China under the express protection of the Chinese to be assailed in their persons or property without exacting an ample and exemplary reparation.

St Paul Daily Globe, (Saint Paul, Minnesota), 8 September 1895.

Leader Ku Cheng Massacre in Custody.

HONG KONG, Sept. 6.—The leader of the Ku-Cheng riots in which a number of English and American missionaries were killed, has been arrested. An attempt was made by Chinese soldiers to kidnap this person, in the hope of securing the reward which had been offered for his delivery to the authorities. The total number of arrests thus far of those concerned in the Ku-Cheng massacre is 130. Twenty-three of the number have been convicted, but up to this time sentence has not been passed on any of them, the viceroy of Fu-Kien demanding the right to review the evidence adduced at the trials.

1895, September 9.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 9 September 1895.

THE KU-CHENG MASSACRE.

NUMEROUS ARRESTS.

LONDON, Sept. 6.—The inquiry concerning the massacre of Christian missionaries at Ku-Cheng, in China, is being prosecuted with vigour. Additional arrests, numbering 130, have been made. The leader of the mob which committed the outrages is among this number.

1895, September 10.

The Times, (London), 10 September 1895.

THE RECENT OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

Two letters were in the course of last week received by a resident of Leeds, Mr. Crabtree, from an English clergyman in China—the Rev. Edward O. Williams, who was formerly vicar of St. Stephen’s Church, Burmantofts, near Leeds. Mr. Williams relinquished his living at Burmantofts some few years ago and went out as a missionary in China, under the Rev. Hudson Taylor, of the China Inland Mission. In the first of the two letters he gives a graphic account of the recent attacks on one of the mission stations in China and tells the story of his own narrow escape from death, describing the exile of himself and others from the station. This is how the first letter runs:—

The Fu Yamen, Paoning Fu, Szu-chuan, China, Friday, **June 14, 1895.**

My Dear Mr. Crabtree,—I fear your mind and the minds of our dear Leeds friends will have been made anxious about us long ere this letter can reach you, but we have been and are asking the dear Lord to prepare our dear friends in the home land for the shock with which they will hear of our house being attacked by a mob, and ourselves all rescued by the mandarins, and the Lord will answer prayer, and enable you to rest in Him about us. How I wish I could just fly across and tell you all is well with us, and how the Lord has been taking care of us and leading us. But the Lord can do it much better than I can in His own way, and He can bless you as he is blessing us through this strange experience. A great deal has been crowded into the last ten days or so, and I want to write as fully as I can to you, so that all my dear friends in Leeds may have the fullest particulars.

Last Sunday week—Whit Sunday—was a very special day with us. We had been seeking to lead our dear people to look for a special filling of the Holy Ghost at this time; our morning prayers we changed the previous week into a prayer meeting. We sought to lead our dear people to expect some definite blessing from the Holy Ghost, and we and they were not disappointed. On Whit Sunday afternoon (in the morning I had preached on the words “I believe in the Holy Ghost”) we had a consecration meeting, each seeking to yield ourselves over to the blessed Spirit to fill us and use us henceforth as He will. The great enemy of souls knew all about this, and for us all to be instruments in the hands of the Holy Spirit that He can use was not according to his mind. So he was using means to stir up the minds of the people, and to make them evil-affected towards us. On the Wednesday following we heard through the Magistrate Yamens (headquarters) of the sad riot at Ch’entu, in which all the foreigners’ houses have been utterly destroyed, the very materials, we hear, being taken to a distance, and trees on the premises felled. The Viceroy, who, we hear, was in disgrace, and is being supplanted by a new one, apparently did not stir a finger to stop the riot, but I ought not to write very much about this, for at present our information is very meagre. We hear that all our fellow-workers of four or five missions there are in the magistrates’ official residence, and their lives are in danger. We are looking to our God and Father to take care of them. The people in the streets soon got to know of what had just taken place at Ch’entu, and were made bold to attack us, thinking I suppose, that if the foreigners at the capital of the province, where there are many mandarins and large numbers of soldiers (for Ch’entu is the great military capital of the west of China, could be attacked and their buildings demolished so easily they could soon make short work of us here.

In addition to this, last week there was held a large gathering, which the Mandarins always dread, fearing disturbances from so many people being gathered together. Thousands come from the country for miles round for this great WenTsu Shieu Hwai. The Dragon Festival also coincides with this gathering, so that the streets were very crowded and noisy both by day and night. Thursday or Friday in last week the festival was at its height; we had a great many guests on Thursday but they were very nice, and listened well to the Gospel as preached by our native evangelist, Mr. Shao, and others. There was nothing whatever to show anything unusual was about to happen. I should mention that the fall of rain this spring has been very small, and the rice crop is, in consequence, in a critical state, much being dried up and dead. This makes the people’s hearts bitter. About 10 p.m., prayer being over, and as we were preparing for bed—some even had retired—we heard heavy knocks at our

street gate and the gate of our beautiful church a little further on, and stones were thrown over into our courtyard. Mr. Shao went out of his room to expostulate with the people, but the hammering increased. After a hurried consultation I sent off one of our men-servants to the Hsien Mandarin (district magistrate), who lives a considerable distance from our house, inside the city. Our house is outside.

Meanwhile the uproar increased, and as the outer gates of our courtyard were giving way we fastened the front door, put out the lights, and all of us retired to our girls' school, a cottage, separated from our garden by a narrow pathway leading to our church. Our dear little ones, Eddie (five years), Seymour (three years), and Frankie (two months), had to be taken out of their beds and carried across—the two oldest, in fact, did not wake up. The Lord had truly prepared this place of refuge for us. We all (E.O. and Mrs. W. and three boys, Miss Kolkenbeck, Mr. Parsons⁶, and Mr. Taylor) got into our cook's bedroom, he and his wife and infant son have retreated to a vegetable garden at the back of our premises, and left their lantern, a foreign one, in the room lit. On bursting the gates some of the mob made first for dear old Mr. Shao's room, next to the gates. The old man was sitting on the bed, lifting up his heart to God to take care of him, and "the Lord" truly "hid him," for two men burst into his room, seized what they could lay hands on—viz., his Bible, two New Testaments, spectacles, cup and saucer, fan, etc.—and then left, apparently without seeing him, where upon he lifted up his heart in praise to God. From our hiding-place, where we were crying to the Lord, to take care of us and our household, we heard the shouts and yells of the mob as they poured into the courtyard. It was said there were 10,000 people, very probably there were some thousands, Then commenced a terrible crashing and smashing of window frames, glass doors, etc. the mob burst in the large outer gates of our new church, rushed into the churchyard, and from our hiding-place, about 20 yards from them in a direct line, we heard the terrible work of destruction going on in our beautiful new church, which was opened about a year ago. Thank God! I believe the structure is not much injured, if at all. The doors, windows, seats and communion rail are what have chiefly suffered. The mob also burst in the walls of our boys' school, which is in the churchyard. Then there came a lull in the terrible storm, the mandarins having arrived from the prefectural district, and chief military mandarins, with soldiers and runners. On their arrival Mr. Shao came round to us with his bedding, and we were glad to see the old man safe. We did not think it well to show ourselves until order was restored. A little later the prefectural (Fu) and district (Hsien) mandarins, T'ang ta lao-ie and Tait ta lao-Ie, were brought into the girls' school, and we received them, thanking them for the prompt manner in which they had rescued us. Soldiers and runners had been sent to the ladies' house, ten minutes off, to prevent any attack being made on the house. The ladies there at the time were Miss Thompson (C.M.S.), Miss Gower, and Miss Ek. At the request of the mandarins I went through the house with them to see what things were missing. The wreckage was terrible to see, chiefly to windows, and in places the wall carried away, but as far as could be seen very few things had been stolen—e.g., Miss Kolkenbeck's bedding, quilt, etc., our little travelling clock, Mr. Parson's bedding, 2,500 cash, also some boxes of things Mr. Walter Taylor had packed to go to Sintien-tsi as he is now in charge of the work there. We do not know yet definitely, if we ever shall know exactly, how many things are gone, and I expect we have lost a good many more since we came here, the hands of Yamen men and workmen, who are not always as honest as they might be. But we feel this is a very small matter, as our lives are spared. Perhaps our Father saw we had collected too many things around us, and in this way has relieved us of some of them. On hearing that we have houses at Siotien-tai in the district of T'sang His Hsien, Kuang yua Hsien, and Pacheo, the mandarins sent letters to the mandarins of those three cities to tell them what had happened here. The Fu Mandarin then had a paper written, stating what had taken place, and that we had lost nothing of importance. I felt rather loth to sign this paper till I know better what things we had lost, but as we were indebted to him for our safety, I could not very well decline to do so, and Mrs. Shao, who copied out the paper for the mandarin, said it was all right. The Fu Mandarin kept one copy for himself and gave me the other. He then asked us to put away all things we valued, offering himself to take charge of any silver and especially valuable articles. We did not,

⁶ The Rev. Ch. H. Parsons, formerly curate at St. Mary's Anglican Church, Caulfield, Victoria, Australia.

however, trouble him with any. He also invited us men to go to the Fu Yamen (his official residence), and the ladies to a smaller Yamen next door to him. So we had a busy time (we did not go to bed that night), putting away in cupboards all we were able to, and packing up all we needed to take to the Yamen.

It was daylight before we got away in chairs, passing over the wreckage in the courtyard and out into the streets (which were full of people), attended by the two mandarins in their chairs, soldiers, and runners. Soon after our arrival, the Fu Mandarin came in to welcome us—Mr. Parsons, Mr. Walter Taylor, and myself. He placed a beautiful room at our disposal, a magnificent guest-chamber, 44 ft. by 24 ft. and from 12ft. to 14ft. high, beautiful State chairs, with marble seats, and little tables with marble tops, and curious old pictures, etc., on the walls, and here we are his guests, and are well fed and looked after generally, at the mandarin's expense. The ladies, I am sorry to say, are in very inferior quarters—this is China all over, anything good enough for women. But we must not complain after our merciful deliverance. There they feed themselves. About midday Mr. Walter Taylor started in chair for Sintien tsi (he could not start earlier) as he was anxious for the safety of his wife and three little boys and three ladies there—Misses Lindgren, Croucher, and Fearon. About 34 miles from here and en miles on this side of Sintien tsi he met the next day (Saturday) the Ts'ang Hsi Hsien Mandarin on his way back from Sintien tsi, whither he had promptly gone himself on receiving the letter from our Fu Mandarin. I want to show you how promptly the mandarins have acted all through this affair. Mr. Taylor got the mandarin then and there to write a proclamation to put up at Sintien tsi of which the following is the translation; it consists of 20 lines, six characters to a line:—

Yesterday we heard that some outside lawless fellows came, and flagrantly destroyed the teaching-hall of the chief city. The Fu gallantly captured a number of them, and according to law stringently punished the lawless leaders. The Hsien feared they would make for Sintien tsi, and recklessly injured the good English people. Therefore, in person he came first to inspect and protect the place. He enjoins all you people of all the country side, every man, to carefully do his own duty, and if there should be worthless vagabonds, or false reports deceiving the public with regard to the English, he permits, Pao Chen (village officials) to beat the gong and surround and take them speedily. You should certainly know that the people and the followers of this religion are peaceful, and the people of the middle kingdom (China) should protect the foreigners. For this purpose he has first put out this proclamation to notify you that each should carefully reverence and not forget it. And if any presumptuously dare to in the slightest degree misbehave themselves they shall be apprehended, and in the end their punishment will be hard to bear. Proclamation, to be properly affixed to the Fuh ying T'ang Sin Tientsi Kuang Hsu (Emperor's name), 21st year, 5th month, 165^h day.

Mr Walter Taylor also got the T'sang His Hsien Mandarin to send back ten soldiers with him to Sintien si, and also to arrange with the local country magistrates to beat the gong in case of anything happening at Sintien tsi. The Hsien Mandarin here in Paoning sent workmen at once to commence the repairs to our house and church.

Tuesday, June 18.

The repairs to the house itself are finished, also the boys' school, and the men are at work in the church. There, I fear, a great deal of damage has been done, I have not been able to see how much, as we are here as semi-prisoners. It is not thought well for us to appear in the streets until the mandarin has escorted us back to our house. For this happy event we wait day by day. ...

News is reaching us from day ... Yesterday morning we heard from Kuang-yuan, 100 odd miles from here due north, that our two lady workers there, Miss F. H. Culverwell and Miss Lloyd, are in one of the Yamens...

The new Viceroy is on his way from Peking to Ch'entu and is passing through Kuang-yuan and about 1,000 people with him: the said thing is that many of these followers are just the people to create disturbance. Then this morning we have more news from Ch'entu and stations of the C.M.S. (Mr. Horsburgh's) between here and there...

Mr. Williams expresses in his second letter thankfulness that the missionaries have had the

opportunity of testifying to the truth before the mandarins and other officials, and says they might live in the country 20 or 30 years without having such an opportunity. At the capital all the prayer-houses were demolished... In all the exile from the place lasted a fortnight, and at the end, when the storm had blown over, the officials welcomed the missionaries back ... and he adds that it was the intention of the missionaries to go on just as before, with the view of showing what God could do and that they did not fear the officials. As to the cause of the riot, the mandarins set down the blame to the country people who came to the festival of "the god of diseases," but it seemed rather to be a determined effort to get rid of the foreigners. If so, the secret societies, who were the curse of the country, were at the bottom of it.

The Mt. Sterling Advocate, (Kentucky), 10 September 1895.

CHINA.

By Her Peculiar Methods.

Responsible For the Recent Massacres.

Bloody Conflict Between Russia and Japan Considered Certain in the Near Future.

Chester Holcomb, who has just returned from China, after 21 years' service in the American Legation at Peking, says the recent massacre is traceable to the result of the recent Chinese-Japanese war.

"At the commencement of the recent war between China and Japan," said he, "it was generally feared that the lives of foreigners in China would be in great danger as long as the war lasted. As a matter of fact, there was practically no danger as long as the war lasted, and it is only since the hostilities ceased that the danger has commenced. We have proof of the fact in the recent massacres, and I think I can explain the reason.

In the first place, the great mass of Chinese are disappointed with the result of the war, and are taking revenge on all the foreigners whom they can kill with impunity.

In the second place, the killing and pillage give great encouragement by reason of the depredations committed by hordes of disbanded soldiers all over the country. The Chinese Government has a peculiar method of disposing of its troops at the close of a war. When the soldiers are no longer needed they are discharged at the place where they happen to be at that time. The fact that an army may be several hundred or a thousand miles away from home when it is disbanded, and the fact that soldiers may not possess any means of getting home, does not interest the Government in the least. The troops are turned loose, and to use an American expression, they have to 'beat' their way back to the place from whence they came. That they would pillage and commit depredations is, therefore, natural to such people under such conditions, and tranquillity will not reign in China for some time to come. Just before I left Japan I learned that an American missionary, who had been labouring near Peking since 1890, has been assaulted and severely cut by a knife. His name is D. D. Sheffield, and I have known him quite well for years. It is only fair to say, however, that the assailants were arrested and will be tried for their offense. If such prompt action was taken in the cases of the other offenders the wholesale killing of missionaries in China would be speedily stopped. It is almost impossible, however, to mete out justice to offending Chinese in these interior provinces and the fault is the fault of the Government.

Mr. Holcomb says the most interesting question in the Orient at the present, outside of the missionary massacres and the cholera, is the approaching conflict between Russia and Japan.

That Russia and Japan will become mixed up in a dispute which will result in war goes without saying," said he, "and the commencement of the actual hostilities is not far off. Then the Japanese have a big grievance against Russia, and Russia is preparing to make things warm for the Japanese. The other day I was told very frankly by Japanese officials who hold high positions in the Government that Japan would live to rue the day when she permitted herself to become mixed up in a war with China. It has given Russia an opportunity she has long waited for.

No one knows better than I how narrowly Japan escaped a war with Russia when she got through with her war in China. The Japanese were so incensed at Russia's attitude in the matter of the cession of the Liao Tung Peninsula that the Japanese officials talked seriously of engaging in a squabble with Russia...

1895, September 11.

CMS East Asia Archives, Rev. William Banister, Kucheng, China to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 11 September 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I wrote to you a fortnight ago and still we are here, with 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 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 we have tried since the first lot was condemned.

I am afraid we shall be kept in Ku Cheng for a longer time than we thought at first. There were about 100-120 men in the band which arrived at Hwasang and committed the crime. We have very nearly this number of names given in evidence by 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 band and for plunder.

It is manifestly impossible for us to demand the execution of all these, and I presume only the murderers and the more 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 that 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 me disposed to shut out the . . . 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 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 to 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. 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 day's 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 Collins⁷ . . . other members of the Mission you 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 more 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 in a year until Collins can come out again which will be in the autumn of next year. This would not make any great difference to the district, and would 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 interregnum of 10 months supposing the Committee felt that Collins would be the best person to take charge of the district. In either case, . . . there must be a Colleague, either Light or one of the new men.

I think it is important that the Committee 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

7 The Rev. John Martin was appointed to Ku Cheng, with the assistance of new missionaries, Rev. and Mrs. Stanley Boyd. CMS East Asia Archives, Letter to Rev. J Martin and "Instructions of the Committee," 14 February 1896. Mrs. Boyd was apparently a qualified nurse who developed skills in obstetrics. *British Medical Journal*, 31 October 1903, p 1191. Martin's suitability was endorsed in a letter: Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary, London, 18 October 1895.

atmosphere in Foochow is in a disturbed condition, and much patience and forbearance is needed ...

Will you pray most earnestly for us that we all may act up to the highest ideals of our callings,

I am yours, very truly

W Banister.

PS I state below the reasons which to my mind make it absolutely impossible for me ever to return to Ku Cheng as missionary of the district.

My position as assessor with the consults, and principal advocate against some murderers, sitting side by side with the officials entirely destroys my missionary character in the eyes of the Chinese marks me for the future as a man ostensibly a missionary but actually an official with a great deal of political power.

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 thin to be associated with a person possessing such power. This would undoubtedly work against the spiritual growth of the Church and also give me an equivocal position.

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 he 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 of these CMS

1895, September 12.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 12, 1895. (Received Washington Oct. 21), No 2347, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I inclose a copy of a communication to the Tsung-li Yamen wherein I represented that Mr. Hsu Hsing-I, a taotai by rank, had not gone to Kutien to sit on the investigating commission, although in their communication to me of the 23d august they had stated that this gentleman had been directed to cooperate with the consuls in dealing with the Kutien massacre.

I have now the honor to inclose a translation of a communication of the Yamen in answer to the communication sent them by me.

The Yamen states that the gentleman named was appointed to cooperate with the consuls at Kutien, and that no matter what may be the rank of deputies sent to investigate the case they can investigate the cases of criminals according to law, and that their decisions must be submitted to the viceroy for his opinion thereon. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

**Inclosure 1 in No. 2347.
Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.**

September 5th 1895.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies,

In your communication to me of the 23d ultimo you stated that you had received a telegram "from the governor-general of Fuhkien stating that an additional appointment had been made in the person of Mr. Hsu Hsing-I, a taotai by rank, who is to cooperate with the consuls in dealing with the Kutien affair, so that extra care may be taken in the matter."

I have the honor to inform you that I have been very much surprised to hear from the consul that the Taotai Hsu was appointed to the foreign board at Foochow, and that no official of high rank had been appointed commissioner to Kutien. I am informed that high official whose decisions shall be final is absolutely necessary to Kutien. The prefect who is now there does nothing without consulting the viceroy, thereby producing great delay and inconvenience.

It is just as important for China as for Great Britain or the United States that the investigating commission should be well organized and endowed with full powers, and I ask that you issue orders that a high official proceed to Kutien and that the judgments of the commissioners be final.

**Inclosure 2 in No. 2347.
The Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby.**

Your Excellency,

We have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's note (of September 5th) wherein you stated that in the Yamen's communication of the 23rd August we informed you that we had received a telegram "from the Governor General of Fuhkien stating that an additional appointment had been made in the person of Mr. Hsu Hsing-li, a Taotai by rank, who is to cooperate with the Consuls in dealing with the Kutien affair"; that you had heard from the Consul by telegraph that the Taotai Hsu was only appointed by the Foreign Board at Foochow, and that he had not been appointed as commissioner to Kutien and that no official of high rank is there. The Prefect who is now there does nothing without consulting the Viceroy, thereby producing great delay and inconvenience. Your Excellency asked that we issue orders that a high official proceed to Kutien and that the judgements of the commissioner be final.

As Your Excellency some time ago addressed us a note asking that telegraphic instructions be sent to Foochow to appoint a high official to go to Kutien to cooperate with the Consuls in investigating the recent massacres, We wired Foochow, and received an answer to effect that Hsu Taotai had been appointed to go there to cooperate with them. It is not the case that he was merely detained at the Foreign Board.

In regard to the appointment of deputies to investigate this case, it matters not whether they be of the rank of Taotai or Chih Fu, they can only investigate the cases of the criminals according to law, and render a decision; such decisions, however, must still be submitted to the Viceroy for his opinion thereon.

Kutien is about 200 odd li [Chinese miles] from Foochow and copies of the proceedings and evidence in each case can from time to time be submitted to the Viceroy without causing much delay.

We beg that Your Excellency will again instruct the U. S. Consul at Foochow to cooperate with the

deputies appointed from Foochow in a friendly manner. The decisions in the cases of the criminals must still be left to the Viceroy.

The Mid-day Herald, (Singapore), 12 September 1895.

The great Republic, with its characteristic sense of “go”, has grown tired of the crookedness of Chinese officialdom, and the utter absence of what is ordinarily looked upon as honest and fair dealing. The enquiry into the massacres and riots which have taken place at Kucheng and Szechuen in which American Missionaries lost much property, though they were fortunate enough to save their lives, does not go along with that smoothness which suits the American temperament. This is too much shuffling, and only an apparent desire to assist on the part of the officials. This kind of thing has disgusted Uncle Sam, and he has given notice that he will conduct an enquiry in his own way into the riots which occurred at Chengtu. This is just what has been wanting to bring things to a settlement. As long as the officials had nothing to fear from the European Powers in the way of reprisals, beyond talking to them, they were quite content to let matters slide, but the fiat of America that she will see into matters in her own way, was the very thing wanted to stir up China. Of course, it was open to any European Power to come to the same resolution, but it is certainly not as easy for any European Power to put it into execution as America. She is practically out of that complication of national interests as the term is used in Europe, and as Europeans view it. She has no particular foreign policy to maintain, not being hampered and encumbered with possessions in China. In any action she may take, and it is not likely to go beyond hanging a few of the officials who may be convicted of encouraging the riots and murders, she will tread upon no neighbour’s sensitive corns, not injure her prestige at the Imperial court at Peking, for which she does not care a snap. America then is the nation who can act in the matter with an absence of kowtowing. She can say out what she means without being obliged to resort to too much, if any, diplomatic hypocrisy. Doubtless, China will not be slow to understand what the threat means. There is no doubt that should America be compelled to do as she has threatened, the Court at Peking would still further lose its prestige. There are not wanting signs that whatever popularity the Emperor enjoyed, is fast waning, if it has not altogether gone. The corrupt officials are becoming aware that their practices are attracting attention. If Peking presses the provincial officials there is danger; if the Emperor is silent there is also danger. He is placed in an embarrassing position. This however cannot be taken into account by those Powers whose subjects are persistently put to death by the Chinese. The very best way to settle this affair, and it has been urged before, is to hang as many of the officials as may be proved to have connived at, or in any way encouraged, the recent massacres. If America does this, she will render an immense service both to China and Europe, in fact to the world. In connection with the action determined on by America, it is very satisfactory to learn that, acting under instructions from Lord Salisbury, Sir N. O’Conor, the British Minister at Peking, has delivered an ultimatum to the Chinese Government on behalf of Great Britain. From this it may be inferred that England, equally with the United States, is tired, even disgusted, with the procedure adopted by the Commission now investigating the Szechuen riots and the Kucheng massacre.⁸ It is reported that progress is slow and that the enquiry [i.e. the Kucheng Commission] is hampered by the interference of the viceroy of the Fokien province. If he could be got hold of and hanged, matters would be simplified immensely. Probably the treat of America and the ultimatum of Great Britain tend to this. If they do not, it is to be feared that the threats, etc., will not be worth the paper they are written upon. There is nothing for it but to wait patiently the result of this pressure on the Chinese Government.

⁸ The Kucheng Commission has been lumped in, quite incorrectly, with discussions about a Commission of Enquiry into the Chengdu (Sichuan Province) riots of June 1895.

1895, September 13.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 13, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

1.30 a.m. Denby, Peking. Hsu Taotai here, but Viceroy has given him verbal instructions which practically supersede edict appointing him. Interviews with Hsu plainly indicate that the carrying out of any sentence will be delayed until assurances are given that all demands for Huashan outrage will be satisfied by the executions. If Viceroy allowed to dictate, no satisfactory result can be secured.

Hsu said: "Tell me how many heads are wanted, and I will cut them off at once—provided the case is thereby settled."

We recommend peremptory instructions for summary punishments, since time is vital to successful investigation.

Mansfield wires Peking Viceroy version of edict, officially given us by Hsu, and under which he claims to act. Suspect same has been altered since leaving Peking.

Proclamations and instructions—issued by local officials before Hsu arrived—associating Christians with "Vegetarians", discriminating against Christians, and allowing "Vegetarians" to join home guards, have caused trouble. As home guards have made many arrests, have demanded that "Vegetarians" shall not be allowed at present to join; and that proclamations be revoked, and new ones issued by Hsu not mentioning or referring to Christians:—no compliance as yet, and we have doubts. Hixson, Newell.

The New York Times, 13 September 1895.

A BRITISH CONSUL ATTACKED.

Officials, Led by Viceroy, Obstruct Ku-Cheng Investigation.

LONDON, Sept. 12.—The Daily Chronicle to-morrow will print a dispatch from Shanghai to a news agency of this city, saying that a native mob recently attacked the British Consul at Wenchow, in the Province of Che-Kiang, pelting him with stones and other missiles.⁹

The same dispatch says that the Chinese officials, headed by the Viceroy, are obstructing in every possible way the inquiry into the Ku-Cheng outrages, and are doing all in their power to exonerate the persons now in custody from connection with the outrages, in the face of the most damning testimony.

9 The Province of Chekiang was under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy in Foochow.

1895, September 14.

The Times, (London), 14 September 1895.

LITERARY NOTE.

Messrs Marshall Brothers will shortly issue a memoir of the late Rev. Robert and Mrs. Stewart, of Ku-cheng, written by Mrs. Watson, sister of Mrs. Stewart.¹⁰

The Saturday Review, 14 September 1895.

REVIEWS.

CHINA FROM AN AUSTRALIAN STANDPOINT.

“An Australian in China, being a Narrative of a Quiet Journey across China to British Burma.”

By G. E. Morrison, London, Horace Cox, 1895.

The journey across China has of late years been often accomplished, and there is nothing, therefore, especially novel in the main features of the present work. Its chief interest lies in the unusual manner in which the journey was conducted, and in the very graphic and entertaining style in which the author, who is obviously a man of keen perceptions, details his experiences.

Most people who have traversed China from east to west have furnished themselves with interpreters, servants, abundant funds, Sedan chairs, and beasts of burden before venturing on the road. But Mr. Morrison may almost be said to have cared for none of these things. He declined to take an interpreter, although his knowledge of the language was confined to an acquaintance with a few names of common objects which he was able to pick up in a single evening from the lips of a friendly consul. He took with him only as many coolies as were absolutely necessary, but Sedan chairs he eschewed, except on rare occasions, and the amount of money which he carried may be estimated from his statement that his “entire journey from Shanghai to Bhamo was less than £20 sterling,” a fact which is the occasion for his remark that “without doubt the journey across China is the cheapest that can be done in all the world.” There are several ways of making a journey. Not long since an American, in fulfillment of a wager, started on foot around the world *in forma pauperis*; and should any one be desirous of following this or Mr. Morrison’s method of travelling, he may no doubt traverse a large portion of the earth’s surface as a very small cost. But there are very few persons who are gifted with the physical strength and endurance, as well as the total disregard of every form of comfort, which evidently distinguish Mr. Morrison. He travelled as far as Chungking, in Ssuch’uan, by the usual means of conveyance. He went by steamer from Shanghai to Ichang, and by native boat over the rapids to Chungking. There his land journey began, and thenceforward he travelled on foot in the manner and guise of a Chinaman. He wore a *queue*, fed on Chinese food, and lived in Chinese style. As he was unable to express himself in that most difficult of all languages, he was entirely dependent on his coolies for his supplies of food and travelling arrangements. As a rule he halted for the night at the regular post-houses which mark the end of each day’s journey, but if, as sometimes happened, his men, for reasons of their own, desired either to prolong or shorten the day’s march, he was powerless to resist their wishes.

Such yielding and complacent conduct in one so obviously helpless met with its just and appreciative reward. He was received everywhere with tolerant civility and often with marked kindness. It is true that the mob frequently forced their way into his inn and insisted on being witnesses to every mouthful of food which he swallowed and to every act which he performed, and that he often ate his *al fresco* midday meal in the presence of the entire population of the surrounding district; but the endurance of these amenities was part of the price which he paid for immunity from danger and for civility by the way.¹¹ Before starting he had been

10 Watson, Mary E, *Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death*, (London, Marshall Brothers, 1895). Online <http://www.archive.org/details/robertandlouisas00watsuoft>

11 The experience of civility and curiosity was common to Christian missionaries in China, most of whom travelled freely in interior districts, unaccompanied other than by coolies and a Christian catechist or Biblewomen (female missionaries). European residents in the Treaty Ports rarely ventured into the countryside for any distance or length of time and their views of the Chinese were rarely grounded on any depth of experience of the people in the interior. See Welch, Ian, (2006) “Women’s Work for Women: (Experiences of single women missionaries in Fujian Province, China, 1890s”. <http://anglicanhistory.org/women/> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>

warned to expect difficulties and possible perils, and his surprise at the manner in which his way was made smooth before him was the greater on account of the gloomy forebodings of his friends. There is always a pleasure in being able to prove recognized authorities to be wrong, and this, coupled with the natural exultation at having accomplished an arduous journey, has tinged the author's views of the Chinese and of everything connected with China.

"In this law-abiding country," he writes, "the peasantry conspicuously follow the Confucian maxim taught in China four hundred years before Christ, 'Do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you' " (page 57). But with the transparent honesty which is conspicuous on every page of his work, he gives us, on page 65, a view of the other side of the shield and quotes the opinion of the Provicair of the province of Ssuch'uan, who after a long experience among the people had arrived at the conclusion that they were all "liars and robbers." In this opinion the Provicair was supported by a French missionary who had worked for eight years in the same province. "No Chinaman can resist temptation," said this priest, "all are thieves. Justice depends on the richness of the accused. Victory in a court of justice is to the richer. Talk to the Chinese of religion, of a God, of heaven and hell, and they yawn; speak to them of business, and they are all attention. If you ever hear of a Chinaman who is not a thief and a liar, do not believe it, Monsieur Morrison, do not believe it; they are thieves and liars every one."

Such is the view, expressed possibly in too general terms, which a long experience invariably impresses on those whom fate has compelled to live among the Chinese, and certainly the events of the last few weeks tend to confirm it. On the points more especially dwelt upon by the French missionaries, Mr. Morrison is scarcely a competent judge. Being entirely unacquainted with the language, it was alike to him whether the natives around him uttered truths or falsehoods; and as he had nothing about him worth stealing, their honesty was not put to the test. It is, however, only right and proper that he should speak of the people as he found them, and his enthusiasm even carried him to the length of esteeming Chinese women more beautiful than their Japanese sisters. With his usual candour he backs up his opinion with a photograph of some Chinese ladies, and most people will be at a loss to understand the admiration excited by Japanese women, if they are less well-favoured than those here portrayed. That there are beautiful women in China is a matter of course. The woman in the crowd which had collected at the gates of Peking to see Parkes and Loch brought as prisoners to the capital must have been beautiful indeed to have made their captives exclaim at her beauty as they were being borne, tightly bound in a springless cart, to their squalid prison.

Mr. Morrison is not an admirer of missionary work in China, and has some excellent stories to tell of the faults and failings of some of the weaker brethren. On this question generally, it is again to be remarked, he adopts the superficial view of a passer-by, and repeats the opinions which are current among the quidnuncs on the Shanghai bund, who know about as little of the subject as he himself was able to gather. With perfect accuracy he quotes from missionary publications in support of many of his utterances, and revels in statistics which show that while the number of missionaries is legion, and the sums of money spent upon them are very considerable, the number of converts is ridiculously small. But he forgets to mention that the conversion of adults is only one branch of the missionaries' work; that at most, if not all, mission stations there are schools where children are educated in general knowledge as well as in religion' and that one missionary society, at least, devotes almost the whole of its energies to the dissemination of useful and scientific information. It is quite intelligible that the author may not have been able to learn much of the workings of the missionary bodies, but it is to be regretted that he should have lent too ready an ear to impressions current in non-missionary circles, and most of the circles in China are very non-missionary.

All that Mr. Morrison saw, and all his travelling experiences, he describes in a very amusing and vivacious style, and from first to last his book is full of interest. Like many travelers who have ventured into Western China, he encountered imminent peril of shipwreck in the gorges of the Yangtze, and he suffered the usual miseries of lodging in Chinese inns and temples. He describes one ordinary inn where "pigs and fowls and dogs, and a stray cat, were foraging for crumbs under the table"; where "a heap of bedding was in one corner of the room, in another a number of rolls of straw mattresses," while "a hollow joint of bamboo was filled with chopsticks for the common use," and "into another bamboo the innkeeper slipped his takings of copper cash"; where "hanging from the rafters were strings of straw sandals for the poor, and hemp sandals for moneyed wayfarers like the writer." Add to this that the room was crowded with coolies, and the "air was hot and enervating," and that dirt reigned supreme, and we have a picture which conveys some idea

of the discomforts of travelling in China. At a temple on the confines of Burma a new horror was added to his experiences. "Where I slept," he writes, "the floor was raised some feet from the ground, and underneath, seen through the gaping boards, were a number of coffins freighted with dead, waiting for a fit occasion for interment."

The 1520 miles which separate Chungking from Bhamo Mr. Morrison traversed in exactly one hundred days, and his pleasure on reaching Bhamo may well be imagined. He there disposed of parts of his travelling gear as were worth selling, including his pony, for the ready sale of which he was indebted to the "Rev. Mr. Roberts, of the American Baptist Mission." "Mr. Roberts," he writes, "has a pious gift for buying and selling them—at a profit." He offered me forty rupees for my pony. I mentioned his offer at the Bhamo Club, when a civilian present at once offered me fifty rupees for my pony; he did not know the pony, he explained, but—he knew Roberts.

GRANTED *25 July 1894*
EXPIRES *25 July 1895*

護 照

大英欽命駐劄漢口管理本國通商事務領事官霍

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1895, September 15.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 15 September 1895.

**CONSUL HIXSON ACTED QUICKLY AT THE TIME OF
THE KU CHENG MASSACRE IN CHINA.**

London, September 14—Mail advices from China state that there is great indignation among Europeans there over the fact that upon the occasion of the Ku Cheng or Hwasang massacre, on August 1, when ten missionaries or members of their families were killed and four seriously wounded, the British consul refused to do anything beyond writing to the viceroy of the province. The missionaries were obliged to appeal to the American consul, Mr. Hixson, who acted promptly. He was in the viceroy's yamen in an hour's time, and having laid the facts before that official, he quickly organized a party for the rescue of the missionaries.

1895, September 16.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 16, 1895. (Received Washington Nov. 8), No 2350, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose herewith a copy of a telegram received by me on the 14th instant from Mr. Hixson, United States consul at Foochow, now engaged in investigating the murders at Kutien, and a copy of a dispatch thereupon sent by me to the Tsung-li Yamen. I have etc., Charles Denby.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2350-Telegram.

US Consul Hixson and Cdr Newell to Denby.

September 13, 1895. Hsu taotai here, but viceroy has given him verbal instructions which practically supersede edict appointing him. Interviews with Hsu plainly indicate that the carrying out of any sentence will be delayed until assurances are given that all demands for Hwashan outrage will be satisfied by the executions. If viceroy allowed to dictate, no satisfactory result can be secured. Hsu said, "Tell me how many heads are wanted and I will cut them off at once, provided the case is thereby finally settled."

We recommend peremptory instructions for summary punishments, since same is vital to successful investigation. Mansfield wires Peking viceroy's version of edict, officially given us Hsu, and under which he claims to act. Suspect same has been altered since leaving Peking, before Hsu arrived.

Proclamations and instructions associating Christians with Vegetarians, discriminating against Christians and allowing Vegetarians to join home guard, issued by local officials, have caused trouble, as home guards have made many arrests. Have demanded that Vegetarians shall not be allowed, at present, to join, and that proclamation be revoked and new one issued by Hsu, not mentioning or referring to Christians. No compliance as yet, and we have doubts. HIXSON AND NEWELL.

Enclosure 2 in despatch No 2350.

Mr. Denby to the Tsungli Yamen.

No 29. September 14, 1895.

Your Highnesses and Your Excellencies. I have the honor to inform you that I have received a telegram from my Consul at Kutien wherein he states that the Viceroy has given instructions to Hus Taotai which practically supersede the edict appointing him.

It is stated that Hsu intimates that the carrying out of any sentence will be delayed until assurances are given that all demands for Hwashan outrage will be satisfied by the executions. If the Viceroy is allowed to dictate, no satisfactory result will be secured. I request that you will issue peremptory instructions for summary punishment in all cases in which guilt is proven.

Proclamations and instructions associating Christians with Vegetarians, discriminating against Christians and allowing Vegetarians to join the home guard issued by local officials have caused trouble, so home guards have made many arrests. Vegetarians should not be allowed at present to join home guard, and a new proclamation should be issued not mentioning or referring to Christians.

Assurances will not be given that all demands for satisfaction for the Kutien outrages will be satisfied by the executions. Proper punishment must be awarded the guilty persons first. This is the principal thing and no demands will be made until after the executions. It is not right that the proceedings should ne suspended.

The Times, (London), 16 September 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

Reuter's Agency learns that the Church Missionary Society have received long letters from Fu-chau confirming the impression that the recent outrages in Ku-cheng were due to anti-foreign and not to anti-Christian feeling.

The story told by Kathleen Stewart, one of the surviving children of the missionary, Mr. Stewart, is to the effect that on August 1 she and the two elder children went out early to gather flowers. Hearing horns and drums, they ran to see the procession, as they supposed it to be, and met the crowd. One man seized Kathleen by the hair and beat her. The other children ran away screaming. Kathleen got away and ran home. Kathleen hid under the bed. Mildred, unable to do so, lay upon the bed, and was attacked and wounded in the knee. Kathleen was not discovered. She heard a rushing sound and found that the house was burning, took Mildred

to the nursery, pulled the baby from under the body of the dead nurse, and carried out to safety one by one her two wounded brothers. Taking the four children one at a time, she started for Miss Hartford's. Half way she met a native, and inducing him after some trouble to help her they reached the house.

A correspondent of the *China Mail* writes as follows concerning the action of the British Consul:—

The first news of the massacre came to us on Friday night in a hastily written letter of Mr. Phillips to the Rev. Mr. Banister, of the Church Missionary Society, who was at Ku-liang, a summer resort about nine miles from here. He went immediately to see Archdeacon Wolfe, who was also at Ku-liang, and early on Saturday morning they started down to Cu-chau to see Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul. They met him coming to Ku-liang, and told him the contents of Mr. Phillips's letter, but he refused to go back with them. They might go down and do what they could, but he was going to Ku-liang to spend two or three days. He told them he could do nothing then, but would write to the Viceroy. After reaching the house at which he was to spend his holidays, he wrote to the Viceroy making an appointment for Monday at 11 a.m. All this while five English ladies were lying dead at Wha-sang. I save five, for Mr. Phillips's letter gave that number. The indignation of the people at Ku-liang, English and Americans alike, was very great on hearing of his conduct, and three English missionaries went to see him about 11 o'clock, but they could not move him. About 5 o'clock a letter came from the Marshal at the American Consulate saying that a rescuing party was being organized, and asking for volunteers from Ku-liang. Several volunteered, and two English missionaries went to see the British Consul again, told him of the intended expedition, and gave him to understand that it would look strange if it went off with him away from his Consulate. The only object of the expedition was to find the wounded and care for them. He was opposed to the plan and said he would come down to oppose it. Thus it took two delegations to bring him back to his post, and all the while five English girls were lying dead at Wha-sang. It was well for him that he came, for when the survivors reached Fu-chau were learned that ten were murdered, and not five.

Contrast this with the conduct of the United States Consul, Colonel Hixson. Archdeacon Wolfe and the Rev. Mr. Banister, two English missionaries, finding that their own Consul would do nothing for them, were compelled to go to the American Consul. As soon as he heard of the terrible news he went to see the Viceroy, who, after some pressure, put a Government launch at the disposal of Colonel Hixson to take a party up the river to Cui-kaio, where they could go inland to look for the wounded. Within an hour and 20 minutes after hearing the news he was in the Viceroy's Yamen, four miles from the Consulate. Late in the afternoon the launch went up, taking Archdeacon Wolfe, Mr. Banister, and Colonel Hixson.

The Times, (London), 16 September 1895.

THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADORS.

PARIS, SEPT. 15. The appointment of Sir Nicholas O'Connor to the St. Petersburg Embassy naturally interests the French in the role as allies of Russia.

The *Debats* comments upon the appointment at some length. In recalling the fact that it was Sir N. O'Connor who signed the convention of 1886 concerning Burma, it reminds Englishmen that, according to this instrument, a condition was fixed by China to its consent that England should conquer this region—namely that “the highest authority in Burma should send to China the usual decennial missions.” This stipulation, says the *Debats*, renders Great Britain up to a certain point, as suzerain of Burma, a tributary of China, and it asks in this connexion when the first decennial mission under the English *regime* will set out with its tribute for Peking. The period, it thinks, must be drawing near.

The *Debats* points out what it calls a “singular error” in the article in *The Times* where it is stated that Sir Nicholas O'Connor concluded the convention of March 1, 1894, as to the Upper Mekong and the State of Kiang Hung. The negotiations on this question, says the *Debats*, took place in London, and it was Lord Roseberry, and not Sir Nicholas, who signed the convention... — *Our Own Correspondent*.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 16 September 1895.

TWO GUNBOATS DISPATCHED

CHINESE OFFICIALS TO BE STIRRED UP IN THE MASSACRE INQUIRY

Foo Chow, September 16—It having been reported that the Chinese officials at Ku Cheng are not pushing the inquiry into the massacre of the missionaries on August 1, with the zeal that the occasion demands, two foreign gunboats are said to have been dispatched up the river to stir the officials to greater activity.

Washington, D.C., September 16. No word has been received at the state department of a cessation of the inquiry now being conducted by the British and American commission into the Ku Cheng outrages, and the officials are at a loss to understand how any question as to the punishment of persons found guilty can have arisen in advance of the conclusion of the inquiry.

1895, September 17.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 17, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.***

2.00 a.m. Denby, Peking. Two weeks ago Prefect voluntarily submitted thirteen guilty cases, having approval of Consuls, to Viceroy for his sanction of death sentences. Hsu suddenly today authorizes the execution tomorrow of seven: the other six cases Viceroy arbitrarily reverses and remands without cause: and Hsu says that no more executions will take place except after new trials and the approval of the Viceroy. Suspect it is a bait to avoid pressure from Peking, and that succeeding executions will be longer contested and delayed than present ones.

Viceroy and Tartar General still instructing Hsu contrary to imperial edict. Scheme now is,— first trial before Consuls, second trial before Hsu, then Viceroy gives final decision; making situation worse than before.

Suggest instructions from Peking direct to Hsu. Hixson, Newell.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 17, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul-General Jernigan, Shanghai.***

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Suggest instructions from Peking direct to Hsu. Hixson, Newell.

Above wired Denby, but be sure wire is not blocked. Hixson.

***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 17, 1895.
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2.00 a.m. Denby Peking. Without knowledge or consent Consuls, and without any trial before them, the Prefect, prior arrival of Hsu, liberated batch of prisoners, of whom at least two guilt,—one being actual murderer. Discovered trick, and demanded every one be rearrested and properly tried. Now demand is referred to Viceroy. Hixson.

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***Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 17, 1895.
Telegram. Consul Hixson to Vice-Consul Churchill, Shanghai.***

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9.45 p.m. Denby, Peking. Hsu says Viceroy wants clemency shown. Replied that end of trial, and not beginning, was the time to talk of it. Told Hsu we should insist on every man who went to Huashan being tried and sentenced, since under Chinese laws they have merited death. This construction has often been affirmed in open courts by Prefect and Magistrate. Now Viceroy wants another interpretation, as shown by his remanding six of the thirteen cases unanimously sentenced to death by court and referred to him

Hsu agrees with us, but is powerless to act—must refer all matters to Viceroy.

Informed Hsu that clemency comes from (our government through) Consuls and not from Viceroy.

Cross-examination has furnished list of about one hundred who were actually engaged in massacre.

Every precaution taken by Consuls to prevent innocents suffering. Hixson, Newell.

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Every precaution taken by Consuls to prevent innocents suffering. Hixson, Newell.

The Times, (London), 17 September 1895.

CHINA.

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 16. Because the British Consul lacks the support of British troops at Ku-cheng or British warships at Fu-chau, the Chinese are now making the inquiry into the recent outrages an absolute mockery, first by releasing prisoners without consulting the consul; second, by issuing proclamations also without consulting him; thirdly, by stopping the flow of evidence; and fourthly, by evincing an entire indifference as to the possible collapse of the inquiry altogether.—*Our Correspondent.*

HONG-KONG, SEPT. 16. It is reported here that a rebellion has broken out on the borders of the province of Fo-kien, and that the insurgents have occupied Heng-neng. The officials fled, leaving the district at the mercy of the rebels. Imperial troops, added the despatch, are advancing to give them battle.—*Reuter.*

The Sydney Morning Herald, 17 September 1895.

**THE KU-CHENG MASSACRE.
A SERIOUS ALLEGATION.**

LONDON, Sept. 15.—The *China Mail*, which is published in Hong Kong, alleges that Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul at Foochow, repeatedly refused to head a party to go to the rescue of Christians threatened by the perpetrators of the massacre at Ku-Cheng until he saw that the American Consul was starting.

The Star, (Christchurch, New Zealand), 17 September 1895.

LADY MISSIONARIES.

The doubts expressed in these columns at the time of the Kucheng massacre, concerning the wisdom of sending lady missionaries to the interior of China, are evidently shared by a considerable section of the English Press. The *Morning Post*, after deploring the shocking outrage, says: "It should serve as a warning to missionaries to reserve their energies for countries where, however fanatical the inhabitants may be, at any rate there are possibilities before them." The same journal asserts that the "goings and comings of European ladies are regarded as a direct condemnation of Chinese family life." "The unfortunate Mr. Stewart," it continues, "declared that his 'pleasantest and most profitable itinerations' were spent 'in hunting up little schools isolated from all Christian help.'" His friends and the organisations that sent him forth, therefore, have no right to be surprised if those itinerations came to a very abrupt conclusion."

The *St. James's Gazette* has a good deal to say on the same subject. "If there were only men concerned," it concludes, after reviewing the incidents of the massacre, "it would not so much matter. They might be left to take their lives in their hands if they were so disposed. No small proportion of them are clergymen of the Church of England or dissenting ministers for whom there is little or no career at home. In taking up missionary work among the heathen they are engaged in making a way for themselves by adventure and at the peril of their lives, very much as the young layman who finds England too crowded does in Western Australia or Mashonaland. If these men went alone we might still think they were wasting their efforts, but they would be doing as they chose with their lives. The scandal is that they do not go alone. They must have the solace of a wife. Many of them drag Englishwomen into a life of squalor and danger, but that is not all. These missions are the headquarters of little settlements of young women who are supposed to be engaged in spreading the light of Christianity. No doubt this is what they think they are doing themselves. The sad and rather disgraceful truth is that in the opinion of the Chinese they are the concubines of the missionary. Of course it is a foul calumny. No word has been breathed against the virtue of these brave and devoted ladies. But the Chinese understand neither their bravery nor their devotion." One might well hesitate to repeat this abominable calumny even for the purpose of scouting it, but when a leader of the Church stigmatizes our protest against the employment of lady missionaries at dangerous posts as "unchristian" we may be pardoned for revealing the whole of the miserable truth.

We are not entirely dependent upon newspapers for our information with regard to the effect of missionary enterprise in China. Mr. Curzon, in his "Problems of the Far East," says that the presence of the missionary bodies, as a whole, in the country is a constant source of anxiety to the Legations, by whom, in the last resort, their interests, depending as they do upon treaties, must be defended. The principal cause of the repeated misunderstandings between the natives and the missionaries is, according to this authority, the constantly increasing employment of women, and particularly of unmarried women, by the missionary bodies. A steamer rarely sails from the American shores for Yokohama without carrying a bevy of young girls, fresh from the school-room or the seminary, who, with the impulsive innocence of youth, are about to devote their young lives and energies to what they conceive to be the noblest of purposes in Japan or China. A scarcely inferior stream of female recruitment flows in from the United Kingdom and the colonies. In a country like China the institution of sisterhoods, planted alongside of male establishments, the spectacle of unmarried persons of both sexes residing and living together, both in public and in private, and of girls making long journeys into the interior without responsible escort, are sources of a misunderstanding at which the pure-minded may afford to scoff, but which in many cases has more to do with anti-missionary feeling in China than any amount of national hostility or doctrinal antagonism. Mr. Curzon gives an instance of the misdirected zeal to which he alludes. "Only last year," he writes, "at the remote inland town of Kuie-hwa-cheng, a friend of mine encountered a missionary community consisting of one male and twenty Swedish

girls. The propaganda of the latter consisted in parading the streets and singing hymns to the strumming of tambourines and guitars. The society that had committed the outrage of sending out three innocent girls only allowed them 200 dollars, or £27 10s a year apiece for board, lodging and clothing. As a result they were destitute of the smallest comforts of life, and could not even perform their toilet without the impertinent eyes of Chinamen being directed upon them through the paper screens. Can anything more futile than such an enterprise be conceived or more culpable? Such evidence as this will not lessen either our abhorrence of the recent outrages or our admiration for the brave women who are ready to sacrifice their lives in what they conceive to be the interests of Christianity, but it should induce these estimable men who are now ready to shed the last drop of their sister's blood in an attempt to convert the heathen to look for more promising fields than the interior of China for the employment of young girls who are anxious to engage in missionary work.

The New York Times, 17 September 1895.

GUNBOATS AGAINST CHINESE.

Ku-Cheng Officials Stubborn and Ro-Kien Subjects in Rebellion.

FOO CHOO, Sept. 16.—In consequence of the attitude of obstruction assumed by the Chinese officials towards the progress of the inquiry into the recent outrages at Ku-Cheng, and their refusal to carry out the sentences imposed by the examining court upon the ringleaders in the attacks upon the Christian missions at that place, two foreign gunboats have been ordered to ascend the river to demand the enforcement of the penalties imposed. A rebellion has begun in the Province of Fo-Kien, and the local officials, instead of attempting to suppress the uprising, have fled. A force of imperial troops are on their way to the scene to try to put down the insurrection.¹²

The New York Tribune, 17 September 1895.

GUNBOATS TO STIR THEM UP.

PENALTIES IMPOSED AT KU-CHENG MUST BE ENFORCED.

A REBELLION IN FO-KIEN—THE LOCAL OFFICIALS FLEE.

NO NEWS IN WASHINGTON.

Foo-Chow, Sept. 16.—In consequence of the attitude of obstruction assumed by the Chinese officials toward the progress of the inquiry into the recent outrages at Ku-Cheng and their refusal to carry out the sentences imposed by the examining court upon the ringleaders in the attacks upon the Christian missionaries at this place, two foreign gunboats have been ordered to ascend the river to demand the enforcement of the penalties imposed.

A rebellion has begun in the province of Fo-Kien, and the local officials, instead of attempting to suppress the rising, have fled. A force of imperial troops are on their way to the scene to try to put down the insurrection.

Washington, Sept. 16.—The chief interest attaching in Washington to the dispatch from Foo Chow that a rebellion has begun in the province of Fo-Kien is as to the fate which awaits the American and European missionaries in that province, should any still remain the vicinity of Ku-Cheng. Reports reached here through diplomatic and private sources several weeks ago that the missionaries, after the recent massacres in the interior of the province, had, with their families, sought refuge at Foo-Chow, which is near the coast, and where the presence of foreign men-of-war makes them safe from further violence. If they have remained at Foo-Chow, or rather at Pagoda Anchorage, which is a foreign settlement only a few miles removed, no danger can happen to them. If, however, in their zeal to begin again their work, they have returned to the interior of the province, the gravest apprehension will be felt for their safety, unless they receive the protection of the European or American forces.

The State Department is without advices regarding the alleged latest phase of the Chinese situation in regard to the refusal of the Chinese Government to execute any of the men convicted of being participants in

12 This is a very dubious item indeed. Foreign warships could not proceed up the Min River even to the city of Foochow. There is no supporting reports for the claim that the provincial officials had fled Foochow. See following report.

the missionary massacre unless they are assured that with the execution of these men all other demands will cease. According to the latest information of the Department, the Ku-Cheng commission was at work, with its labors uncompleted, and the investigation at Cheng-Ty had not been begun. No dispatches have been received from Minister Denby, but they are expected this week.

1895, September 18.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 18, 1895. (Received Washington Nov. 8), No 2352, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to confirm my cipher telegram to you of this date as follows:

Several criminals executed at Kutien. Some judgments reversed by viceroy. New trials required. Consuls complain of delay. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

The Times, (London), 18 September 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 17. Seven prisoners were executed at Ku-cheng to-day in the presence of the Consuls. The gunboat Linnet has arrived.—*Our Correspondent.*

The Times, (London), 18 September 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

To the Editor of the Times, Sir,—Your telegram from Shanghai in to-day's issue will probably arouse some indignation. But people should remember that the state of affairs which it describes is no abnormal condition of affairs, but only represents one of the regular successive steps which Chinese diplomacy invariably takes in matters connected with outrages in China. Any one who takes the trouble to watch the proceedings of the Tsungli Yamen in such cases will find that the stages in the negotiations are well defined and never vary.

Shortly stated, they are these;—No. 1. The Yamen express deep regret for the outrage in question, and promise that the guilty persons shall be rigorously punished. The same formula is repeated in Downing-street by the Chinese Minister.

No. 2. In reply to the demands of the British Minister at Peking, the Yamen promise to appoint a Commission to investigate the circumstances of the outrage on the spot, and consent to the presence of an English representative.

No. 3. The local officials delay and procrastinate as long as possible, and throw every obstacle in the way of a fair trial of the case. This is the stage which the inquiry at Ku-cheng has now reached and which your Correspondent describes as “an absolute mockery.”

No. 4. The same officials, after foreigners have become wearied out by the farce, present a memorial to the Throne, stating that the real authors of the outrage are ignorant coolies—possibly members of some illegal association—and that they have condemned ten or 20 of them to death.

No. 5. In reply to a demand from the British Legation that the local officials, who in nine cases out of ten are the real offenders, should be punished, the Yamen protest their innocence, or, if the evidence against them is too strong to be refuted, profess to degrade them from their offices while providing them with equally good or better posts elsewhere. In the case of Chou Han, the instigator of the outrages on the Yang-tsze, two or three years ago, they exonerated him on the ground that he was not answerable for his actions!¹³

No. 6. The heads of a few coolies who may or may not have had anything to do with the riot are cut off and an indemnity is promised, which after many months is finally paid.

The accuracy of these stages, *mutatis mutandis*, may be tested by reference to the proceedings consequent on the Tientsin massacre, the Margary murder, the riots on the Yang-tsze, and other occasions. How long are we going to allow such palpable farces to continue?”

September 17. I am, Sir, yours obediently, Robert K. Douglas.

13 See Part Ten.

The Argus, (Melbourne), 18 September 1895.

**THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.
UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF AFFAIRS.**

LONDON, SEPT. 17.—The position of affairs in connection with the Chinese inquiry into the massacre of English missionaries at Kucheng is assuming a very unsatisfactory aspect.

The British marines who accompanied the English and American consuls to Kucheng have been withdrawn, and men-of-war have left Foochow.¹⁴ As a consequence the Chinese authorities are minimising the inquiry as much as possible, are releasing prisoners who have been arrested on the charge of being concerned in the massacre, and are flouting the British consul.

The Poverty Bay Herald (New Zealand) 18 September 1895.

THE KUCHENG ENQUIRY.

Shanghai, Sept. 17.—Owing to the absence of British marines at Kucheng, and the fact that there are no warships at Foochow, the Chinese are reducing the enquiry into the recent massacres to a mockery. Prisoners are daily released, and the British Consul flouted.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 18 September 1895.

**AN EDICT FROM THE EMPEROR
Regarding the Outbreaks Against Missionaries in China.
RIOTERS MUST BE PUNISHED.**

He Expresses His Indignation and Calls Upon Officials to Grant Protection to Foreigners—Belief that England's Commissioner Should Have Had an Escort of British Soldiers to Make a Show of Force.

San Francisco, Cal, September 18—The following edict, the text of which was received by steamer today, has been issued by the Emperor of China:

Since the opening of international commerce with Western countries foreigners have always resided in the inland districts, at peace and harmony with their native neighbors, and we in our imperial love for both natives and foreigners alike, have time and again commended our high provincial authorities to pay extra heed constantly to protect the latter from harm. Judge of our extreme indignation, then, upon hearing recently, first of the riots in the capitol of Szeccuen, where chapels have been destroyed and burned down by the rioters, thereby fanning the flames of destruction far and wide, in so much that a number of sub-prefectures and sub-districts simultaneously followed in the footsteps of Cheng Tu, and now to receive news from Fu Kien, reporting that evil characters have murdered a very large number of foreigners at Ku Tien going so far in their ruthless ferocity as to murder even women and infants. With reference to the Szeccuen riots, a number of rioters have already been arrested and will undergo trial, but the chiefs and heads of the Fu Kien murderers are still at large, and we commanded Pien Pao Chuan and Chin Yu (Tartar general of Foo Chow) to set to work without delay at the head of the military and district officials, and speedily arrest those wicked characters, for shall any be allowed to escape the meshes of the law? Indeed, it is the manifest duty of the local mandarins throughout the empire to be always on the alert and prevent such worthless characters from manufacturing scurrilous tales and exciting the populace. They should crush all incipient risings at the slightest sign. What sort of frivolity and indifference to duty is this, then, that has been done about all the recent serious outrages? We would also therefore command the various tartar generals, viceroys and governors of the empire to impress upon all their subordinates the necessity of granting thorough protection of all the chapels, etc., in their districts. They are also to issue proclamations exhorting the people to abstain from listening to scurrilous tales which excite unfounded suspicions in the breasts of all. If there be any who shall dare to raise disturbances in the future they shall be at once punished with the utmost severity of the law, and as such in local offices as may use subterfuge and craft to avoid

14 No British marines were ever involved. The Consuls were escorted by Chinese troops. Note the following item.

their duties, they are to be most severely punished, and no leniency shall be exercised in their cases. Let these commands be known to all within the empire.

Little value is attached by foreigners to this edict. It is now well understood that the orders of the Emperor of China have virtually no force outside the walls of Peking. On several occasions edicts even more forcibly worded have emanated from the throne, but foreign property and foreign lives remain as insecure as ever in the interior of China.

It is generally believed that the action of the British government has fallen far short of the requirements of the occasion. Instead of dispatching a consul to investigate the circumstances connected with the Ku Cheng atrocities, the task should have been entrusted to a secretary of legation, and instead of a Chinese escort, a commissioner should be accompanied by 500 redcoats and blue jackets.

The San Francisco Call, 18 September 1895.

SACKED THE MISSION.

Details of the Attack Upon the Village of Wanai.

FOUGHT WITH COURAGE.

Christians Procured Some Old Muskets and Made a Good Defense.

BESEIGED BY THE BANDITS.

An Edict by the Emperor That Foreigners Think Will No Do Much Good.

TOKIO, JAPAN, Aug. 27.—Particulars of the attack on the Catholic mission at Wanai, a village near the East River, some seven days' journey from Canton, have been received. The affair took place on July 2, at 6 p.m., when a gang of 330 bandits attacked the orphanage. The place was burned and one child was cut to pieces by the marauders. Then the missionaries hastily prepared some old muskets and showed fight. Three of the enemy were killed and many wounded before they drew off.

For two days the bandits besieged the tiny garrison of twenty-one combatants, but on the 5th of July heavy rain fell and dispersed them. A few days afterward the bandits reassembled and attacked the soldiers of a Mandarin sent to arrest them. Fighting again broke out between these men and the little band of Christians, at length peace was purchased by a payment of 800 taels. Then another band of robbers came up, and these had to be bought off, also, although not before some more lives had been lost. The price paid was 200 taels. This was on July 11.

During this long siege, what had happened in the district. All the Christians were robbed, women were carried away, houses were burned—in a word, nothing escape the rage of the Chinese miscreants. A village of 190 Christians was attacked, but soldiers came to its assistance and it was saved. At present some hundreds of soldiers occupy the country, and the prefect of Wei-chow and the sub-prefect of Ho Yun are on the spot.

The courage of the Christians certainly preserved the neighboring districts, for the robbers, after having ravaged Ho Yun, would have been ready to invade other places. The losses of the Christians are considerable; more than 120 buffaloes were stolen and all the movables of the fifty families pillaged. In this general raiding it is astonishing that the loss of life among the Christians was not greater. Only one child was cut in pieces and an adult Christian was burned in his house, whereas the bandits on their side had several killed and wounded.

The Emperor of China has issued the following edict with reference to the recent anti-Christian outbreaks in that Empire. [See The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 18 September 1895 above for text of edict.]

Little value is attached by foreigners to this edict. It is now well understood that the orders of the Emperor of China have virtually no force outside the walls of Peking. On several previous occasions edicts even more forcibly worded than the above have emanated from the Dragon throne, but foreign property and foreign lives {i.e. missionaries} remain as insecure as ever in the interior of China. The Fukien assassinations have stirred throughout the whole of the foreign population of the Orient a feeling of the deepest indignation.

It is generally believed that the action of the British Government has fallen far short of the requirements of the occasion. Instead of dispatching a consul to investigate the circumstances connected with the Kucheng atrocities the task should have been entrusted to a secretary of legation, and instead of a Chinese escort the commissioner should have been accompanied by 500 redcoats and bluejackets.

If the brutal massacre of English women, girls and children may be condoned by the payment of a few

dollars and the execution of half a dozen men, who probably had no hand in the crime, but have sold their lives to expiate it, the union jack will soon cease to be a genuine protection to British subjects. That is what Englishmen are saying everywhere in the Far East, and it cannot be denied that there is much truth in the complaint, seeing that two of the incriminated officials in Chengtu have been placed on the commission of inquiry, and that the Chief of Police, who issued a placard declaring the crime of kidnapping children to have been proved against foreigners, has been promoted to Taotai.

A very serious accusation has been preferred against Mr. Mansfield, British Consul at Foochow. It is alleged, apparently on good authority, that, being on the point of starting for a holiday excursion when the news of the Kucheng massacre reached Foochow, he declined at first to abandon his trip, and was only induced to return to his consulate when he learned that the marshal of the American consulate had called for volunteers to seek and care for the wounded. His singularly apathetic action is contrasted with that of Colonel Hixson, the United States Consul, who, within an hour and twenty minutes of the receipt of the intelligence, was in the Viceroy's yamen, four miles distant, and had secured a Government steam-launch to convey a rescue party up the river.

1895, September 19.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 11.50 a.m. Sep 19, 1895.

I don't see how you can insist on more than that the leading criminals should be executed but of course all criminals convicted at investigation ought to be sentenced.

The Imperial Decree makes Hsu personally responsible but does not give him I imagine powers of life and death without reference to Viceroy. O'Connor.

FRUS. Legation of the United States, Peking, September 19, 1895. Telegram, Denby to Olney.

Olney, Washington.

September nineteenth. Question of clemency raised at Kutien. Think all accused should be tried and sentenced if guilty. Wholesale executions should not be insisted on; will you authorize Hixson to consent to commutations after judgments not before. Denby.

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 19, 1895. Telegram, Olney to Denby.

American commissioners Kutien should discover and report officials really responsible for outrages. they have no judicial or diplomatic function. Punishment and execution of followers and tools comparatively unimportant, but clemency after conviction could only be considered upon proposal of Chinese Government after commissioners report, Proposed authorization to Hixson would tend to narrow issue to one of provincial administration, thereby defeating broader purpose of this Government. Olney.

The Timaru Herald (New Zealand), 19 September 1895.

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Rev. Arthur Elwin, one of the oldest missionaries connected with the Chinese work of the Church Missionary Society, who is at present on a visit to England, furnished an interesting statement to the London Press with reference to the recent massacre near Kucheng:—

Having been closely connected with a district in the interior of China for more than 25 years, I venture to send you a few remarks on the terrible events which have lately happened at Kucheng. First, as to the causes that led to the riot: I think the chief cause undoubtedly was the intense hatred which the Chinese generally have to foreigners and everything foreign. Those most intimately acquainted with the Chinese people have been expected to hear of riots in the interior. The Church Missionary Society have several times carefully considered the position of their missionaries in the interior, and last autumn most wisely decided not to send out any more ladies until things seemed a little more settled.

The common country people divide the world into the men of the middle kingdom and the outside barbarians, or foreign devils, as they are usually called. If they can only get the foreigners into their power, they do not stop to inquire whether they are Japanese, English, French, or Americans; they at once proceed to beat, torture or kill them, according to their feelings at the time.

My own experience in the interior was this: that the Chinese knew very little about missionaries. Many people in England, because the missionaries often suffer, think that the Chinese have a special antipathy to missionaries. I believe the missionaries suffer because they are easier got at than the merchants. The missionaries live in the interior; the merchants live at the open ports, where they are more or less protected by foreign Governments. When travelling in the large district in Chekiang province of which I had charge, I often asked the question, "Do you know why I have come to your honourable country?" The answer almost invariably was, "Oh, yes, sir, we know; you have come to buy tea." Perhaps one present would interrupt and say, "The foreigner has not come to buy tea, he has

come to buy silk," I have never met a heathen Chinamen who would go a couple of feet to tell anyone about his religion, and they cannot understand why English people should travel so far to tell any one about their religion.

Mr. Stewart has been blamed for not leaving Kucheng when danger was apprehended. We must be careful how we judge. It is sometimes very difficult to know what to do. If missionaries were to run away at the first sign of danger, nothing would be done at all. The Chinese are fond of spreading reports which often come to nothing. Mr. Stewart, and those with him no doubt acted for the best.

The Times, (London), 19 September 1895.

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 18. Although the British Consul attending the Ku-cheng inquiry has experienced no difficulty in securing the punishment of several of the Chinese of the lower class who took part in the massacre of the European missionaries, the utmost efforts on his part have failed to induce the Chinese authorities to deal with the Viceroy and other highly-placed officials who are deemed responsible for the riot. It is believed that the British Government will insist on the proper culprits being brought to account, and will exercise pressure upon the Chinese Government to secure this end.—*Reuter.*

The Times, (London), 19 September 1895.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society received yesterday from Fu-chau Hospital a letter from Miss Codrington, who was seriously wounded in the recent massacre, to the effect that she is doing well, and is up and about, her wounds being almost healed. Miss Codrington will shortly sail for England.

1895, September 20.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, Sep 20, 1895.

No. 11. With reference to Mr. Mansfield’s telegram of the 28th August, my telegraphic reply thereto of the 4th Sept., and your Jernate letter of the 5th Sept., I beg to enclose to you herewith translation of a Note from the Tsungli Yamen (No. 50 of 8 Sepr.) in which the Princes and Ministers inform me of the instructions they issued at my request for providing extra prison accommodation in connection with the Ku-T’ien enquiry. I should feel obliged to you if you will transmit a copy of the communication to Mr. Mansfield. I am, etc.
O’Conor.

The Times, (London), 20 September 1895.

ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS IN WESTERN CHINA.

(FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.)

CHUNG-KING, JULY 22. It is a question whether the true story of the Szu-chuan riots will ever be known. No inquiry has ever been made into any of the previous riots on the Yangtze—that is, no inquiry by a foreign commission; and to a Chinese inquiry no one who has resided in China would attach any importance. It invariably results in the beheading of a new needy coolies, a condemnation of the behaviour of the foreigners, especially if they have been killed and cannot speak for themselves, the persecution of all those who have stood their friends, and the removal—i.e., promotion—of the local officials. Ordinary Chinese—that is the man in the street and his like—say the late riots are neither anti-Christian nor anti-foreign, but all to “let the Emperor know and Japan man know,” but especially the Emperor, “that China man, he no likee—too muchee cross.” Well-informed foreigners say much the same—that it is all a bit of party politics, the Hu-nan men, represented to us in England by the late Marquis Tseng, who are now out of power, wanting to turn out the Ngan-whei men, Li Hung Chang and his gang, and adopting these means of getting them into difficulties. The Hu-nan men, who may be called the patriotic party, are naturally anti-foreign. It may be remembered that the late Marquis Tseng could never return to Hu-nan after his friendliness with English people.

Whatever was the cause, somebody put out placards towards the end of May—no foreigner yet knows who—and the walls of Cheng-tu all over the city bore this legend:—

Notice is hereby given that at the present ‘foreign barbarians’ are hiring evil characters to steal small children that they may extract oil from them for their use. I have a female servant named Li who has personally seen this done. I therefore exhort you good people not to allow your children to go out. I hope you will act in accordance with this.

Now in judging of after events it must be remembered that to a Chinaman there is nothing incredible about this anonymous placard. Even the most enlightened Chinamen, educated in America, and at the head of large industrial concerns, will maintain stoutly, “the Roman Catholics do not have such high walls and closed doors for nothing”; whilst a manservant of a most superior kind, who had spent all his life in English (chiefly in Consular) employ, on being asked by his mistress, apropos of similar reports on another occasion, “Surely you do not believe them; you know master and me; you no believe master would take out small children;s eyes?” drew a long breath, and then honestly replied, “My no savee.” All through China it is generally believed foreigners take out children’s eyes and extract oil for photographic and worse purposes.¹⁵

On the afternoon of May 28 the Canadian Methodist Mission premises at Cheng-tu were attacked. They happened to be nearest the throwing of the plums, a yearly ceremony that in Cheng-tu takes the place of the dragon-boat festival elsewhere. Mr. Jackson, of the church Mission, had come in from his outlying station, a five days’ journey, to have his teeth attended to, and both he and the doctor were weary after the operation, when they found themselves suddenly confronted by an angry Chinese mob. Canadians, like Americans, seem always to have fire-arms handy, whilst most of the English missionaries, brought up from childhood in

15 See Part Ten.

highly-policed England and unaccustomed to them, think it is wrong to have recourse to them. The two doctors drove the crowd back at once; then having put the ladies into comparative safety in the hospital compound nest door, they once more kept the gate for nearly hours, with their arms visible but not used, whilst they sent to the officials for help. Then a few Yamen runners and unarmed soldiers stepped out and said they would disperse the mob, on which the doctors went to join their wives and children, and at once the mob swept past the Yamen runners and began destroying everything.¹⁶ The missionaries next tried to hide under some timber, but a Chinaman warned them they would thus be burnt to death. Then, finding the back gate besieged, they fired a shot over the people's heads, through the top of the gateway. This was a most fortunate idea, for it not only dispersed the people for a little, but also gave a means of exit.

For the missionaries found they must leave their premises, and through the hole thus made in the gate crept out four adults and four very small children. They sought refuge, but none would give it to them. They went down the street amid cries of "Beat them to death." But, it should be stated that these cries are common in China; we in the interior are mostly hardened to them.¹⁷ The fugitives then tried to get into some barracks, but the soldiers drove them away, one of them kicking one of the ladies, and they made their way to the city wall, all but the Church missionary, who taking a wrong turning in the dark, got separated from the others and eventually reached the China Inland premises, and one of the children, who was also lost. The others were on the city wall till about midnight, and from there, shoeless, and not knowing what might not happen next, they watched their compound burning. In the small hours of the morning chairs were sent to them and took them to the China Inland Mission, where they rejoined Mr. Jackson, having also regained the missing child, brought back to them by a servant from another city. There also they were joined by the Rev. G. Hartwell and the ladies of the China Inland, both of whose houses were already destroyed.¹⁸ The people in the street said to the members of the China Inland, "You have been here over ten years and have done good, no one will touch you here." The mob, however, began to collect, and one of the China Inland went to the Yamen to give notice. The American Methodist Episcopal Mission had already at 3 a.m. taken a box round to the magistrate's Yamen, asking for him at least to take care of their things for them, but they had to take it away, being assured they were quite safe. This did not, however, prevent all the foreigners in Chung-king¹⁹ from meeting there at about the next morning, with everything destroyed but what they stood up in. Again the unfortunate Canadians, now accompanied by the China Inland, had to escape over the back, while the mob surged in at the front over the barricaded doors. This time they got over the back wall by ladders into a small house, and by giving 30 taels (about 4) to three brothers of the household, obtained a hiding-place within the mosquito curtains of a bed in a back room. The party consisted of some six adults and several children. All the foreign children in Cheng-tu were under three years old; and the great difficulty was to keep these children quiet. For three hours in the terrible heat of a very early Chinese summer, they were thus all hidden together, not daring to speak above a whisper, whilst their premises were being looted and destroyed within a few feet of them. The man of the house drew his bed in front of the door and lay on it smoking opium, and the women of the house went on with their usual work, as though nothing had happened, till at last it was dark enough for the whole party to be taken in chairs to the Yamen, except one man, again missing.

He had found his way into a Chinese doctor's house, and there the bright idea was conceived of passing him off as a patient. He was muffled up in a red and blue Chinese hood, then, with large Chinese glasses, and leaning on the shoulders of two men, he was supported to the door, and there, in the very midst of the destroying mob, put into a chair. The chair coolies were warned that he was a man who must die within the year, and therefore the curtains must be kept closely drawn that not a breath of air might touch him before they delivered him in the magistrate's Yamen. Thus he, too, got safe away.

The Americans, only about three hours after their return from the Yamen, having been refused protection for their valuables, had to escape over their side boundary wall. Had they gone over their back wall they would have found themselves in the hands of naked robbers, as did their native helper, who had to pay 10

16 See Part Four, *The New York Times*, 10 August 1895. *The New York Tribune*, 10 August 1895.

17 Note the special claim for missionaries "in the interior." All foreigners in China, wherever located, were regularly abused by the local people. Broomhall (and other members of his family) were prolific writers about the China Inland Mission and his statement need to be interpreted in that light.

18 See Part Four: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 1895.

19 This appear to be an error—substituting Chung-king for Cheng-tu.

taels, or over £1, to get away. Hidden in a loft, they all actually watched the destroying, carrying off, and burning of their property—one a young bride only 11 days arrived—until at last the dreadful day was over, and half the night; for not until 1 a.m. did the authorities think it safe to take them to the Yamen.

Just after mass on May 29 the Roman Catholics received a letter saying that all foreigners were to be attacked. The Bishop applied to the Viceroy by letter, his Yamen being next door. Receiving no answer he went to the Taotai General's Yamen, meaning to ask for 100 soldiers. He was not allowed to enter, but received with insults and stoned.

Afterwards my chair was overturned, and my hearers beaten. I was obliged to get away as best I could, under a hail of stones, many of which struck me. As I was making off, a mandarin amongst the crowd tried to strike me with an axe, and had the blow taken effect it would have shorn my head off. I was hurt and bruised about the body and my head was cut, nor was my protector (a petty official) without many injuries from stones and sticks. After a time he succeeded in escorting me safely to small Yamen. During my absence from the mission, which was but of short duration, the mob destroyed the Catholic premises. During the destruction of our property the tomb of Mgr. Dufresso, one of our Bishops, who was decapitated by the Chinese 70 years ago, was broken into. The skeleton of the martyr was torn from its resting place, and the poor bones were carried about the streets by the mob for the purpose of further infuriating the people against us, the rioters crying 'See, here are the ones of some of the people the missionaries murdered; we have just taken them from under the foreign devils' houses.' Orphanages, churches, and all our houses were destroyed (11 in all). There is now not stone left standing on another.

At 3 a.m. on the 30th, they, too, were taken to the Yamen, where they found the English and American missionaries

all like ourselves, poor people, beggars without anything left to them in this world. The mandarin there was sufficiently polite, but the accommodation was horribly insufficient. Here we all remained till June 1, when we were taken to the Prefect's Yamen, from which I am now writing.

Thus, 31 foreigners, British, American, and French, were together on May 30 and 31, all homeless and destitute. A telegram was sent to the British Consul at Chung-king²⁰, and the news got through to Peking. Otherwise, what further might not have happened to them? Directly the Viceroy heard of the telegram he sent to the operators to stop it—happily, too late. After that the foreigners were told the wires were broken. Meanwhile, what with the bones of the Roman Catholic Bishop and the blood of a fowl, some one had killed and sprinkled on the walls, the people were being kept in a frenzy of excitement, and they threatened to wreck the Yamen and kill the foreigners.

Worse than this, a beggar boy was brought to the Yamen with his tongue cut out, and this was said to be the work of the missionaries. The boy's tongue being cut out, he could tell no tales. No mere mob would have ventured on this act of brutality. Tins of milk were shown about the streets, said to contain the brains of young children pounded, on which the missionaries battered. In the midst of all this one of the missionary ladies was prematurely confined. There was a plethora of medical assistance within the Yamen, but not a drug, not a rag, not even a pin amongst them. Then, but one of the most extraordinary chances one of the doctors allowed to go out saw a man passing by with his hands all while and a bottle, it was carbolic, carried off from the doctor's own hospital, and the man having burnt his hands with it was glad to sell it. Humanly speaking, but for this carbolic the poor lady could not have survived, the heat being so abnormal as it was this June in the West of China, it was all the medical stores the whole party had for the next three weeks.

It was on May 29, whilst the burning and sacking were in full swing, the Taotai Cheo put out the following proclamation with his name:—

At the present time, when Japan has usurped Chinese territory, you English, French, Americans have looked on with your hands in your sleeves. If in the future you wish to preach your doctrine in China you must drive the Japanese back to their own country, then you will be allowed to preach your Holy Gospel throughout the country without let or hindrance.

20 There was no American consul at Chung-king, the nearest being at the Consulate-General in Shanghai. This reflected the predominance of the British in the Yangtse valley. An initial attempt by US Minister Denby to have Mr. Tratman, the British Consul in Chung-king, represent the United States in a joint British-American Commission of Inquiry. This infuriated Americans in Shanghai and the proposal was abandoned.

And on this day, the 30th, at last the Governor-General put out his proclamation;—

I, the governor-General, have heard that yesterday at the “Twan-yang” feast, according to the custom of the Province, crowds of men and women assembled to witness the scattering of fruit, also that foreigners having gone to witness it (this was not true, none had)²¹ trouble was caused and the chapels were destroyed. It is certain that evil characters have been stirring up trouble in order to steal and rob. In addition to searching clearly into this matter, I have also put out a proclamation for you elders, wardens, soldiers, and people’s information.

You, my good people, should each follow his own vocation, and should you have any grievance you may petition the officials of the two districts, Cheng-tu and Hwa-yang, and I will justly decide without any partiality.

You may by no means recklessly help forward these evil men and get yourself caught in a net.

Let them be punished by the law; for those who assemble evil characters let there be no leniency.

This proclamation is put forth for the information of all. On the 31st, when it is to be assumed he had heard from Peking, martial law was proclaimed.

Whereas a number of evil characters have assembled, scattering evil rumours, I have already memorialized the Emperor, and you may put them to death without discussion.

Only 11 days after the riots was it thought fitting to let the missionaries leave the Yamen. Then the British and Americans were conducted again at 1 o’clock to the Min River²², two or three officials and six small boatloads of soldiers going with them as escorts. One of the China Inland Mission had telegraphed to the British Consul for permission to remain in Cheng-tu. The officials refused to sent the telegram.

Mr. Jackson²³, who had only come to Cheng-tu to have his teeth seen to, was most carefully escorted back to Chong-pa, his station. He was dressed as a Chinese official, with official cap, long boots, etc., and given a grand chair chair, which he was requested never to leave, also so grand an escort that it nearly caused a commotion when he reached Chong-pa. He was given dark spectacles, requested to dye his moustache, and his escort were told, if asked who he was, always to answer, “A Chinese official going to meet the incoming Viceroy.” For one of the peculiarities of the position was that the Viceroy Liu, one of Li Hung Chang’s special friends, was already, when all the trouble occurred, degraded, and his successor expected. The boat party from Cheng-tu reached Chung-king safely, and arrived at Ichang, just about a month after they had been driven out homeless. Some man-of-war is generally at Ichang, 1,000 miles up the Yang-rse,; but there was none even there then.

On Sunday, June 2, the houses of the Church Mission and the China Inland were attacked at Kwan Hsien; a few things were stolen, but help arrived from the Yamen. At Liu Tu Hsien a house of missionary ladies was attacked; they escaped at the back door, but no one would take them in. At first the magistrate would do nothing, but at last he dispersed the mob, and the ladies, according to the latest news, were living with a guard.

Three ladies of the China Inland were visiting at Kiong-choo, when the large Roman Catholic premises were wrecked. A man stepped out of the crowd, and beginning to sharpen a large knife he carried on the flat stone at the ladies’ door, he forbade the people to touch them, saying they were good women, and at last so cleared the people away that one of the ladies with a Chinese woman ventured to the Yamen to ask for assistance, but only to refused admission. The Chinese woman on this set up a loud crying, and said they would die there before the die if refused protection, they would never go away, till at last they were let in, to find the magistrate trembling with fear. The man with the knife, however, got chairs for the other ladies, and three of the rioters escorted the ladies to the official’s residence.

On June 4, at Kia-ting, the lovely city where join the waters of the rivers Tung, Ya, and Min, the latter coming down from Cheng-tu, the three houses of the Church Mission, the American Baptist Mission, and

21 Broomhall seems to have been incorrect as at least one source in this collection refers to a missionary viewing the event.

22 A river that runs through the city of Chengdu in Sichuan Province. Not to be confused with the Min River in Fujian Province.

23 Norris, Frank L, *China*, Handbooks of Church Expansion(London, A.R, Mowbray, 1908), pp 134-5. See Chapter X for a general overview of Sichuan Province that was unique in combining an Anglican mission with the China Inland Mission.

China Inland were looted and partially destroyed, also the Roman Catholic Mission. The ladies again escaped over the wall at the back and some of the men were very roughly handled. Two members of the China Inland, with their young child, were in the country at the time; they heard of a plot to kill them, so thought it prudent to return. On arriving at Kia-ting the captain of their boat ordered them to leave it. Then they found a drawn sword at the door of the cabin. Everything was taken from them, no house would take them in, and hand in hand the father and mother, with their little child, had to run the gauntlet of the howling crowd, to find their mission premises a wreck, and be taken in by the charity of three old women, who kept them safe till it was dark, and they could rejoin the other foreigners in the Yamen.

At Wei-cheo the China Inland premises were damaged and broken into, but not destroyed. At Siu-fu, where the three rivers that meet at Kia-ting join the great Yangtse, a very important city, the officials by their prompt action stopped the riot after the houses of the American Baptist Mission had been destroyed and they had escaped in boats. Some of the China Inland Mission tried to remain, but when the magistrate told them he could no longer protect them either in his Yamen or elsewhere they also got into boats. And here a most unexpected and pleasant meeting occurred. The American Baptist missionaries at Ya-choo, finding all their communications were being cut, and that as soon as the news of the Cheng-tu riot reached Ya-cheo, the centre of the great brick trade with Tibet, a riot seemed to be on the point of breaking out there too, thought it wisest to try and put their women and children in safety. In the small hours of the morning they stole away like culprits from the sleeping city they had entered with such high hopes not quite a year before, and with an armed guard got on to one of the bamboo rafts that are the only means of descending the extremely pretty river Ya. On their way down they passed one and another Roman Catholic mission being destroyed. Arrived at Kia-ting, they found all the missionaries still afraid to leave the Yamen, and had already suffered such rude treatment from their own guard, one of them being attacked, indeed, by a soldier with a big stone, that they were delighted to find the opportunity of changing from their raft into a boat at Kia-ting without any one knowing anything about them. But now arrived at Siu-fu. Several Chinese coming up river having warned them not to do so, when suddenly some one espied a large boat on the other side of the stream. This turned out to contain the China Inland missionaries, who were just as relieved as those from Ya-cheo, as the one set could not proceed for want of ready money, the others for want of a boat. And the meeting was the more fortunate, as presently armed boats came off and attacked them but on being confronted with a Winchester in the hands of a determined American soon cleared off again. These armed men would not have been let off so easily had the fugitive party known, what was the truth, that when the American Baptist Mission took to their boats they left one of their number behind with money and supplies for those coming from further up river. The single man thus left behind was, however, unarmed. He had been easily stripped by these armed men not only of everything he had for the others, but everything he had himself; his life was threatened, and for some time he hung on underneath his boat whilst the Chinese prodded for him with long spears.

The British Consul recalled the lady missionaries from Lu-chow, and the magistrate sealed up their door, and put a guard in front, as also at the Roman Catholic premises.

The Roman Catholics heard in very early days that their priests had been driven out of 20 stations in the province, their churches destroyed, and that in many cases their Chinese Christians were being plundered. From some of the more distant places they could not expect to hear at one. At Pen Shan and at Sin King their missions have been wrecked, as also their large college about ten miles from Siu-fu.

A riot was thought to be so imminent at Chung-king that all the women and children of the American Methodist, London, Friends', and China Inland Missions not only secured boats, and packed and put their things in them, but some actually slept in them. Then the same proclamation was put out in Chung-king as in Cheng-tu, and under the protection of a sort of martial law the ladies elected to remain.

Had the British Government, at the time of opening the port, only asked for a concession which then the Chinese were most willing to grant, there would be no danger in their remaining, for then several of the foreigners at least would be living together, and at the first idea of a riot the others could come in, and it would be strange if a dozen Europeans with firearms could defend the whole little community here. As it is, the houses are so widely scattered in this large, overcrowded city, that there is no idea even of defending the women and children, except on the part of the Chinese authorities, who have done everything they could, and thanks to whose exertions order has so far been preserved. Many bad characters have been arrested, the

elders of the city patrol the streets at night, and although the Taotai was much wanted elsewhere because of his intimate knowledge of Japan, where he was for some years Chinese Minister, he has been allowed to remain until after the examinations are over, as these examinations draw several thousands of students, with their servants, from all the neighbouring districts, and are generally the season of disturbances.

At the same time, to foreigners residing in Chung-king, it must seem strange that, more than a month and a half after the first beginning of the riots at Cheng-tu, there has been no talk even of sending them any protection. At the first rumour of a riot a man-of-war is despatched to Wuhu, a man-of-war is ordered to Ichang, but there is no talk even of sending any protection to Chung-king. And what we ask for, indeed, is not protection, but that steps should be taken to enable us to protect ourselves by assigning us a concession as in other treaty ports, and that there should be a European commission of inquiry into the whole matter of these riots, with punishment of the leaders in them, not of the coolies, who would naturally join in any business that offered opportunities for plunder.

Some of us have already had our things burnt at Ichang in the riots there, when there was no inquiry, and no one was punished; many of us have already been through a variety of Chinese riots. What we want our respective countries to ascertain for us is, who are these well-trained, promptly acting rioters, who puts out the placards inciting to uproar, and who gets the things that are taken from us.²⁴ It does not seem very much to ask. It must be someone of influence, or why should the magistrates be so frightened? Meanwhile, however, it might be well to note that our examinations have not begun yet, and that it is when they do that our time of trial will begin; also that the unfortunate missionaries at Kia-ting are still shut up within the Yamen there, very civilly treated, but with only one small court for exercise. Is it likely that after a month or two of such confinement, a prey to continued anxiety, they will have the strength and nerve to set very energetically to work again? And is it wise, kind, right of mission boards at home to send women and little children to all these remote parts of China, knowing how heavily they must handicap their men whenever trouble arises? Many men could have remained at their posts but for their women and children now. So far this matter has been left to the consideration of mission boards, but it is a question whether it should be any longer.

If, however, this whole trouble is but a party move of Hu-nan against the men of Nganwei, let us once for all get to the bottom of it and insist upon our country people being no longer used as party missiles in Chinese politics. Money ought not to be accepted as sufficient compensation, especially coupled as it usually is with a 25 per cent reduction all round, or some such insolent discrediting of a foreigner's word.

The Times, (London), 20 September 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR. THE CHINESE MASSACRES.

To the Editor of The Times. Sir,— Is it not time that we should insist on something being done with respect to the sad loss of life in China? The Government have had months now to think the matter over. I know the official jargon is “You cannot land troops in a friendly country.” Why not, if you have the power to do so? In this case we have to deal with a country where is little, if any, central control; there never has been much, and after the Japanese incident it must have gone to vanishing point. We want a little of the *Civis Romanus* policy. One sighs for the Palmerstonian method when a British man-of-war went automatically to any spot on the globe where one of her Majesty's subjects had suffered outrage. China has probably no great wish to make us proper reparation, and if, as it seems, she has also no power to enforce it, would it not be well to come to her assistance and take the matter into our own hands? It looks as if we should have to do so eventually, and the longer it is put off the less effect will be produced. Many a vote must have been cast for Lord Salisbury at the general election on the understanding that Gladstonian foreign policy should be dropped, and I cannot help thinking there must be much disappointment at the present apparent weakness. I remain your obedient servant. CLIFDEN. 19, Wilton-street. Sept 17.

24 One of the complaints reported by participants in the Huashan Massacre was that all plunder was required to be delivered to the ringleaders of the Vegetarian group. This item suggests that this may have been a common practice in mob riots.

The Times, (London), 20 September 1895.

CHINA.

HONG-KONG, SEPT. 19. The rising in the Swatau mountains, for the purpose of destroying the reigning dynasty and expelling the foreigners, is a revival of the attempt which was made last April, when the proclamation of the new Emperor which was to have taken place in March in Peking, was postponed on account of the rainy season. The present date was then fixed.

The troops which were sent into the district only incensed the people and failed to capture the leaders. They have now been withdrawn. Placards have been displayed announcing that this withdrawal is due to the action of the English in attacking Canton because of the recent massacres.²⁵

On Monday, the Basle [German Protestant] mission at Miolio, 70 miles to the west of Swatau, was wrecked. The foreigners had evacuated it previously, except a Mr. Nagel. The adjacent stations that the rebels were gathering in their thousands and looting the property of the wealthy Chinese.— *Our Correspondent*.

25 This is an opaque sentence. There was an attack on an English Wesleyan Mission at Fatshan with no foreign casualties. It was suppressed by the Chinese authorities. It is not clear if the journalist is confusing the massacre at Kucheng on 1 August with the event at Fatshan.

1895, September 21.

The following note relates to the US Government policy behind the planned American Chengtu investigation and the ongoing joint commission at Kucheng and the interrelationship of the management of the two anti-foreign “outrages.”

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 21, 1895. No 1152, Olney to Denby.

Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram as follows:
September nineteenth. American commissioners Kutien should discover and report officials really responsible for outrages. they have no judicial or diplomatic function. Punishment and execution of followers and tools comparatively unimportant, but clemency after conviction could only be considered upon proposal of Chinese Government after commissioners report, Proposed authorization to Hixson would tend to narrow issue to one of provincial administration, thereby defeating broader purpose of this Government.
Denby

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 21, 1895. No 1152, Olney to Denby.

SIR: Confirming your telegram of the 19th instant, and my reply thereto of the same date, copies of which are hereto annexed, it is proper to allude even more impressively to the necessity of keeping the especial functions of the United States commissioners for the investigation of injuries to American citizens in China wholly within the line of the distinct purpose of this Government and free from all complications which might ensue by reasons of the expansion or diversion of those functions.

Previous instructions of this Department have made it clear that from the outset especial importance has been attached to the effective localization of official responsibility for the non-execution of the stringent imperial orders whereby the Tartar generals, viceroys, and provincial governors were enjoined to see it that foreigners within their jurisdiction should suffer no harm. The instruction telegraphed to you on the 12th of August last relative to the cooperation of representatives of this Government with those of Great Britain in the investigation of the murders and injuries at Kutien, showed that the essential aim was to discover and fix any responsibility existing in high places, leaving measures of reparation and indemnity for subsequent consideration; and your own dispatches, as far back as July last, show that you yourself had formed much the same view with regard to official accountability for the looting of the foreign missionary premises in the province of Szechuan. You have yourself adverted to the disposition of the Chinese authorities to cover up the responsibilities of the viceroys and generals in such cases by punishment of obscure individuals upon more or less conclusive appearance of having taken part in the outrages, and your demand for the degradation and punishment of ex-Viceroy Liu rested clearly upon the assumption that effective redress could only be sought in those quarters where effective responsibility existed and where dereliction of duty was manifest.

The proceedings at Kutien, as so far briefly reported by your telegrams and with more or less narrative fullness in the press dispatches, are not clearly understood here. It certainly was not the intention of this Government that its commissioners should go to Kutien as participants in a local proceeding involving judicial or quasi-judicial functions. The real purpose was to furnish this Government with information at first hand, upon which it could base demands for the punishment of any high officials to whom culpable neglect of duty might be imputed by the ascertained facts. It was not intended to make our agents members of a trial court, awarding punishment to the common actors in the tragedy; yet from your telegram of the 19th it would seem that the results, presumably reached through the cooperation of the commissioners, are to be subject to revision by the authorities of Fuhkien and the assent of Consul Hixson to the exercise of clemency by the governor (viceroy?) is invited. How far this apparent association with the functions of provincial administration is compatible with the higher purposes which this Government has steadily endeavoured to keep in view, in entering upon these investigations, cannot be distinctly inferred from the information thus far possessed by the Department. It is thought, however, that any association in that direction would impair

the attainment of the real purpose in view, and it certainly does not seem either expedient or admissible that the consular representative on that commission should be joined directly or indirectly with the provincial authorities in deciding upon the question of individual clemency. As suggested in my telegram of the 19th, such questions are too important to be deputed to local agencies, and if considered at all, should be dealt with through the direct channels of international intercourse.

This Government has entered upon the pending investigations with no vindictive motives. It does not seek to have its sense of the injuries inflicted upon its citizens measured by the number of decapitations which may ensue, neither could it rest satisfied with the infliction of punishment upon the humble actors in the outrages. While prepared to exact all adequate measures of chastisement and reparation for the actual injuries already sustained by American residents in China upon due proof thereof, it is the chief and higher aim to prevent the recurrence of such injuries by holding the Chinese Government bound, through its responsible delegates of the imperial power, to take all such precautionary measures as are necessary to that end. The imperial proclamation fixes the responsibility of protection upon the provincial authorities in no uncertain terms, and if they be found culpably remiss and yet escape punishment, the ends of international justice cannot be attained, even though a few individual offenders be summarily punished.

Your own comments upon the situation, contained in dispatches recently receive from you by mail, indicate that you hold views essentially similar to those of the Department. It is therefore scarcely necessary to instruct you to impress upon the American commissioners now at Kutien and on those about to be dispatched to Chengtu, that their essential function is to investigate and report to their Government, and that under no circumstances are they to participate in the judicial and executive functions of the officers of the provinces, whose guilty connection with the outrages investigated may be the most important outcome of the inquiry. I am, etc., Richard Olney.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 21, 1895. (Received Washington Nov. 8), No 2362, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to state that my telegram to you of the 19th instant, wherein I stated that the "question of clemency was raised at Kutien." was called forth by divers telegrams which I had received from Messrs. Hixson and Newell, the American commissioners. The latest of these telegrams is of the 18th instant, and reads as follows:

Hsu (the Chinese commissioner) says viceroy wants clemency. Replied that end of trial and not beginning was the time to talk of it. Told Hsu we should insist on every man who went to Hwashan being tried and sentenced, since Chinese laws they have merited death. This construction has often been affirmed in open court by prefect and magistrate. Now viceroy wants another interpretation than of the thirteen cases unanimously condemned to death by court and referred to him. Hsu agrees with us, but is powerless to act; must refer all matters to viceroy. Informed Hsu that clemency comes from consuls, not from viceroy. Cross-examination has furnished list of about one hundred who were actually engaged in massacre. Every precaution taken by consuls to prevent innocent suffering. HIXSON AND NEWELL.

In reply to this telegram, I stated that my judgment was that trials should proceed until all the accused were tried; that the question of clemency should not be considered until judgment had been pronounced and that I would "ask Department to instruct as to your (Hixson's) recommending commutation.

Your telegram of the 19th instant, in answer to mine of the same date, relating to the question of clemency, wherein you say "clemency after conviction could only be considered upon the proposal of the Chinese Government after commissioner's report," was substantially wired to Messrs. Hixson and Newell. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

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

10.40p.m. Denby, Peking. Cannot clearly comprehend that part of your wire referring to clemency, and hence request you to give full instructions.

Have always steered clear of judicial or diplomatic functions, by taking extreme view of having no authority beyond insisting on speedy, but proper, trials.

Hsu having conceded all demands hitherto made on Kutien officials, the investigation is proceeding without difficulty except the dilatory measure of referring to Viceroy evidence in capital convictions. Hixson, Newell.

The Times, (London), 21 September 1895.

THE EMPEROR OF CHINA AND THE CHRISTIANS.

HONG-KONG, SEPT. 20. At the annual examinations at Canton, Literary Chancellor Wanlampan presented thousands of students with a versified edition of some Imperial decrees in which certain heterodox doctrines are fiercely condemned. What these doctrines are is not precisely specified, but is plainly indicated that they are the doctrines of Christianity. The following is a specimen of the language used in these decrees:—

The stupid black-haired race are establishing sundry sects, and regard not their own lives but pretend that they will rise again immortal. Men and women congregated together and, abandoning their chastity, behave like obscene birds and beasts. Faithful Confucians must shoot them like the owls of the forest, stone them like the bats in the streets and behead them without mercy. I, the Emperor, command the authorities to eradicate these weeds and vermin, to kill the serpents, and to throw them to the wolves and the tigers, because there is no salvation for them either against heaven-sent calamities or against misfortune caused by human agency.—*Our Correspondent*.²⁶

26 See Parts Ten and Eleven.

1895, September 22.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 22 September 1895.

Private letters from Shanghai and Foochow in regard to the Chengtu and Kucheng riots are full of thrilling interest just at this time. The Rambler quotes the following paragraphs from a letter shown him by C. S. Hartwell of Greene avenue:

“The messenger who brought the news reached Mr. Banister’s, one of the English mission, who has lived at Kucheng. Friday night, August 2, and he and Archdeacon Wolfe started Saturday morning for the English consulate at Foochow and met Mr. Mansfield, the consul, on his way up the mountain to spend Sunday. He told him the errand and he would do nothing; said he wouldn’t till Monday, but kept on up the mountain. They went to the American consul and, in an incredibly short time, he was knocking at the viceroy’s gate in Foochow. He demanded an interview though he was told the viceroy was sick. He insisted on an interview, and asked for a launch to bring down the wounded from Chui Kau, which was granted. The launch went with Mr. Hixson, Colonel Hixson’s brother [sic but actually his nephew, the US Marshal], Archdeacon Wolfe and Mr. Banister, and they were none too soon, for the wounded reached Chui Kau before the launch did. All the living missionaries and those connected with them, nurse and children, reached Foochow about noon of Sunday. Dr. Gregory and Mr. Phillips not injured, Miss Hartford not seriously injured, Miss Codrington badly bruised, two of the Stewart children badly hurt, one slightly bruised and one not hurt—eight in all—and remains of ten in eight coffins arrived today (Monday) before noon, and are to be buried tomorrow at 6 o’clock, if graves can be dug. It all seems so terrible we cannot realize it at all.

When the English consul was convinced there was serious business he seems to have repented and gone down to Foochow, but the American consul had done the work, and dispatched the boat and received the papers from the English missionaries. Our consul was in the war and acted with credit to himself in the eyes of all foreigners. He made no difference in his treatment but gave all true Southern hospitality.”

1895, September 23.

Mid-day Herald, Singapore, 23 September 1895.

News from Foochow states that the investigation into the massacre at Kucheng is going on. Several men have been apprehended, and they made no effort to deny the fact that they were concerned in the barbarous deed. Some of them go so far as to give details of the manner in which they carried out their share of the bloody programme. The Vegetarians, doubtless, were under the influence of superior authority, cast lots as to which the other projected schemes should be carried out first, and it fell out in favour of an attack on the foreigners... a number of mere instruments, men who have been inveigled into the belief that they were doing ... will be executed. It is to be hoped that action of the commission will not stop at this, but that they will leave no stone unturned ...

The Straits Times, Singapore, 23 September 1895.

At the date of last advice from Foochow, a high Chinese official, Hsu Taotai, had arrived at Kucheng. He claimed to have been vested with the fullest powers from Peking to conduct the enquiry, and could order the execution of a hundred men if that would satisfy the Foreign Governments. At the same time, he refused to allow one execution to take place unless he received an assurance from the Consuls that the execution would be taken as ample satisfaction for the murders, and that no further claims would be insisted upon. The Consuls could not entertain the proposal of the Taotai, and the trials have accordingly been stopped pending instructions from Peking.

1895, September 24

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 24, 1895. (Received Washington Nov. 8), No 2364, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have received from Messrs. Hixson and Newell the following telegram, dated September 22:

DENBY, Peking. Can no clearly comprehend that part of your wire referring to clemency and hence request you to give full instructions. Have always steered clear of judicial or diplomatic functions by taking extreme view of having no authority beyond insisting on speedy and proper trial. Hsu (the Chinese commissioners) having conceded all demands hitherto made on Kutien officials, the investigation is proceeding without difficulty, except the dilatory measure of referring to viceroy evidence in capital convictions. HIXSON AND NEWELL.

I have wired the following answer to this telegram:

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

I understand that in this telegram I have substantially embodied your views. Clemency in the Chinese view is weakness. If under Chinese law a certain number of murderers ought to be decapitated, a certain other number ought to be strangled, and still others ought to be banished for life, I incline to the opinion that it is better for England and the United States to stand by and see these penalties inflicted. It is severe, perhaps, but the crime was terrible.

Should the Queen of England lead off with a recommendation of clemency, it should be considered by the President, but it is not our business to take the initiative. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

Mid-day Herald, Singapore, 24 September 1895.

The Chinese seem to possess a happy, or rather an unhappy, knack of doing things in the ugliest way possible. This is particularly the case of the Commission of Enquiry into the causes of the massacre at Ku-cheng. A new cause of disquietude, or rather a new element of obstruction has arisen in the person of the taotai, Hsu Hsing-I, who has been appointed with full powers to give the representatives of Great Britain and America all the satisfaction possible. He has, however, gone the wrong way about it, and thus, for a time, suspended the operations of the Commission. This is not what he meant to do, but that he has managed it shews how utterly unfitted he was for the appointed, and it also goes to prove that those who appointed him know very little either of him or of the Powers they are dealing with. Well, this new authority has had the audacity to propose to the representatives to two civilized Powers that he would order a thousand executions, if necessary, provided that put an end to the demands on account of the massacre. The proposition is in itself a gross insult. It implies that the American and the Englishman are monsters quite as sanguinary as the man who made this proposal. Could he have done this without instructions from Peking, or at any rate from the viceroy of the province? Is not the man who is capable of raising a pyramid of heads, just the man who would without compunction encourage the wholesale murder of foreign women and children? What an opinion this taotai must have of the white men. He evidently thought his offer would have been gladly accepted. His idea is that a river of blood and a monument of heads should square accounts. He has now learned differently. He has grossly insulted the representatives of England and America, and they have withdrawn from the Commission pending orders from Peking. The China papers are dealing strongly with the matter. The "Hongkong Telegraph" does not hesitate to approve of personal chastisement and says:—"If one or the other of the Consuls had struck him across the mouth the moment he uttered these words, it would have served him right." The same paper advocates the occupation of Foochow as a step likely to bring the Chinese Government to its senses and an appreciation of the situation. It considers that every moment lost in carrying out this movement may mean the loss of an indefinite time, to say nothing of many valuable lives ultimately. It urges the withdrawal of the objectionable taotai and suggests official ostracism. It recommends the reconstruction of the Commission where the authority shall rest solely with the white men and where the Chinese shall act merely as assistants. The "China Mail" considers that the annexation of Kowloon would be a desirable step, since it would not only touch the Chinese government, but would prove useful in enhancing

the safety of Hongkong in the event of hostilities, and it would have a policy of annexation adopted, which should be put into practice whenever any outrages on British subjects take place. Certainly China would wake up under such pressure, though there might be some little difficulty arising from its application. This, however, is a matter for the foreign office to settle, and it may safely be taken for granted that Lord Salisbury is not asleep. The point that concerns the public in this little event is that it seems the officials and, perhaps, the Government are of opinion that the Kucheng massacre can be settled by wholesale decapitation. If some half dozen of those who countenance such crimes and who refused to render aid when it was demanded can be executed, it will more than satisfy the demand. England and America do not want wholesale bloodshed, where many of the victims must assuredly be innocent. For the moment then the work of the Commission is delayed, pending orders from Peking. What these will be, we cannot say, but judging from Lord Salisbury's recent action, it may safely be assured that he will not be far behind in this business.

1895, September 25.

New York Times, 25 September 1895.

CHINA NOT OBEDIENT TO BRITAIN.

A Refusal to Banish the Accused Viceroy of Sze-Chuen

LONDON, September 24,—The Morning Post tomorrow will print a dispatch to a news agency from Shanghai saying it is reported there that China has refused to grant the demand of Great Britain for the banishment of the late Viceroy of the Province of Sze-Chuen, who is accused of having instigated the outrages on the missions.

1895, September 26

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 6.00 p.m. Sep 26, 1895.

No. 11. Yamen agree that the guilty should be sentenced to death in accordance with Chinese law and have telegraphed the Viceroy.

You should bear in mind my previous instruction in demands for execution.

You should not assist at or abet torture. O’Conor.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, September 26, 1895. No 2367, Denby to Olney.

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

It is reported British fleet has been ordered to China to enforce pressure. Special designs not known. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

The Victoria Daily Colonist, (British Columbia), 26 September, 1895.

STATEMENT OF A SURVIVOR— THE VEGETARIANS AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS— THEIR OBJECTS ALLOWED TO MATURE AND CARRY OUT THEIR PLANS DESPITE REPEATED OFFICIAL WARNINGS.

VANCOUVER, SPET. 25.—(Special)—Mabel C. Hartford, a survivor of the Kucheng horror, arrived yesterday by the steamer, Empress of India, and left for the East by to-day’s express. Miss Hartford is connected with the Methodist Episcopal Mission, She first corrected the erroneous impression that the massacre took place at Kucheng it being really a village called Wha-sang, twelve miles distant, and not near Foo Chow, but 100 miles from it. An accurate list of the victims given by her differs somewhat from the published list. The Chinese killed all who belonged to the Church of England mission. Miss Hartford’s graphic description of the massacre is more realistic than any yet published. The murderers, in spite of reports to the contrary, were a band sworn to eat no meat, and were known as “Vegetarians,” their oath being to kill all foreigners and mandarins. Miss Hartford, who is considerable out of health, became so painfully depressed over the description of the butchery that the conversation was turned to relieve the strain. Miss Hartford described the Vegetarians as a people who were disliked and feared by the better class of Chinamen as well as white.

The blame of the massacre she alleges lies with the inefficient magistrate of Kucheng and the absolute indifference of the viceroy at Foo Chow. The Vegetarians recruit from the lowest ranks, and one of their oaths is to kill if necessary their own father for the good of the order. Last summer they commenced to lay their plans for the slaughter, and Miss Hartford sent word to the American consul at Foo Chow. The Foo Chow viceroy advised the Ku-cheng magistrate, who raised 500 soldiers to ostensibly protect the Europeans but really for show. The Vegetarians were not checked in the least, and were never punished for their offences. They were allowed to mature their plans without interruption. In March the Vegetarians threatened to march against the city, but the authorities begged them not to do so and they desisted, but only to more thoroughly mature their plans. When the war ceased a new magistrate was sent to Ku-cheng who was even more careless than the other one, and the bloodthirsty Vegetarians were soon in control of the city. Miss Hartford is a native of Dover, N.H. She first goes to Minneapolis to visit friends. She was knocked down by a man specially chosen to kill her, and was being beaten to death when rescued by Chinese servants.

The Hongkong Telegraph of August 20 publishes the following telegram:

“FOOCHOW, AUG. 29.—Brief telegraphic information has just reached here to the effect that the persecution of native Christians is in full swing at Hingwha, about 70 miles from Foo Chow, and that the unfortunate converts are being subjected to most atrocious treatment.”

1895, September 28

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, September 28, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Minister Denby, Peking.

10.00 p.m. Denby, Peking. Waiting for Chinese law to be enforced is rapidly rendering our presence here a farce. Viceroy's construction of the law, the deceptive acts of officials here, together with gross apathy displayed in making arrests and conducting trials, cause alarm among peaceable people, and thereby, with the connivance of officials, encourage "Vegetarians" to openly threaten native Christians.

Failure to obtain full and speedy justice and complete investigation, will prove lastingly injurious to U.S. interests in this province, and foment a most virulent persecution of native Christians.

The good effects of the Commission's presence here is being rapidly supplanted by a menacing attitude towards native Christians and foreigners. Indications point to the massacre as being an offshoot of a contemplated rebellion.

Between 200 and 300 were engaged in massacre, and of these forty-five only have been arrested. Existing elements of an uprising are daily becoming more prominent by acts and connivance of officials, and their evident anti-foreign feeling incites "Vegetarians" to openly boast of future hostile intentions.

Former open obstruction has been followed by evasion, concealments and deception, for the purpose of throttling the Committee (Commission), and screening from punishment all criminals except those actually inflicting death-blows (at massacre).

Our helpless situation can be relieved only by peremptory action coercing Viceroy to cease at once the scheming policy he is now carrying on through his subordinates here.

Unless this state of affairs change, it would be better to give up the unequal struggle, and return to Foochow until guarantees are given for the uninterrupted prosecution of the investigation.

Hixson, Newell.

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe, Foochow, to Rev. Baring Baring-Gould, Church Missionary Society, London, 28 September 1895.

1. Letter with General Committee resolutions received.
2. Exeter Hall prayer meeting.
3. Native Christians passing through fire.
4. Consul will not permit return inland. Wolfe sees no great danger.
5. Except when stirred up by literati, ordinary Chinese friendly.
6. Ladies all safe and not to return until all is quiet.
7. "Things are not so bad as papers have reported, no truth in the accounts of riots at Foochow."
8. Ladies should come and take time in Foochow to learn local dialects. Plenty of work in Foochow for them to do while waiting.
9. Anticipates Consul will allow inland by November.
10. In response to earlier implied reprimand from Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, CMS London, No need for daily telegrams—very expensive.
11. "I am now strongly inclined to the conclusion that this Ku Cheng Massacre is really the secret work of these officials and Gentry." Proof is the way they have been impeding the Commission, etc.
12. Release of criminals suggests officials fear disclosures.
13. Claims one prisoner examined in absence of Consuls 'upbraided the officials for having encouraged the whole behaviour which culminated in the Huashang Massacre.' Wolfe cites trustworthy native informant.
14. States Vegetarian movement was purely local and not start of provincial rebellion.
15. Attacks on local magistracy were to conceal their real purpose—kill foreigners.
16. Millie Stewart's leg much better but not ambulatory yet.
17. Repeats suggestion to appoint Banister to Kucheng/Gutian. Light refuses to go.
18. Nobody has power to direct anyone. Sub-Conference decisions ignored.
19. Asks PC to direct Banister and Light to Kucheng/Gutian.

The British Medical Journal, 28 September 1895.

THE MASSACRES IN CHINA

THE WOUNDED SURVIVORS OF THE HOA SANG MASSACRE.

DR. T. RENNIE²⁷ sends us from Foochow the following account of the wounded survivors of the Hoa Sang massacre, which took place between 6 and 7 of the morning on August 1st:

Nine adult British subjects were brutally murdered, and of the eight European survivors seven were more or less seriously injured, whilst only one, who lodged in a native house situated some distance from the two English cottages, escaped unhurt. This gentleman, the Rev. H. S. Phillips, was thus fortunately able to staunch bleeding and in great measure alleviate the sufferings of the wounded until medical aid could be procured. About 8 P.M. on August 1st Dr. Gregory, of the American Methodist Mission, Kucheng, arrived to treat the wounded. After this had been done, owing to difficulties in procuring chair bearers, it was not till 4 p.m. on August 2nd that Dr. Gregory with his charge could leave Hoa Sang for Foochow. Three hours after commencing the journey H. [Herbert] S., a boy of 6 years, died. Besides being severely wounded about the upper parts of his body he had received several severe wounds on the head, one of which clove the occiput and exposed the brain.

At 8.30 A.M. on August 3rd. after travelling in native chairs for 30 miles, Dr. Gregory with his charges reached Chui Kau, a village on the left banks of the river Min. There the wounded were transferred to native boats, and at 2 P.M. on August 4th Foochow was reached. Miss H. [Hartford], an American lady, was taken to the American Methodist Mission Hospital, whilst the rest of the wounded, five in all, were placed under my care in the private wards reserved for Europeans adjoining the Foochow Native Hospital. Their condition on admission was as follows:

Miss C. [Codrington] had a sword wound across the vault of the cranium 1 inch behind the anterior margin of the hair, 4 inches long, and extending down to the bone. The edges of the wound, except at two points where thick sanious pus exuded, were healed. Through the openings rough bare bone could be felt with the probe. Dr. Gregory told me that when he dressed this wound at Hoa Sang, on the evening of August 1st, he had removed several loose fragments of the external table of the skull. An incised wound 7 inches long commenced at the left angle of the mouth, passed downwards and backwards over the lower jaw on to the neck, cutting through the whole thickness of the lip, and exposing the inferior maxilla. Good union had taken place throughout the greater extent of the wound; but a large scar will remain. The thrust that had inflicted this wound had broken off the left upper lateral incisor tooth at the margin of the gum, leaving the sensitive dental pulp exposed. Of other incised wounds of importance one, five inches in length, ran across the bridge of the nose under the right eye; whilst another, four inches long, ran along the lower border of the right inferior maxilla. There was considerable ecchymosis of the right eyelids, much photo phobia of the same eye was complained of, and the episcleral vessels were deeply injected. Generally, over the head, there was much pain and discomfort, and when the head was shaved two punctured wounds of the scalp and numerous contusions were exposed to view. In other parts of the body ten shallow punctured wounds were counted. Miss C. was suffering from insomnia and slight symptomatic fever.

M. [Mildred] S., aged 12, had a sword wound 6 inches long, which commenced an inch and a-half to the inner side of a point 3 inches above the middle line of the right patella, passed outwards and downwards, and ended at the junction of the inferior and middle thirds of the outer edge of the patella. The wound had a slanting direction outwards and backwards, was very deep for its lower four inches, and passed through the outer two-thirds of the rectus femoris, part of the crureus, and the greater part of the lower attachment of the vastus externus. I did not see any opening into the joint, but Dr. Gregory told me that when he first dressed this wound he had clearly seen part of the articular surfaces of the joint. Excepting for about two inches at the upper part, the wound had not healed. The whole joint was considerably swollen. A cavity from which

27 An obituary notice by the more famous Dr. Patrick Manson, a close personal friend, is in *The British Medical Journal*, April 27, 1912, p 983. Thomas Rennie, a Scotsman, went to Formosa, apparently with the Chinese Imperial Customs Administration in 1873. In 1879 he began private medical practice in Foochow where he stayed until his retirement in 1911. He died in Aberdeen, Scotland, 11 April 1912. He established the Foochow Native Hospital in Foochow supported by contributions from wealthy Chinese with separate European wards financed by European residents. See also (courtesy Dr Michelle Renshaw)—Wong, K.C. and Wu Lien-the, *History of Chinese Medicine: Being a Chronicle of Medical Happenings in China from Ancient Times to the Present Period*. Shanghai, National Quarantine Service. pp 422-3.

thick sanious pus welled out, about the shape and capacity of an average-sized middle finger, extended upwards from the lower part of the wound just external, I think, to the lower aponeurosis and deep fascia of the vastus externus. There were besides two punctured wounds—one on the left leg and another on the left foot. When the head was shaved two punctured wounds and several contusions on the hairy scalp were discovered.

Her temperature was 102⁰ F., but as there was no suppuration in the cavity of the joint it was deemed advisable to attempt, by treating it on antiseptic principles, adopting means to render the joint immovable, and to reduce the inflammation present to save the articulation.

K. [Kathleen] S., aged 11, had, on various parts of her body five punctured wounds and several superficial bruises.

E. [Evan] S., aged 4, had an incised wound on the left buttock, a punctured wound on the left arm, and was much bruised about the head. His wounds were not of a serious nature; but he suffered much from insomnia and nervous prostration.

H. [Hilda] S., aged 13 months, had a punctured wound about the middle of the left frontal bone one inch anterior to the margin of the hairy scalp. Thin sanious pus was exuding from the opening which, on examination, was found to enter the cranial cavity by an incised wound in the skull. Judging from the extent of the external wound and the formation of a native spear the contents of the cranium could not have been punctured more than one-half inch. A severe blow had been inflicted on the right eye. The upper eyelid was much ecchymosed and swollen. The palpebral conjunctiva at the inner part of the lower eyelid was torn from the adjoining scleral conjunctiva. The pupil was widely dilated, insensible to light, and the iris was lacerated. Backwards and upwards for several inches from the right ear there was an extensive contusion. A severe bruise ran diagonally across the right chest from the shoulder to the lower end of the sternum. The child's temperature on admission was 103⁰ F. An attempt was made to render the cranial wound aseptic, and measures were taken to subdue and prevent extension of inflammation in the cranial cavity. In all the wounds seemed to have been inflicted by means of spears, swords and sticks.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 28 September 1895.

The civilization of the Turks and Chinese seems to require a great deal of lead and iron. Civilized and Christian citizens will not be safe in the barbarous countries till the weight of the civilized arm is felt. The Turks are still attacking the Armenian Christians. A little thing like a massacre does not worry them and they seem to delight in slaughter. They are savages with the intelligence of wolves and the treachery of tigers and other feline beasts. Foreigners they hate and missionaries they despise. The world is going to be civilized if it is not to be Christianized and all those who oppose the advance of civilization will suffer. The war ships that have been sent to the Yang-tse-Kiang by England indicate that that country is awakened to the gravity of the situation. Five are already there and four more are on the way. They have not started any too soon for the investigation into the Kucheng massacre has been stopped, because of an insult to R. W Mansfield, the British consul. The Chinese must be taught to respect the lives of foreigners. The men guilty of inciting massacres must be punished.

The New York Times, 28 September 1895.

Warships on the Yang-tse-Kiang.

LONDON, Sept. 27,—A dispatch from Shanghai to the Pall Mall Gazette says: “Great Britain at length appears to be in earnest. She now has five warships on the Yang-tse-Kiang, and four more ships will join them on Saturday.”

1895, September 29

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 3.35 p.m. Sep 29, 1895.

No. 12. Your object should be to prosecute enquiry as carefully and speedily as possible. How many prisoners are to be tried and when will trial end?

Any complaint against Chinese officials should be definite and precise. O'Conor.

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

London, Cable

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

CMS East Asia Mission, Archdeacon John R. Wolfe to CMS, 29 September 1895.

London, Cable.

Assure friends alarm needless foochow quiet recall none withhold none trust archdeacon wire if necessary, Wolfe.

The New York Times, 29 September 1895.

CHINESE HINDER CONSULS.

Attempt to Make a Failure of Investigation at Ku-Cheng.

FORTY PRISONERS ARE LIBERATED.

Mansfield Insulted, and Discussing with His Colleagues Their Return to Foo-Chow

LONDON, Sept. 28,—A dispatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Hongkong says the Chinese officials are doing everything in their power to make a failure of the inquiry by the foreign Consuls into the Ku-Cheng massacre of Aug. 1.

Forty of the persons arrested on suspicion of having taken part in the outrages have been liberated by the Chinese officials without the consult of the foreign Consuls, and Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul at Ku-Cheng, has been grossly insulted by Chinese soldiers.

The Consuls are discussing the question of returning to Foo-Choo and submitting reports of the situation to their respective Governments.

The New York Times, 29 September 1895.

AMERICAN INQUIRY IN CHENG-TU

Minister Denby Reports Progress and Aid of Chinese Officials.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28,—A dispatch received by the State Department from Minister Denby this morning shows that good progress has been made in the matter of the investigation of the Cheng-Tu riots, and that the Chinese officials have directed the necessary assistance to be given to the American Commissioners.

The dispatch states that the Yamen have telegraphed to the authorities of Pe-Chee-Lee, Shansi, and Shensi to appoint and officer to escort to the commission. These three provinces comprise the territory, about 1,400 miles in length, through which the commission must pass on its overland journey from Tien-Tsin to Cheng-Tu. It is now believed that the commission will get to work in about six weeks.

The second part of Mr. Denby's dispatch is not altogether clear. The statement is made that an edict will be issued in a few days punishing officials and degrading the Viceroy. Mr. Denby says he will cable this fact as soon as it is announced. It is not understood here that the Viceroy of the province in which the Kucheng riots occurred was implicated in any way, and the degradation can hardly apply to the Viceroy. The French investigation has, however, implicated Viceroy Liu in the Cheng-Tu riots, and the degradation is supposed to refer to him, notwithstanding that the American commission has not reached Cheng-Tu and commenced its search for facts in connection with missionary outrages.

1895, September 30

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 30, 1895. Telegram, Olney to Denby.

Barber, [US Navy member of Chengtu commission], relieved by Secretary of Navy on account of ill health and Newell substituted, who will report at once, so that [Chengtu] commission can start immediately. OLNEY.

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, September 30, 1895. No 2372. Denby to Olney.

Sir:—I have the honor to enclose a translation of a communication received from the Tsungli Yamen relating to some actual and other reported riots in various parts of China.

As soon as information of the actual riots or the apprehension of riots reached me I notified the Yamen and demanded that immediate and energetic measures be taken to prevent and suppress disorder.

As to the Basel Mission, which is composed of German Lutherans, no definite answer is given in this communication. Information was received at the German Legation that the riot mentioned had occurred and all the property was destroyed. Difficulties in other places, if the account given by the Yamen is true, were not serious. The Yamen promises energetic action. . I have , etc., Charles Denby.

**ENCLOSURE IN No 2372.
Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby.**

No. 35. September 24th, 1895.

The Prince and Ministers had the honor on the 21st instant to receive a communication from the Minister of the United States wherein he states that the United States Consul at Ningpo had wired him that there is a great development of spirit antagonistic to foreigners spreading over the province of Chekiang and that proclamations are posted calling on the people to kill the native and foreign Christians and destroy their property. The Minister of the United States requested that immediate steps be taken to insure and preserve order and that the imperial edict be required to be posted in all public places.

On the same day the Minister of the United States sent another despatch to the Yamen stating that the Basel Mission at a place seventy miles west of Swatow had been looted and large plundering bands are operating in the Kochow district. The request was made that immediate steps be taken to protect foreigners in these localities.

The Yamen telegraphed the authorities of the Chekiang and Canton to carefully investigate these cases and take satisfactory action in the premises.

The Governor of Chekiang has wired that he, some time ago, received a telegram from the United States Consul at Ningpo stating that proclamations were posted at Chin Hua Fu calling on the people to kill the native and foreign Christians and destroy their property. The prefect reported that Yang Pu is a place in the jurisdiction of the district of Yang Hsi. On the 11th September a missionary named Pai Pao-lo presented a complaint in regard to this matter, whereupon the prefect deputed an assistant district magistrate to go there and hold an investigation. That officer reported that there were Christians in Yang Pu but no chapels. There were chapels in the Lung Yu district city and on account of the people and Christians bearing a grudge towards each other false accusations were made and hence the mistaken reports that missionaries had heard. The said magistrate and others went in person to Yang Pu, summoned the people and Christians before them and instructed them. They gave guarantees for their behavior and the trouble thus ended.

The Magistrate of Lung Yu was informed that he should satisfactorily give protection to all alike. The action taken...Pai Pao-lo.

As to the imperial decree it is not true that it has not been posted. The people and Christians at Chin Hua Fu are now living peacefully together.

The Yamen has also received a telegraphic reply from the Viceroy at Canton, stating that in regard to plundering bands operating in the Kochou district it appears that in the spring there was trouble at a place called Urichuan. Soldiers were sent there to arrest the rioters but they had dispersed. It is now said that outlaws are secretly returning for the purpose of plundering and in consequence military officers have been

sent there to attack and destroy them. Protection will surely be given. The local authorities have not reported any trouble or disturbance at the missionary chapels. No reports have been received of any looting of the missionary establishments at Wei Lin. The Commander in Chief and Brigade General have been deputed with soldiers to surround and destroy the thieves.

As in duty bound the Prince and Ministers send this communication for the information of the Minister of the United States.

The Times, (London), 30 September 1895.

THE CHINESE OUTRAGES. BRITISH ULTIMATUM.

PEKING, SEPT. 28. The British Government has addressed an ultimatum to China connexion with the Szu-chuan riots, demanding within 14 days the issue of a proclamation degrading the Viceroy of that province and declaring that otherwise the British Admiral will take action.

The American Commission, consisting of the Consul at Tientsin, a naval officer, and the interpreter to the United States Legation, is about to start overland for the scene of the outrages.

The Viceroy has signified his intention of paying the French indemnity of 940,000 taels [of silver],—*Reuter.*

HONG-KONG, SEPT. 28. The Chinese officials are doing their best to make the investigation into the Ku-cheng massacres a fiasco. Forty of the Chinese arrested on the charge of being implicated in the massacre have been liberated without the consent of the foreign Consuls. Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul, has been insulted by the Chinese soldiers, and the Consuls contemplate returning to Fu-chau.—*Reuter.*

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 28. Mr. Denby, the United States Minister in China, has informed the State Department by telegraph that the Tsung-li-Yamen has telegraphed to the authorities in the provinces of Chi-li, Shan-si, and Shen-si to appoint an officer and an escort for the independent American commission which is to investigate the Cheng-tu riots. An edict will be issued in a few days punishing the officials and degrading the Viceroy.

It is believed at the State Department that the edict is the result of the French investigation into the Cheng-tu riots and that the Viceroy concerned is probably Liu.—*Reuter.*

BERLIN, SEPT. 28. In connexion with the latest disturbances in China directed against the foreign missionaries, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* learns that the warships composing the German Squadron in East Asiatic waters have been ordered to proceed forthwith to Swatau and also to a harbour in the Shan-tung Peninsula—probably Chifoo or Kiaochau. The rioters, it appears, plundered the German evangelical mission station at Swatau. The numerous Catholic missions in the Shantung district have been placed under German protection.—*Reuter.*

* * *

Reuter's Agent at Shanghai, writing under date August 22, says:—

The *North China Herald* has published a noteworthy article, in which it points out with much force that unless the foreign Powers make up their minds to treat China henceforward as a semi-savage nation, they can never hope to obtain redress for the ill-treatment accorded to their respective subjects. To continue to treat the Celestials on terms of equality is to invite a repetition of previous failures. The paper urges that, inasmuch as the Chinese only understand Chinese methods, which consist in making a ruling man absolutely responsible for the faults of those below him, the Powers at present aggrieved should present an ultimatum not only to the central government, but also to the Viceroys, demanding the delivery within a specified time of the governors of the two provinces, who should be held as hostages until every satisfaction should be given. This would work like magic, and it now or never that a vigorous policy must be carried out.

With regard to the charge of indifference and dilatoriness in fact of the Ku-cheng massacre, preferred against Mr. Consul Mansfield by the Rev. George Smyth, Archdeacon Wolfe has given wide publicity to a statement which entirely exonerates the British Consul from those accusations. Archdeacon Wolfe writes:—I trust no reasonable man will give credence to so cruel an accusation. This charge is founded on the unfortunate circumstances that Mr. Mansfield was not able to return at once to Fu-chau on the Saturday early, in order to get up to Ku-liang in the cool of the morning, and

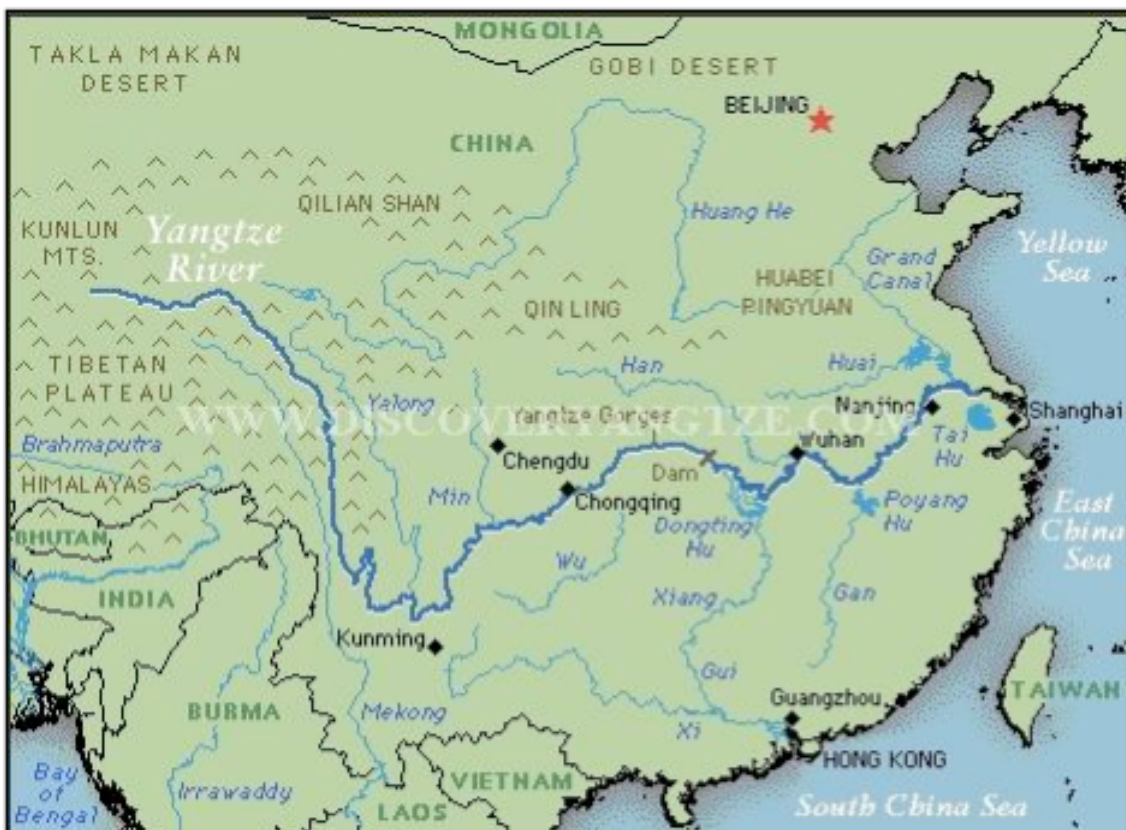
before he heard a word of the cruel murder. I was the first to receive the news by special messengers at Ku-liang late on Friday night. I started as early as I could on Saturday morning for Fu-chau, and met the Consul coming up the mountain and communicated to him the news. His first impulse was to return at once to Fu-chau. He had already dismissed his chair coolies and had sent all his things up the mountain beforehand, and he had neither sun hat nor umbrella it was an absolute risk of life to walk back to fu-chau in the broiling sun. He decided, therefore, that, in the circumstances, the best plan was for him to go on to Ku-liang, as he could from there more readily send off his despatches to the Viceroy, and his telegrams to Peking and to the Foreign Office, than he could if he returned at once to Fu-chau, and having done this and sent instructions to Mr. Pitzipios, whom he left in charge at the Consulate, he would himself return to Fu-chau as soon as possible. This he did early the same evening. These are the simple facts of the case, and they are presented here in fairness to the Consul.

The Times, (London), 30 September 1895.

EDITORIAL.

As it has become perfectly evident that the Chinese, pursuing their usual tactics, are steadfastly evading all real reparation for the outrages on missionaries, it is satisfactory to find that recourse is at last being had to the only treatment that they understand. A naval demonstration is being made in the Yangtze-kiang, and our ships are apparently intended to approach as closely as possible to the unfortunately distant and inaccessible province of Szu-chuan. Wuchang, mentioned as the objective of the demonstration, is a place several hundreds of miles up the river, where sufficiently vigorous action would no doubt produce a salutary impression; but it seems the first objective will be Nanking, at a comparatively short distance from the mouth of the river, and the ships may perhaps not require to proceed any further.

The Valley of the Yangtze River.



In the case of a more highly-organized State the presence of the British Admiral at Wu-sung [Shanghai] at the mouth of the river, would adequately intimate that we intend to insist on our just claims. But local officials in China enjoy too much independence, and the central authority is at once too weak and too insincere for the ordinary methods of civilization to produce the desired effect. Until we drop preposterous diplomatic fictions and apply pressure to the high provincial officials responsible for attacks on British subjects, the Chinese will continue to befool us as they are doing at present. LIU-PING-CHANG, the acting Viceroy of Szu-chuan, is the person directly responsible for the riots that ended in such atrocious outrages upon missionaries and their families, He is unfortunately, difficult to get at, but CHANG-CHIH-TUNG, acting Viceroy of Nanking, is more accessible, and is believed to have had a share in promoting the riots in Szu-chuan. Our Special Correspondent credits him with an uncommon amount of honesty, but it is combined with a fanatical hatred of foreigners which makes it highly probable that he encouraged LIU-PING-CHANG in his evil courses. At all events, when the distribution of responsibility is so obscure, we must be content to exercise pressure where we can, and there is little doubt that a vigorous squeeze at Nanking will be felt distinctly enough in Szu-chuan. Some three months ago the French sent some ships to Nanking in order to settle a little difference with the Chinese Government. They got what they wanted, which evidently points to CHANG-CHIH-TUNG as a very proper person to appeal to when our just claims are disregarded. In the meantime, Germany is sending ships to Swatow and to a port in the Shantung peninsula, in order to enforce her demands for reparation against the rioters who plundered a German mission station.

Since the days of Palmerston British diplomacy has lost much of its capacity for dealing with the Chinese. It has adopted the fiction that China is an organized State capable of being dealt with through its official heads, and we have already had ample evidence that it has been very badly informed concerning the material and military resources of the Chinese Government. The war with Japan ought to end all illusions on these points, proving as it has done that China is a mere congeries of provincial governorships, totally devoid of anything worthy to be called national unity. The demand for the degradation of the VICEROY of SZU-CHUAN, may or may not be acceded to in form at Peking. Past experience shows that these compulsory degradations are, in fact, a mere farce. The SZU-CHUAN VICEROY must be got at more directly by action on the spot, or, at least, by action as near the spot as we can reach. There is a fairly strong fellow-feeling among those high officials, and the vicarious principle may be worked with every prospect of success. The one indispensable condition is that some high official shall be made to feel in his own person. In the old days we put one of these gentlemen onboard a British ship and deported him. It is high time that another salutary lesson of this kind were administered. We may write as many ultimatums to Peking as we please, but what is really wanted is to bring home to the official classes the conviction that for every offence against this country one or more of them will be promptly punished without circumlocutory proceedings at the capital.

Satisfaction for the murder of the missionaries is indispensable to the enjoyment by our countrymen in general of the most ordinary security for life and property. It is all the more necessary to insist upon it by the only effectual methods because vigorous action in that respect will awake the mandarins to the danger of playing fast and loose with treaty obligations. We have further to consider the fact that France, Russia, and Germany are all three fully alive to the conditions of successful dealing with these slippery Orientals. We cannot afford in any case to be flouted, and least of all when other nations are taking action which renders our own supineness the more conspicuous by contrast. Our commercial interests are no longer so great and so exclusive as to carry political influence without direct political action. On the contrary, commercial rivalry is now so keen that our traders will be placed at a ruinous disadvantage, unless we display political activity and energy equally with our neighbours. It can hardly be any longer supposed, by the most fossilized official, that China is a country whose friendship is worth cultivating by feeble concessions to her pretensions and pride. The myth about her latent power, and the dream about her awakening, have been completely dissipated by the war. There is no trace of the moral qualities which alone can convert a population into a nation, nor is there any sign of the reserves of hidden force which have been the theme of much solemn trifling. China is a huge inert mass, which will be organized and energized from the outside if at all. We shall have to see to it that this process is not carried out by others to our detriment, and with that end in view we cannot too quickly drop diplomatic fictions and resort to the modes of action dictated by intelligent comprehension of the obvious facts of the case. What we want done we must insist upon having done, not by futile representations at Peking, but by going to the spot in question and seeing it done

The Times, (London), 30 September 1895.

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.
MASSACRES IN CHINA.**

To the Editor of the Times. Sir,—I would not trouble you with a letter, but that I think enough prominence has not been given to the culpability—direct or indirect—of the Chinese Government. When, as part of the atonement for an outrage on foreign property and (or) life, the local mandarin, whether Taotai or magistrate, has been removed he has generally been promoted to some other province. It is, therefore, looked upon as an advantage to wink at, if not to instigate, any riot that has for its object the destruction of foreign property and (or) life. The only reason, in my opinion, why missionaries have been singled out is that they are unable, or unwilling, to defend themselves. In the early days of Canton British subjects armed themselves, but the Consul ordered them to lay aside their revolvers. On appealing to Lord Palmerston, the Consul was not supported in his views that by being armed the community invited attack. His lordship, if I remember correctly, stated “that the only way to prevent an attack from Asiatics is to show them that one is prepared to defend oneself.” During my 37 years experience in China and Japan I can vouch for Lord Palmerston’s policy. In the autumn of 1861 Mr. Davenport, Assistant at H.B.M Consulate, Niu-chwang, and Commander Bosanquet, of H.B.M. gunboat Woodcock, were attacked by a mob of Chinese. Mr. Davenport was nearly killed, as I know, for I spent some time at his bedside. The next morning our Consul (Thomas Taylor Meadows), escorted by ten marines of the Woodcock, under Captain Bosanquet’s command, proceeded to the spot where the outrage took place, and demanded the criminals be punished. The Mandarin, (Lu Ta-Jen, I believe, was the name) did not produce all the men implicated, whereupon the Consul said the hamlet would be destroyed. The few houses belonging to the principal wrongdoers were soon demolished, although we were surrounded by many hundreds of Chinese. The lesson did good to all. Towards the winter, however, we had a few spars with ill-disposed natives, and it was thought necessary to have protection during the closed season—from the end of November to middle of March, when the port of Niu-chwang is ice-bound. In accordance with the Consul’s desire, 30 picked soldiers from the 31st and 67th Regiments, then stationed at Tientsin, under the command of Captain F. Jebb, and accompanied by Dr. Moffatt, marched all the way from Tientsin—a distant of 350 miles—in 14 days. The soldiers arrived in January, 1862, and were lodged in one of my godowns. The Protection was ample, and I firmly believe we owe the many years of almost perfect security at Niu-chwang to Mr. T. T. Meadows firmness in the first instance, and to the feeling which the natives had (and all the local authorities also) that foreigners can and will defend their lives and property.

After the Tientsin massacre in 1870 the natives were not so amiable as before, but we formed a volunteer corps, and, although we were a mere handful, we had no fear, especially during the winter, when we had the United States Palos²⁸ to protect us. My house and premises, built in 1861-2, have never been attacked, and it is well known that the two pieces of cannon and rifles are in good order. Prevention is better than cure. I am sure, if proper punishment had been meted out to the assassins of the fathers and nuns at Tientsin in 1870, the many outrages which have occurred since, culminating in the Ku-cheng atrocities, would have been prevented. The *North China Herald* prognosticated further trouble consequent on the criminal lukewarmness of the authorities at Peking regarding the Cheng-tu outrages, and now I am convinced, if some strong measures be not at once taken to punish whoever may be shown to be responsible for the foul murders at Ku-cheng, we shall have to deplore the loss of many other men and women. It is plain, not only that the Chinese authorities wink at what is called the work of Vegetarian or other societies, but that, by the promotion of the local governors, they encourage such work. Either that or they are unable to stay outrages. Then why should not England adopt such measures as may be necessary to prevent the further attacks which will otherwise take place? Five hundred Bluejackets and a couple of Maxims should be sent to Wha-sang or Ku-cheng, the Viceroy and other officials made prisoners, tried, and if found guilty at once executed. Why not repeat Sir Harry Parkes’s action in Canton, when Governor or Viceroy Yeh was taken out of his yamen and placed on board an English man-of-war? To send a British Consul with Chinese soldiers as an escort only proves that those who are responsible for the act are ignorant of what the Chinese themselves consider the right thing. An official must be attended in accordance with his rank. If Consul visits the Taotai on horseback, accompanied by one or two mafoos (horseboys or grooms), he is treated as he makes himself out to be, a

28 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Palos_\(1865\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Palos_(1865))

common person. The Chinese escort might do if the soldiers could be relied on, but they are not a protection for the Consul and are meant to thwart whatever he may do if the Viceroy or Taotai objects to the proceedings. That our Ministers in Peking can be so hoodwinked causes old China hands to feel ashamed of their ignorance and makes the wily Chinaman laugh up his sleeve. Oh, for a Sir Harry s. Parkes! If he had not died in Peking, just as he was making his presence felt, the massacre supervening on the destruction of property at Cheng-tu, etc., would never have happened. I have had the honour of making the acquaintance of the Ministers at Peking, and I cannot but feel that our "home Governments" are most to blame for the "situation." I look as a sign of our British Governments being wrong the fact of the removal at this critical time of Sir Nicholas O'Conor just as he was making his hand felt. It was rumoured that the British Minister was making himself so unpleasant at Peking that the Tsung-li-Yamen had asked for his recall. True or not, Sir Nicholas's removal is very, very unfortunate.

It seems to be very unjust to lay the cause for all the troubles that occur at the door of the missionaries. They may be injudicious sometimes, but as a rule they do a great deal of good, and it is not too much to say that they are loved by the unofficial classes to as great an extent as Chinese are capable of. The late attacks, if not all previous ones, have been aimed at foreigners generally, not merely missionaries. The latter have been the victims, as I said before, on account of their defencelessness. There are incipient rebellions all over China on account of the great injustices suffered generally. My theory is that the object of the outrages, if they not be instigated from Peking, is to make the native Government fall out with the Western Powers. When simply destroying missionary houses was not enough, it was thought a few murders might have some effect. If drastic measures had been taken in the first instance the latter would not have happened. As we have not made much attempt to punish the offenders in the one case or the other, we shall be treated with the contempt shown us by our own authorities, and I fear other murders will be the result. I suppose there will not be much done till a Minister or two (of Government, not Church) be assassinated.

September 26. A Briton.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 30 September 1895.

SZECHUEN VICEROY DEPOSED.

China Yields to the Ultimatum of Great Britain.

EDICT SEVERE IN ITS TERMS.

The Viceroy is Stripped of His Rank and It Is Commanded That He Shall Not Be Again Permitted to Take Office.—Admiral Buller, with Fourteen British Gunboats Is Approaching Nankin.

London, September 30. It is announced that China has accepted the British ultimatum and that the Viceroy of Szechuen, who is held to have been responsible indirectly or directly for the massacre of missionaries in the territory under his jurisdiction, has been degraded.

The officials of the foreign office this afternoon, answering questions on the subject, stated that a decree had already been published in the Peking official gazette ordering the viceroy of Szechuen to be stripped of his rank for failing to protect the missionaries in his district, and, as a warning to others, it was further directed that he should not be again permitted to take office.

The decree also denounced the offending official's subordinates for failing to take proper action in the emergency.

The action today of the Chinese foreign office was brought about by the imperative demand of the British government made public yesterday.

Great Britain demanded that the Peking government issue within two weeks a proclamation degrading the viceroy of Szechuen.

The alternative given by Great Britain was that in case of failure to comply the British admiral in Chinese waters would take action.

A special dispatch from Shanghai says that Admiral Buller with fourteen ships belonging to the British fleet in Chinese waters will proceed on Wednesday next to Nankin and present the viceroy of that place with important dispatches.

The dispatch adds that it is understood that if the viceroy fails to comply with the terms demanded by Great Britain serious results will ensue.

Washington, D. C., September 30—Minster Denby cabled the state department from Peking today as

follows”

“Imperial decree issued. Abstract responsibility for Szechuen riots rests with officials. Viceroy Liu careless; too no notice of the beginning of the riots. He is deprived of office, never to be employed. Other officials to be punished.”

The New York Times, 30 September 1895.

BRITAIN’S ULTIMATUM TO CHINA.

The American Commission Started for the Scene of the Outrages.

LONDON, Sept. 29,—A dispatch from Peking to a local news agency says that the British Government has addressed an ultimatum to China, demanding that the Peking Government issue, within two weeks, a proclamation degrading the Viceroy of Sze-Chuen, otherwise the British Admiral in Chinese waters will take action.

The same dispatch says that an American commission, consisting of the United States Consul at Tien-Tsin, the naval officer [Cdr J.S. Newell USN], and the interpreter to the United States Legation, is about to start overland for the scene of the outrages.

The Viceroy, the dispatch says, has signified his intention of paying the French indemnity of 940,000 taels.

The Sun, (New York), 30 September 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

GRAPHIC DETAILS OF THE MURDER OF WHITE WOMEN.

Letters from Eyewitnesses of the Terrible Scene—

Brave Conduct of the Helpless Victims and Heroism of Little Millie Stewart—

Only One Native Dared to Plead for the Lives of the Foreigners.

While Mildred and Kathleen Stewart survived and some trace of later conversations with them are apparent, it is not possible to assess how much of the following material is factual and how much is imaginative reconstruction by a good writer.

The following letters have just been received from the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, giving the details of the massacre of the lady missionaries on Aug. 1.:

One of the ladies connected with the Zenana Missionary Society, writing to a near relative in England, says:

This is the first opportunity I have had to write since this terrible event happened. It seems that on Aug. 1., which was little Herbert Stewart’s birthday, the children were up early gathering flowers, as they were going to have a picnic, when several ruffians suddenly came upon them and dragged Millie Stewart along the ground by her hair, but did nothing serious to them. They managed to run to the house, Millie crying out, “Mother, the Vegetarians are coming.” They told them all, and then ran into the nursery and locked the door. Little Cassie [Kathleen] and Evan Stewart, the two younger ones, got under the bed. Millie was about to follow them when she thought, “If I do that they men will know that there is somebody here, because the door is locked. I will lie down on the bed and unlock the door,” which she did, thinking that perhaps they would only see her and not look under the bed for the others. They plundered everything in the room, and then came to the bed, dragged the bed clothes all off little Millie, and just at the last they gave her the terrible gash which is nearly costing her life.

The brave little girls then got up, and seeing Lena, the nurse, being attacked, they took the baby from under her clothes where she had hidden it in the hopes of saving its life. They ran to some bushes a little way off and hid the baby, and then ran back, thinking Miss [Nellie] Saunders was not quite dead, but she was too heavy for them to drag along, so they were compelled to leave her. Little Cassie was so wonderfully brave; it was just marvellous; they saw all the ladies killed before their eyes. All the other missionary ladies were found together. It is said that two who might have escaped stayed to help the others to dress, one being too paralysed with horror to do anything. Elsie Marshall had her Bible, which she would not give up for some time, and in her attempt to keep it got her fingers terribly cut. She was more wounded than any of them. One of the other girls was made to walk up and down the veranda, and was asked all sorts of questions about their money and their things, and every time she

did not give a satisfactory answer she was wounded with a sharp three-pronged instrument, with which they did all their deadly work afterward. The men thought of binding them and carrying them away, but they pleaded to be killed rather than that.

One man after another resisted, and could not kill that little group of young girls all unprotected, but the leader, seeing them relent, waved the flag with “kill them” on it, and they dared not disobey, and they did it. It was thought for a long time that Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had escaped, as their bodies were not found, but they were afterwards found burned to ashes on a heap of ruins. So little of them was left that it was difficult to distinguish which was which. No one seems to know anything about them, except that they were in bed and the rioters went to their room first.

Miss Hertford was saved by her teacher and coolie. She thrust aside the instrument when attacked and with almost superhuman efforts, and while the coolie wrestled with the man, her teacher almost dragged her along for miles: they lay flat on their faces now and again to recover breath, and then on again.²⁹ When they reached a safe distance she sent back the man to see what had happened to the others. He came back with the report that some were only wounded and needed help. She went straight back with him and found Mr. Phillips doing what he could for them and the native Christians³⁰ looking on, not daring to give a piece of rag or any assistance whatever. Mr. Phillips, hearing a noise (he was living in a little cottage not far off) wanted to go and see, but was held back by force by the natives, who said he would be killed if he went. He at length, however, got loose and ran up the hill behind the house, hiding behind some brushwood. From there he saw the houses being plundered, but seeing no foreigners, he imagined they had escaped, so did not go down, knowing that if he did he would be killed. He saw them set the houses on fire, and then the horns sounded for them to disperse. It was all over in half an hour and the rioters all gone.

The Rev. H. S. Phillips writes:

About 6.30 A.M. on Aug 1, hearing shouts from the direction of Mr. Stewart’s house (I was sleeping in a house five minutes’ walk off, though spending most of the day with the Stewarts), I went out, and at first thought it was a number of children playing, but I was soon convinced that the voices were those of excited men, and started off for the house. I was soon met by a native, who almost called me back, shouting that the Vegetarians had come. I said that I must go on, and soon got in sight of the house, and could see a number of men, say forty or fifty, carrying off loads of plunder. One man, who seemed to be the leader, was carrying a small red flag. I could see nothing of any Europeans, and as this was in full view of the rioters, I crept up a hill to the brushwood and got behind two trees from twenty to thirty yards from the house. Here I could see everything and appeared not to be seen at all.

At I could still see no foreigners, I concluded they had escaped, and as to go down was certain death I thought it better to wait where I was. After a minute or two the retreat horn was sounded and the Vegetarians began to leave, but before they did they set fire to the house. Ten minutes after this every Vegetarian had done. I came down and looked about the front of the house, but could see nothing of any one, though I feared something dreadful had happened, as I heard the Vegetarians as they left saying repeatedly: “Now all the foreigners are killed.” I just then met one of the servants, who told me that the children were in the house in which Miss Hartford of the American Mission was staying. I found Mr. Stewart’s eldest daughter, Mildred, there with a serious wound on the knee, and another severe cut. When I had washed these and use what old calico we had to stanch the bleeding, I turned to Herbert, Mr. Stewart’s son, who was most fearfully hacked almost everywhere. Then Miss Codrington sent me a message that she, too, was in the house. I found her in a fearful condition, but with cold water and rags we managed to stanch the bleeding. She begged me not to wait, as she thought Miss Topsy Saunders was still alive. I then rushed up to the back of the house and found the bodies of Miss Topsy Saunders, Miss Stewart, Miss Gordon, and Miss Marshall. The latter was awfully cut, and her head was almost severed; but beyond the wounds given in the struggle the bodies were not mutilated. Later I found Miss H. Newcombe’s body at the foot of the hill in front of the

29 Miss Hartford’s house (see map in Introduction) was a few hundred yards removed.

30 There were few or no Christians in Huashan. The village had been abandoned by both the Anglican and Methodist Missions. The onlookers were, according to other reports, Huashan villagers rather than Chinese Christians. The villagers later completed the ransacking of the mission houses.

house, where it evidently had been thrown. As I could then see no traces of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss N. Saunders, and Lena, the nurse, we hoped some had escaped, and I returned to the house, where the children (four Stewarts) and Miss Codrington were. Presently Miss Hartford arrived. She had a nasty cut under one ear, but had been saved from death by a native Christian. I learned later from Miss Codrington that the five ladies of the Zenana Missionary Society, who lived in the lower of the two houses which formed the Ku-Cheng sanatorium, after a futile effort to escape, got out at the back and were immediately surrounded by the Vegetarians. At first they said they intended to bind them and carry them away, and they begged, as this was the intention, that they might be allowed to have their umbrellas, but this was refused. Some even of the Vegetarians seemed touched with their pleading for life, but an old Haw-Sang man alone of the natives, who did not take part, begged that their lives might be saved. Some of the Vegetarians were inclined to spare them, but were ordered by their leaders to carry out their orders. Had they been able to escape into the brushwood they might have been saved. Lena, the nurse, died protecting the baby, whom Kathleen managed to carry out of the house, but not before the baby's eye had been injured. Miss Nelly Saunders, Kathleen told me, was also knocked down at the nursery door while going to help the children, as we afterwards found the remains of a burnt body. For a long time we thought that at the least, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had escaped, but later I found their bodies, or rather ashes, in what had been their bedroom. The Haw-Sang people seemed to have had no hand in the affair, though doubtless four or five Vegetarian families were concerned. The natives say the Vegetarian band came from the east road of Kuchery [Kucheng] city, and many from Aniong and Abdiengaan, within thirty or forty miles of Ku-Cheng.

