

1895, AUGUST 9.

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

Cypher August 9, 1895.

What is state of affairs? Please repeat all telegrams to Foreign Office.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 9, 1895, (Received Washington, Sept. 23), No. 2303, Denby to Olney.

SIR:— I have the honor to inclose a translation of a communication from the Tsung-li Yamen, relating to the recent riots at Kutien in the Province of Fuhkien. It will be seen that the Yamen has ordered the arrest and punishment of the murderers, and that protection is insured to foreigners. I have etc. Charles Denby.

(Inclosure in No. 2303-Translation.)
Tsungli Yamen to Mr. Denby.

PEKING, August 7, 1895.

Your Excellency, We had the honor on the 5th instant to receive Your Excellency's note stating that it had come to your knowledge that a riot of a serious nature had taken place at Kutien, in the province of Fuhkien, and that a number of foreigners had been murdered; that you desired to express your horror and regret at this outrageous occurrence against peaceable people, and to ask that telegraphic instructions be at once sent to the viceroy at Foochow to use every means in his power to give full and adequate protection to Americans residing in the province.

With regard to the riot at Kutien, where foreigners were murdered, we have the honor to state that on the 5th of August an imperial decree was issued, which was telegraphed to the governor-general of Foochow, ordering that officer to vigorously arrest the persons concerned in the riot and murder and to punish them according to law.

Further, the local officials have been instructed to spare not measure in giving due protection to foreigners and to prevent further riots. The telegraphic reply received from Foochow does not give full particulars of the riot, and the Yamen again ordered that these be punished, but up to the present no further telegrams have been received.

Any further news that Your Excellency may have received during the past few days we will thank you to communicate to the Yamen and oblige.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States, Foochow, August 9, 1895 Telegram, Consul Hixson to American Admiral, Nagasaki, Japan.

10.20 a.m. American Admiral, Nagasaki. Am instructed to forward you following Great riot at Kutien Ten English killed Our missionaries took refuge in Foochow Hope you will send ships there. Denby, Hixson.

4.15. p.m. American Admiral, Nagasaki. Yes. Hixson.

The Times, (London), 9 August 1895.

EDITORIAL

Almost before people in this country have had time to realize the serious significance of the massacre of the British missionaries at Ku-cheng we have news of another outrage of a similar kind, though happily involving no loss of life, a different part of southern China. On Wednesday afternoon the British Wesleyan Hospital and Mission at Fatshan, near the great city of Canton, was attacked by a riotous mob and, though the first account appear to have been exaggerated, some damage was done to the buildings. The missionaries have not, however, sought refuge in flight. It is by no means certain that the Chinese gunboat which has been dispatched to deal with the rioters will be able or willing to afford adequate protection to the foreigners. It is to be observed that this has happened not at a remote inland station, but close to Canton and at no great distance from Hong-kong. The medical mission there is in charge of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and

side by side with it is a station of the American Methodist Episcopal Church exists. At Fatshan, as at Ku-cheng, and, also, during the earlier disturbances in the province of Szu-chuan, missionaries of various creeds and nationalities—English, French, and American—were equally threatened, though the severest losses have fallen on the British. **It is not surprising that the belief has gained ground among the European community in the treaty ports that these outrages, occurring within a short space of time in different provinces of China, form part of a deliberate policy, the object of which is to destroy the mission settlements and to drive the missionaries to take refuge under the shelter or in the immediate vicinity of the British flag.** The riots in Cheng-tu and other towns of Szu-chuan occurred in June last. They have been followed up by the outbreak in Fo-kien, in which MR. STEWART and his unfortunate companions lost their lives, and now a movement not less menacing has been initiated in the contiguous province of Kwang-tung, in which our possession of Hong-kong gives us a peculiar interest. It is not to be supposed that this system of attack will be confined to the missionaries. It will make it difficult for any Europeans to avail themselves of the rights they enjoy under treaties concluded with the Chinese by the chief civilized powers and recently extended by the terms of the peace with Japan.

As soon as authentic intelligence of the Ku-cheng massacre had been received, the British Minister at Peking was instructed by the Foreign office to demand an instant inquiry into the crime, the condign punishment of the offenders, and the effectual protection of all British missionaries now in China. The Tsung-li-Yamen immediately complied, and an escort of Government troops was provided to accompany the British Consul from Fu-chau to the scene of the murders. This precaution has proved to be illusory. The escort had not sooner arrived at Ku-cheng than they plundered what was left of MR. STEWART'S house and the mission station. No effective inquiry seems possible, unless a British escort is dispatched to do the work the Chinese are incapable of doing. Much indignation is expressed by the Europeans both in Shanghai and in Hong-kong at the failure to insist on the landing of some men of the Sikh regiment stationed at Hong-kong to protect the Consul and to strengthen his hands. We do not find it easy to agree with this criticism. It was for the Consul, with his local knowledge of the facts, to have telegraphed that the Chinese escort was not sufficient for the purpose in view, if, as is now alleged, the VICEROY at Fu-chau had no adequate force at his command, except on paper, and cannot make any arrests. We can hardly doubt that if such a representation had been made it would have been supported by the British Minister at Peking and would at once have been acted upon, on the authority of the Home Government. The misconduct of the Chinese escort and the spread of the disturbances from the province of Fo-kien to that of Kwang-tung will probably render it imperative to do something in the direction for which there is so vehement an outcry among the Europeans in the principal China parts. We are very far from desiring to insist upon a policy of armed coercion, and we should be much better pleased if the Chinese government would take the business in hand themselves and settle it. But whether they do so or not, it is plainly the duty of this country to demand that protection shall be afforded to the lives and property of Europeans, whether missionaries or others, who are residing in China without contravening either treaty obligations or native law.

There is abundant reason to believe that the attacks on the missionaries are connived at, and even prompted by Chinese officials. The evidence on this point contained in the interesting letter from MR. GREIG, of the Bible Society of Scotland's Agency, is confirmed, with regard to the outrages committed a couple of months ago in Szu-chuan, by the Roman Catholic clergy connected with the Cheng-tu mission. The French ecclesiastic whose testimony is reproduced by our Paris Correspondent is not very generous towards his Protestant fellow-workers in the mission field. Their alleged "imprudences" he is disposed to make at least partially responsible for the outbreak, but he expatiates upon the more than suspicious attitude of the officials, the absence of any efforts to restrain the fury of the mob, and the unconcealed antipathy of the Viceroy to the Christians. It is pointed out by MR. GREIG that the pressure on foreigners to clear out of Chung-king, the capital of Szu-chuan, raises a commercial as well as a missionary question. This town, although situated far inland on one of the branches of the Yantse-Kiang, "has been an open port for years, and now, by the treaty with Japan, is a full treaty port," to allow the Chinese to close up such a port in practice by organizing the persecution of foreigners would be a bad beginning for the new system on which China has pledged herself to enter. If the Chinese officials are to exculpate themselves from the charge that they have fostered the recent attacks on the European missionaries, they can only do so by proving that it is beyond their power to put any check upon the ferocity of the mob. But this excuse involves them in another

difficulty. They must understand that it is their duty to afford protection to foreigners dwelling lawfully and peaceably among them, and that duty they cannot be permitted to evade. When they contend that to discharge it is too much for their strength, they furnish the most telling argument in favour of the enforcement of protection, wherever it is physically possible, by the Powers the lives of whose subjects are endangered by what is, at the best, the helpless incompetence, and, probably enough, the criminal treachery, of the officials. It is, however, not unlikely that, as many maintain who know China well, the capacity of the officials for safeguarding the rights of foreigners would be made sufficient for all practical purposes by holding the Peking Government immediately and strictly responsible for any failure on the part of its delegates and subordinates to fulfil their obligations in this regard.

The Times, (London), 9 August 1895.

THE CASE FOR MISSIONS IN CHINA.

Sir,—It is only to be expected that the terrible disaster at Ku-cheng should cause much searching of heart regarding missions in China. Nor is to be wondered at that opinions unfavourable to China missions should have found expression in some of our papers, though others have written in terms for which we and the relatives of the sufferers feel no small thankfulness. Much of the controversy and criticism shows a misapprehension of our position, which, though it may be entirely disapproved, should at least be understood. Briefly, it is this:—

1. We believe that the Son of God came into the world to save men from sin. Of course, those who do not believe it naturally regard Christian missions as a fad, and not always a harmless fad. But if we do believe it, it is surely a simple and elementary duty to tell those who do not know it. We are not merely trying to get men to give up their own “doxy” and take our “doxy.” We are conveying to them the knowledge of a fact which, if it be a fact, it is all-important for them to know. Moreover, we believe that our Master gave us in the plainest terms the command to make the fact known. This is the one fundamental principle of missions.
2. It follows necessarily that no perils, however serious, and no obstacles, however serious, and no obstacles, however apparently insuperable, can release us from so plain and elementary a duty. The perils and obstacles of the present age are not greater than those of the Apostolic age. A few Jews then stood face to face with the culture of Athens and the power of Rome. No more seemingly hopeless enterprise than theirs has ever been undertaken. The result we know. It was attained at the cost of many precious lives, of women as well as of men.
3. In one respect Christian missions are a warfare. When gallant officers fell in the Chitral campaign no one suggested that the campaign should not have been undertaken. I do not ask our critics to believe that a missionary campaign is far more important and necessary than that one; but I ask them to acknowledge that we who do believe it are only doing our duty in prosecuting the enterprise at all risks.
4. But ought women to be sent? Women find no place in ordinary earthly warfare and it is foreign to the natural instincts of honourable men to send them or allow them to go, into positions of danger and exposure such as lady missionaries sometimes occupy. But what if women claim a right to a share in spiritual warfare, pleading that as they share in the benefits of the death of Christ they have an equal right with men in the privilege of living—or even dying—in His service? They know that the most formidable combatants on the other side are women, and that they can only be effectually dealt with by lady missionaries. Hence they come forward in large numbers, most of them from refined and cultured homes, and offer themselves deliberately and gladly. And the men and women of the missionary committees dare not refuse to accept, and even to call for, such invaluable offers of service, though they feel it is a sacred duty to use every possible means to shield and care for the brave women who thus go forth. Whenever there has been a post of danger in the mission field the women have pressed their offers of service, and the committees have sometimes been obliged to hold them back. If the great missionary societies refused to send out women, the women would go, and have gone, on their own account.
5. But it is suggested that, however right it may be for ardent men and women to volunteer for China, it is not right for missionary societies to send them. There is no doubt that grave responsibility rests

upon the committees, which consist largely of retired missionaries, who have done long and good service themselves, and of retired civil and military officers who have always been the foremost advocates and supporters of missions; associated, it is true, with some others of us who belong to neither class but have known what it is to regret not being in the forefront of the battle as much as do the officers of a regiment who have to remain in charge of the depot at home. These committees do not omit to count the cost of such work. They take up their own responsibility of sending forth volunteers to an organized work as given them by the Master's hand, and are as much justified in manning perilous missions as are the authorities at the War Office in sending a regiment to the point of danger.

6. Then it is said that China is a hopeless field. I suppose there is no part of the mission field of which the same thing has not at some time been said. But suppose it were true; how does that affect the plain duty above referred to? We hold that duties belong to man, and results to God. Probably our critics will be puzzled when I say that all the missionaries in the world cannot convert, in the true sense, a single soul; but this is literally our honest conviction. We do not believe that St. Peter converted Cornelius, or that St. Paul converted the Philippian jailer. If it is not fanatical to believe that the Son of God came down to die for men, it is fanatical to believe that the Spirit of God comes down to turn men's hearts to Him. A man may honestly deny both' but if he believes one, he should have no difficulty in believing the other.
7. But do conversions take place? Let me refer to the province of Fo-kien, where the recent massacre occurred. Once a year at Fu-chau, the capital, you may see an assembly of 300 Chinese Christians. These are delegates from village congregations scattered over a wide area, come together for their annual conference. Among them will be a dozen ordained Chinese clergymen, properly trained and educated. For a fortnight they sit in conference, the leading men among them giving addresses and reading papers. But they only represent the 13,000 souls forming the Christian community in that province connected with the Church of England. The American Methodists could show, I believe, at least an equal, and the American Congregationalists a smaller number. And this is only for the northern half of the province. To the south, the English Presbyterians and Congregationalists have much the same report to give. And then we have only looked at one of the 18 provinces of China, and the extensive operations in other provinces of the China Inland Mission in particular are not touched. I do not pretend that all these Chinese converts are Christians in the highest sense. They vary in character as Christians in England do. But a great many of them have proved their sincerity by suffering for their faith.
8. But what about "the inevitable gunboat"? First, large numbers of missionaries are in distant provinces or cities where not gunboat can reach them. Secondly, many of them would prefer that no gunboat ever appeared on the scene; and of these my deeply-lamented friend Robert Stewart was one. Thirdly, in other countries, as in Africa and in the South Seas, missionaries have shown that they go forth without the smallest expectation of or desire for Government protection. Did Bishop Patteson, or Bishop Hannington, look for an armed force behind them. But in China, as in the Turkish Empire, an Englishman's position is peculiar. He possesses treaty rights and he has no power to divest himself of them. I speak the mind of hundreds of missionaries when I say they have no personal desire for anything in the nature of vengeance even for such terrible outrages as we now deplore. But Great Britain cannot in China pass lightly over the murder of British subjects who have a right to be there. The British Government will, I doubt not, take all measures in this case that are right and necessary, especially with a view to the future protection of British residents' but the last thing we desire is that the Gospel should be carried into China at the point of the bayonet.
9. Once more, ought not missionaries to be careful not to inflame the passions of the Chinese needlessly? Certainly; and I can affirm that as a body they are careful. My friend Robert Stewart and the ladies with him were especially solicitous to live quietly among the people as their fellow-creatures, submitting to not a few personal inconveniences to do so. But it must not be forgotten that the Christian religion necessarily excite some hostility. It did so in the early ages of the Church; and delicate Greek and Roman women went to the stake, or the cross, or the lions rather than compromise

the message they had accept themselves and were delivering to others. We all honour them now; shall we not equally honour those who do the same thing even in the prosaic nineteenth century?
Yours faithfully, Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, C.M.S.

The Times, (London), 9 August 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of The Times, Sir,—The events which are now taking place in this part of China cannot fail to be of interest to all who have any concern for lands other than their own, and especially to those who are watching the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. A short statement on the subject may therefore be useful.

Szech'uan [Sichuan] has been known for many years as one of the most friendly provinces in the empire, and has been looked upon as a favourable field for foreign commercial enterprise as well as for missionary work. A month ago every thing looked bright, when an incident occurred which was a premonition of the things that have now come upon us.

Dr. Hare, of the Canadian Methodist Mission in Ch'entu, the capital of the province, was called to attend a poor woman in her confinement. Under his care she made a good recovery, and he discontinued his visits. About the middle of May he was called to this woman again, being roused in the middle of the night. On arriving at the house he found that death had already taken place, after a relapse caused by inattention and various irregularities.¹ The husband demanded silver and barred his door. Dr. Hare insisted on the door being opened, but the man, in letting him out, raised such a cry as brought together a crowd, which pursued the doctor and handled him very roughly. Next morning the matter was represented to the magistrate, who took no notice of the complaint. He did all the man to his yamen, but there was no real inquiry, and the man was presented with ten taels to pay the funeral expenses and hush up the matter. Instead of burying his wife, the man laid her out for public exhibition, and thousands went to see “the woman who had been killed by the foreigner.” Although there was much local excitement, the affair seemed to blow over, and on May 27 the Rev. Dr. Hart, of the Canadian Methodist Mission, started, with Dr. Hare, for Kiating, a station of the mission situated on the Min River, one day's journey by boat from Ch'entu.

On the 28th all was quiet in Ch'entu till 5 in the afternoon, when the Canadian Methodist Mission premises were suddenly attacked, The rioting continued at intervals until the 30th, until the premises of all the missions in the city had been wrecked. The missionaries all reached the district magistrate's yamen, in safety, after various adventures, and have been shut up there till within the last few days. They are now on their way here. The official measures to quell the riot appear to have been most ridiculously inadequate. Nothing was done until the riot was in full swing, and even then the assistance rendered was more in appearance than in fact. The impotence of the officials, intentional or otherwise, is shown by the fact that the Roman Catholic premises, separated from the Viceroy's yamen by a space of only 6ft., were utterly destroyed. The cit of Ch'entu has a garrison of Manchus numbering 7,000 men. These are regular troops. There is also a garrison of several thousand Chinese. It appears strange, therefore, that no proper measures were taken to prevent or quell the riot, and the inference is almost irresistible that the Viceroy and other high officials were concerned in the affair. It is significant that, at the very time when foreigners here were informed that the telegraph line to Ch'entu was interrupted, an official telegram arrived from Ch'entu, addressed to all the telegraph centres in the country, stating that the mutilated body of a Chinese child had been found in one of the mission houses, thus justifying the rising of the people. The National Bible Society of Scotland had a stock of about 7,000 scriptures in Ch'entu. These were brought out into the courtyard of the house where they had been stored, torn up, and made a bonfire of.

Had the riotous spirit stopped a the destruction of mission property in Ch'entu the question of settlement might not have been such a difficult one; but it has spread, and several other places have been looted, whilst still more are threatened.

Drs. Hart and Hare found that, although they had escaped the riot at Ch'entu, they were to have trouble at Kiating. They had to leave the Canadian Methodist Mission-house there by the back as the crowd entered by

1 This is confirmed by a Catholic priest who mentioned the episode in his report of the Chengtu riots. See *The Times*, (London), 9 August 1895, pg 3. “The Outrages in China—Letter from Mgr. Pentriane, pro-vicar of Western Szu-chuan.”

the front. The riot at Kiating does not seem to have commenced with the same sudden fury as at Ch'entu, but it gathered strength as time went on. Mr. and Mrs. Ririe, of the China Inland Mission, with several others, are virtually prisoners in the yamen at Kiating, and their position is very serious. The missionaries at Yachou, northwest of Kiating, were escorted out of the city at dead of night by the magistrate and soldiers. On their way down to this place they were attacked by robbers, but by a show of force happily got away. Mr. Beaman, of the American Baptist Mission, was not so fortunate. He was on a boat near Sui-fu, awaiting the arrival of the Jachore party, when he was attacked and robbed of 100 taels, besides being in great personal danger. The presence of these robbers will be a real peril for the refugees on their passage down from the out-stations, but we trust no serious harm will be suffered though they. The Sui-fu missionaries have arrived here safely.

Up to this point the city of Chung-king has remained quiet, although three or four dates have already been mentioned for a rising here. All credit is due to the resident officials. They have taken strong preventive measures, with success so far. Soldiers have been patrolling the streets at night, and official spies are everywhere. A very strong proclamation has been put out, quoting our old Imperial edict, which states that any person molesting the foreigners shall be immediately seized and summarily executed. The officials in this city believe they can keep the peace at present, but say that if the great July examinations are allowed to take place they will be powerless to quell a rising then. Towards the end of July some 8,000 to 10,000 students, with their attendants, will be here, and the principal rioters will find plenty of helpers among these attendants. The British Consul has telegraphed to the Minister at Peking to endeavour to have the examinations put off, but we are doubtful whether this can be done.

The outlook generally is so threatening that one or two of the men among the up-country refugees will stay here, All the ladies will go down river. Most of the ladies stationed in the cit will also leave, probably within 24 hours, accompanied by several gentlemen as escort. The rest of us will wait on to see what happens. We are not afraid of personal violence. The worst we expect is the loss of all our goods and an uncomfortable stay of indefinite duration in the Tao Lai's yamen.

Whatever the question may be in other part of Szech'uen, here it is as much a commercial as a missionary question. Chung-king has been an open port for years, and now, by the treaty with Japan, is a full treaty port. It is the emporium of an immense trade, and a strong footing here means the commercial control of a very rich and extensive country. What the Chinese might do, almost with impunity, at an inland mission station, may not be done here without the gravest consequences. On the other hand, the abandoning of a position in a small inland town is a very much lighter matter than the evacuation of a treaty port.

The missions involved in the present outbreak are English, French, and American, and this mingling of interests leads us to hope for a quick, strong, and united action in the matter. It is far too serious an affair to be hushed up by the payment of an indemnity. The mildest possible measure would be a commission similar to the Grosvenor Commission to inquire into the murder of Margary, sent to Yunnan in 1877 (sic-actually 1876). The effect of that inquiry and the subsequent proceedings is felt to this day, and in province of China is travelling so safe as in Yunnan. In the present case the inquiry ought to be held in Ch'entu, on the scene of the outrage—not at Shanghai or even Chung-king. The Viceroy and other high officials ought to be brought to the bar of the commission in their own city, and punishment meted out to them there. If our suspicions are correct, beheading is too good for the Viceroy. Inquiry and punishment on the spot is the only measure, on those lines, which will have any moral effect on the people of the province at large. To some of us it appears that, besides the inquiry and prior to it, there ought to be a foreign occupation of the whole valley of the Yangtse, if not of all China. Many people think it is bound to come to this, and if so it looks as though the hour for action were already here. At present there is no security for life or property in China. The officials may help you or they may not, as it suits them. Like the British policeman they are rarely at hand when wanted. Their insincerity and double dealing have been proved again and again. In cases of need they have often avowed their powerlessness. If this confession is real they ought to be superseded by those who can rule. If it is merely a mask for their hostility they ought to be removed for bad conduct, imperiling the goods and lives of persons who are living in their bounds by treaty rights. As I have pointed out this is a commercial as well as a missionary question, and if the English government does not take prompt and decisive action our friends the French may lay hold of one of the greatest trade routes of the world. But, missionary or commercial, these troubles will never cease until a strong, fearless, equitable Government

takes hold of the affairs of this people, and by giving security gives encouragement to honest thrift and quiet living. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, A. L. Greig.

National Bible Society of Scotland's agency, Chung-king, Szech'uen, China, June 13.

The Times, (London), 9 August 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of The Times, Sir,—Most thoughtful persons among us will, I trust, be inclined to await with calmness the decisions of those who have been sent to investigate the causes of the recent diabolical murders in China. As a student of Eastern religions for more than half a century, I cannot help thinking that religious fanaticism may be at the root of the outbreak, or at least may have been quite as potent a factor in originating it as the hope of exterminating “foreign devils.”

Let us not forget that the first of the Buddhist ten commandments is:—Kill not any living thing, not even for food. It struck me before I read in *The Times* of to-day the letter of Mr. Lloyd—who knows China well—that these so-called “Vegetarians” might turn out to be a band of fanatical Buddhists, who consider that when our missionaries in China obey the command “Kill and eat” they are outraging the religious feelings of true Buddhists.

It would be worse than useless to point out to such a set of rabid fanatics that the Buddha himself is said to have died from an attack of indigestion induced by eating too freely of pork. They would simply deny the fact, or repudiate it as a calumny.

In my travels through India I occasionally passed through districts where the same feelings prevail, and where high-caste Brahmans urged me to do my best to dissuade my fellow countrymen from constantly offending the religious prejudices of the Hindus by the practice of killing and eating their sacred animals.

No doubt our devoted missionaries think it right to despise their lives in their noble determination to “fulfil the law of Christ” at all hazards—the law of the first Divine missionary—the law of sacrificing themselves for the good of their fellow men. But it is, perhaps, open to question, whether, after the warnings which had been conveyed to them, they would not have been justified in quitting their posts for a time and retiring to some safe retreat, where they could have carried on that most useful work described by Dr. Wright in your issue of to-day, and advocated by the late Sir Charles Trevelyan and myself in your columns 37 years ago—he work of applying the Roman alphabet to the expression of Eastern languages. We all know what the reply of that same Divine Missionary—the Divine Head of our Church—was when it was suggested to Him that He should throw Himself from a lofty pinnacle in reliance upon the promise that angels would bear Him up.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that our Government will not falter in their stern determination to insist on summary and condign punishment being inflicted on the real authors of this terrible massacre.

Your obedient servant, M, Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.
Ventnor, Aug. 7.

The Hongkong Weekly Press, 15 August 1895.

(Originally written 9th August.)

THE HONGKONG INDIGNATION MEETING.

(9TH August.)

The public meeting held yesterday to express the indignation of the community at the Kucheng massacre was the largest ever held in Hongkong...when the Theatre Royal was crowded to overflowing. The resolutions were carried with enthusiasm and adequately expressed the feeling of the community. Gentlemen who had in the first instance thrown cold water on the idea of holding a meeting felt constrained, when it was actually called, to give it their support and attendance, and although in those few instances there might have been some mental reservation there could be no doubt of the spontaneity of feeling which dominated the great bulk of the community. Doctors HARTIGAN, CANTLIE and STEDMAN are to be congratulated on their spirited action in convening the meeting...

As to the substance of the resolutions there was no difference of opinion whatsoever... There was, however, some feeling, which found expression in conversation after the meeting had broken up that the censure of the British Government was ill-advised. There is no doubt that the community does feel deep

disgust with the apathy of the British Government...

The speech of the day was that of Bishop Burdon, who spoke well and to the point and carried his audience with him in almost everything he said. The explanation given by his Lordship of the anti-foreign movement in China, differing as it does *in toto* with that put forward by Mr. T. JACKSON, is in our view entirely correct. The outrages are instigated and encouraged by the mandarins. There is nothing anti-dynastic about them... In the majority of instances they are carried out by mobs of the settled population acting with the connivance and often at the direct instigation of the officials... Mr. JACKSON's idea that the Chinese Government is powerless to prevent the outrages appears to us quite untenable. The Chinese Government can remove any official it choose, and if it retains in power anti-foreign officials it must be held responsible for their actions.

What is to be done, was a question asked at yesterday's meeting. Strong and stern measures were demanded, but the meeting did not proceed to discuss what these measures should be. But one thing stands out very clearly, namely, that if the Peking Government is to be allowed to continue in power and at the same time protection is to be secured for foreigners, the old gunboat policy must be revived and carried out more vigorously than ever before.² Reparation for outrages must be exacted on the spot. To refer the cases to Peking for consideration is worse than useless... It is impracticable to treat the Son of Heaven as a friendly sovereign and at the same time to send military expeditions to Peking to secure redress for every outrage, but it is quite practicable and would be very effective to send gunboats to the nearest accessible point to the actual scene of the outrages and exact redress there. For the last twenty-five years we have been on the wrong track. Pressure cannot be exerted on Peking direct, but it can be exerted very effectively if applied through the provinces by means of gunboats and small armed expeditions. It is true a gunboat could not well be sent to Chengtu, in Szechuen, but if Ichang were occupied and the river blockaded above that point Szechuen would very soon be brought to reason. In the case of Kucheng an expedition could reach the spot without difficulty and exact reparation...

North China Herald, Supplement, (Shanghai), 9 August 1895.

MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES NEAR KUCHENG

Foochow, 3rd August 11.20 am.—News is to hand of an attack on the Kucheng missionaries at their sanatorium at Whasang, not far from Kucheng. Five foreign ladies have been killed and two foreign ladies and two children wounded, while others are missing. The outbreak is the action of the Vegetarian society.

3rd August, 7 pm.—Trouble, riot and rebellion at Kucheng about ninety miles interior, west Foochow. Miss Hartford (American Methodist Episcopal Mission) badly wounded. Doctor J. J. Gregory, another American, believed escaped injury. Five English Missionary ladies killed, others wounded. United States Marshall with steam launch gone to relief wounded parties at Suikow. Particulars by later telegram.

4th August, 3.10 pm.—Marshall returned bringing all survivors massacre. Miss Hartford not wounded; every American missionary now safe in Foochow. Ten English killed instead of five as first reported; three very badly wounded.

5.20 pm.—Archdeacon Wolfe and the Rev. W Banister of the Church Missionary Society, went in a steam-launch to Suikow last night to meet the Rev. H S Phillips, who came in charge of the wounded, namely Miss Codrington, who has a bad head wound, and the Rev. R W Stewart's four children, the oldest with kneecap badly injured, and the youngest with eye gouged out; all arrived and are in the hospital here.

The attack took place early on the 1st instant. The houses were set on fire, and the Rev. R. W. and Mrs. Stewart (CMS) and one child were burnt to death. The corpses of the killed and the charred remains are now on the way down. The Rev. H S Phillips (CMS) escaped through living in a native house a short distance away. Spears and swords were used in the massacre. The following is the list of those killed:—

The Rev. and Mrs. Stewart and one child.

Miss Lena — — —

Miss Gordon (CEZM)

Miss Marshall “

2 The British Clarendon Declaration of December 28, 1868 instructed all consular and naval officers to avoid warlike acts—blockade, reprisal, landing armed parties, or other forms of coercion. Fairbank, J K, (1957), 'Patterns behind the Tientsin Massacre', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol 20, No 3/4, Dec 1957, pp 488-9.

Miss Nellie Saunders “
Miss Topsy Saunders “
Miss Gordon “
Miss Hettie Newcombe “

6th August, 10.30 pm.—Affecting funeral of massacred this morning. This evening meeting at [Foochow] Club, all residents present. The Rev. Phillips, who saw nearly all, gave his harrowing account. Dr. Gregory, who arrived at Whasang after massacre, related all he saw. Resolution proposed by Mr. Westall carried expressive of horror and indignation at the barbarous outrage and sympathy with friends of victims. Resolution proposed by Dr. Smyth carried, that moral force was no longer of use, and deprecating money compensation. Resolution to be telegraphed to respective governments.

1,000 troops have been sent to Kucheng. A gunboat is due here tomorrow.

The following telegrams also reached here on Tuesday night:—

10.10 pm.— A mass meeting here has unanimously resolved that the American and English Governments must use severe measures, and never accept dollars for lives. The resolution was introduced by missionaries. The following telegrams, kindly handed to us for publication, confirm the despatch from our correspondent at Foochow published above.

7th August, 9.35 a.m.—Resolution passed here last night at indignation meeting that no confidence would be felt at this port until England has brought murderers and responsible officials to justice, and that Missionary Societies concerned decline in this case to be satisfied with a money indemnity; severely condemning the milk-and-water policy of the Foreign Powers in China where life and property are at present unsafe.

A later telegram has the sad news that one of the wounded Stewart children is very low and not expected to live.

MR MANSFIELD'S ESCORT. THE VICEROY'S BRAVES.

Foochow, 7th August, 9.10 a.m.—Mr. Mansfield does not know yet of whom his military escort is to consist, but is awaiting news from Kucheng. The first thing the Viceroy's troops did there was to loot the late Mr. Stewart's house. I hear tonight that the Vegetarians are much stronger than was supposed. It may suit them to hand over some hirelings for massacre; otherwise the Viceroy will have to send up a stronger force. H.M.S. *Redpole* has arrived here.

The following telegram from the Rev. G B Smyth has been kindly handed to us for publication:—
Foochow, 7th August, 9 p.m.

WHAT CHINESE PROTECTION IS WORTH.

Hykes, Shanghai. A special messenger from Kutien says that the Chinese soldiers sent to Kutien City to protect Mission property plundered all valuables in Stewarts' house. The British and American Consuls should go to Kutien for a thorough investigation as here it is impossible. Delay longer and there is danger of riots elsewhere. Are the Foreign Ministers dead? Publish this. Smyth.

We are informed that Colonel Denby has telegraphed that a U.S. gunboat has been asked for to proceed to Foochow. Also that the burying of bodies within the Foochow settlement of the bodies of natives who have died from cholera had just been forbidden by the Tsungli Yamen.

MANDARIN MADE RIOTS³

To the Editor of the North China Daily News.

Sir,—In the letter of your correspondent from Ichang, which appears in today's issue, is the bare statement that the workers of the American Church Mission [Protestant Episcopal Church of USA] had been expelled from the city of Chingchou, near Shashi. The occurrence is unfortunately such a common one, and it is so impossible to obtain redress that I should not have ventured to call attention to it if it did not serve to show very clearly that the Chinese officials are the instigators of these riots.

The facts are very simple. A few weeks ago we sent two Chinese catechists to Chingchou. They rented a house and occupied it. They have had no difficulty with the neighbours or the people. The rest of the story I translate from a letter received from one of the catechists. He says:—

3 The Rev. F. R. Graves, American Protestant Episcopal Mission, Shanghai. St. John's College later became St. John's University registered in Washington, DC. It was one of the most prestigious missionary colleges in China. The old campus is now part of the East China University of Politics and Law.

We went, according to orders, to Chingchou to open a station there, but met with unexpected opposition. The magistrate (*Hsien*) twice sent men about the streets beating a gong and proclaiming, 'No one is to sell or rent any house to a foreigner or Chinese for missionary purposes; and if anyone does so his house shall be torn down or confiscated for public use; and moreover he shall be severely punished, without hope of pardon.'

When we had been living in the city some days there were rumours of trouble... *literati* and men of some importance in the city held several consultations about our presence there, and brought pressure upon the landlord to make him return the lease and the rent money, and determined that it, after four or five days, the landlord had not done so, they would pull down the house and punish him severely. In consequence the landlord was so worried that he fell sick, and his whole household was in great trouble. He came to see us himself, and besought us many times to move to some other place, saying that if we did not make haste he would suffer for it heavily. As we objected to move, on account of the expense, he sent others to beseech us, and got the middleman to come to us and beg us to move quickly, because the people and the *literati* were unwilling to have us stay; and the Taotai, prefect, and magistrate could not restrain the people, and had nothing to say but they must go, but do them no bodily injury, for that would make trouble for us mandarins."

From another letter I learn a further detail; that while our men were deliberating how to act, some one was sent several nights in succession to make an outcry before the house for a lost child, and to accuse them of being kidnapers in the employ of foreigners. Naturally, when it came to this point, they thought it best to move. This is the statement of the case, and it is as clear an instance of how an anti-foreign riot is organised as one could wish. At the beginning there is no opposition from the people, and a house is easily rented; and there must have been many others willing to rent; or there would have been no need of terrorizing them. As soon, however, as the settlement of the newcomers becomes known to the authorities, and they can decide upon a course of action, the magistrate sends men about the streets, officially proclaiming that if anyone rents a house it will be pulled down or confiscated, and the landlord punished, i.e., beaten in the *yamen* in the way they know how to beat men there. The *literati* also appear, working in full harmony with the officials; and in order to enlist the rabble the stale old trick of the kidnapped child is resorted to. We are used to all these elements in a riot, but I think there was never a clearer case from start to finish. The only thing wanting is a *secret society*—but perhaps the mandarins felt that even the credulous foreigner would not stand this excuse any longer. But the master touch of all is the caution to the crowd to stop short of violence, not in mercy to the innocent, but *to save the mandarins from getting into trouble*. For, if the rioters would only be reasonable, there is really no need whatever of killing anyone, so long as daily annoyance and the destruction of property will accomplish the end.

One word in conclusion. Why should all this trouble be made over two inoffensive men? One answer is that Chingchou is only a few miles from Shashi, and that *Shashi is to be opened as a port*. I spent five days in that busy mercantile place last May, and the city was quiet then. I have learned that as soon as the news arrived that the port was to be opened, the city was placarded with anti-foreign placards. There is a closer connection between trade and these disturbances than many persons suspect.

I am, etc. F R Graves⁴, St John's College, 7th August.

North China Herald, Supplement, (Shanghai) 9 August 1895.

Special Telegrams to the "North China Daily News."

LATEST INTELLIGENCE

Special Telegrams to the "North China Daily News."

6th August, 10.30 a.m.—Affecting funeral of massacred this morning. This evening meeting at [Foochow] Club, all residents present. The Rev. Phillips, who saw nearly all, gave his harrowing account. Dr. Gregory, who arrived at Whasang after massacre, related all he saw. Resolution proposed by Mr. Westall carried expressive of feeling of horror and indignation at the barbarous outrage and sympathy with friends of victims. Resolution proposed by Dr. Smyth carried, that moral force was no longer of use, and deprecating money compensation.

Resolutions to be telegraphed to respective governments. 1,000 troops have been sent to Kucheng. A

4 American Protestant Episcopal Church Missionary, Shanghai.

gunboat is due here tomorrow.

The following telegrams also reached here on Tuesday night:—

Foochow, 6th August, 7.45 p.m.—Secured forty-eight names of members of Vegetarian Society at Kutien. Nineteen are names of leaders, and two are believed to be names of actual murderers. The above is from reliable sources. The Chinese officials are sending vague, indefinite reports about action taken at Kutien. The Viceroy has just stated that he had no information that any arrests had been made. The officials were not represented at the funeral of the victims this morning.

Foochow 6th August, 10.10 p.m.—A mass meeting here has unanimously resolved that the American and English Governments must use severe measures, and never accept dollars for lives. The resolution was introduced by missionaries.

The following telegram, kindly handed to us for publication, confirms the dispatch from our correspondent at Foochow published above.

7th August, 9.35 a.m.—Resolution passed here last night at indignation meeting that no confidence would be felt at this port until England had brought murderers and responsible officials to justice, and that Missionary Societies concerned decline in this case to be satisfied with a money indemnity; severely condemning the milk-and-water policy of the Foreign Powers in China where life and property are at present unsafe.

A later telegram has the sad news that one of the wounded Stewart children is very low and is not expected to live.

North China Herald, Supplement, (Shanghai), August 9, 1895, p iv-v

The following telegram has been handed to us for publication:—

Verbatim Statement of Dr. Gregory, American Missionary.

At 12.30 p.m. on the 1st of August, a native Christian rushed into my study saying that some of the foreign ladies at Whasang, a mountain resort near Kucheng city, had been killed that morning and our houses burned. Fifteen minutes later a note from Mr. Phillips confirmed the report, for he said that five ladies were dead, four seriously wounded, and the Stewarts missing. I at once went into the *yamen* where hundreds of people had already gathered. The District Magistrate (Wang) said he would immediately go right up to Whasang, taking some sixty soldiers with him.

At 3 p.m. I left Kucheng city under escort of thirteen soldiers and arrived at Whasang at 8 p.m. to find that nine adults, English subjects, had been murdered and that all those alive at Whasang (nine) had been more or less severely injured, with the exception of Mr. Phillips, who had arrived at Whasang only two or three days before and was lodging a native house some distance from the English cottages.

I at once set to work to make all the injured as comfortable as possible and found Miss Codrington (English) had received one sword cut extending from the left angle of the mouth diagonally upward and downward seven inches in extent, completely dividing the lower lip and exposing the jaw bone. One cut in the crown of three inches exposed the inner table of the skull; there was a cut under the nose; under the eye a cut three inches long; on the right side of the neck two wounds, also wounds on the arms and a deep wound on the right thigh, serious.

Miss Hartford (American) received slight injury in chest, having been beaten by an assailant, while down. While the servant struggled with him she escaped to the hills and remained hidden until the affair was over. Her worst injury was shock.

Mildred Stewart, aged twelve, was wounded, her right knee joint was exposed six inches; she had two wounds on her left leg, serious.

Kathleen Stewart, eleven, slight bruises.

Berbert Stewart, six, deep wound right side of the neck, four inches; compound comminuted fracture of the skull; on back of head wound through the skull, through which the brain was exposed; wounded left side of head; wound chest, stab back. He died thirty hours after, *en route*.

Evan Stewart, three, stab left thigh, bruised but not seriously.

Baby Stewart, thirteen months, stabbed in the right eye, wounded in the face and on the head; fractured skull, several bruises, serious.

Of those killed, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss Nelly Saunders and Lena the Irish nurse were killed and burned with the house.

Miss Hettie Newcombe was speared and killed by being thrown from a precipice.

Miss Marshall's throat was cut, her head being nearly severed.

Miss Stewart's body showed no wounds; death from shock possible.

Miss Gordon had deep spear wounds on the face and neck and side of the head.

Miss Topsy Saunders' death was caused by a spear wound entering the brain, right orbit.

The missionaries were apparently massacred by members of a Secret Society known as the 'Vegetarians.' The party is estimated to have consisted of eighty men armed with spears and swords, strongly organised and under one leader. The whole affair was over in thirty minutes. Miss Codrington says they begged for life and promised property and valuables. Some assailants were inclined to yield but the leader who carried a red flag waved this and shouted to his men; 'You know your orders, kill outright!' In the evening we placed the bodies in coffins and after much effort succeeded in getting the magistrate to order the coffins to be carried to Suikow and secure chairs for the survivors. We left Whasang at 3 p.m. on the 2nd of August for Suikow, arriving at 8.20 at Suikow. The party left for Foochow at 3 p.m. on the 3rd and met a launch with the US Marshal Hixson and Messrs Wolfe and Banister, English missionaries, on board with supplies. We arrived at Foochow at 12.30 on the 4th.

North China Herald, Supplement, (Shanghai), 9 August 1895, pp vi-vii

China Association

Foochow Commission of Enquiry

Kucheng Massacre

Hwasang Massacre

THE SITUATION

In reply to their telegram to Sir Nicholas O'Connor, published in these columns on Monday morning, the China Association received yesterday from Mr. George Jamieson, British Acting Consul-General, the following dispatch:—

I have received a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister in Peking requesting me to convey through the China Association his profound sympathy with the relatives and friends of the British subjects foully murdered at Kutien.

I am also directed to inform the Association that Her Majesty's Consul at Foochow has been instructed to proceed at once under military escort to the scene of the outrage to hold an inquiry with a view to the prompt punishment of the culprits concerned, high or low, and such satisfaction as is now possible, and that an Imperial proclamation decreeing capital punishment on all the guilty will be issued forthwith.

I am to add that the Chengtu Commission inquiry will be held as soon as possible. The general scope of this inquiry will be gathered from the following extracts from the instructions addressed by H M's Minister to Acting Consul Tratman who will represent British and American interests at the inquiry. After directing Mr. Tratman to proceed to Chengtu as soon as circumstances will permit, H M's Minister continues:— Your duty there will be in conjunction with the Chinese officials mentioned and the Missionaries who will probably also be placed on the Commission to inquire in the first place into the origins of the riots and the adequacy or otherwise of the measures taken to suppress them by the officials concerned ... The findings of the Commission will not have a final character, its object being mainly to throw light on the causes of the outbreak and supply material for consideration here.

That the China Association or the Shanghai public can be content with such a reply as this is incredible. There are fatal blots in it. There is nothing to be said against the choice of Mr. Mansfield, H.M's Consul at Foochow, to go up to Whasang to make a proper enquiry there. Mr. Mansfield is an able Consul, and is not likely to be humbugged; but what is the character of his military escort. Is he to be accompanied by a rabble of coolies in uniforms, or has—as should have been done—a company of the Hong Kong Regiment been sent up to Foochow? It is suspicious that the words, 'under British military escort' are not used; but we still hope that the escort is not to be Chinese. It is well that the guilty, high or low, are to be decapitated forthwith; Mr. Mansfield will no doubt secure that some innocent Vegetarians who never lifted a hand against the foreigners are not put forward as the guilty persons. It is significant that Chinese here laugh at the idea of Vegetarians having committed this outrage. It was not doubt, they say, the work of paid rowdies told to call themselves Vegetarians.

As to the Chengtu Commission, our statement that Mr. Tratman is to be sole representative of British and American interests is confirmed. But Sir Nicholas is very careful not to say who his Chinese colleagues are to be; we know, however, that two of them are among the officials whose conduct should be enquired into. The Commission is confessedly a farce; for the findings are not to be final, but are only to supply material for consideration in Peking, and we may trust Peking to make that consideration last out until all the guilty parties have made themselves safe from pursuit.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the public meeting on Monday, the China Association despatched yesterday evening direct to Lord Salisbury the following telegram:—‘Public meeting Shanghai yesterday expressed horror indignation massacre by Chinese of English men women children Kutien. Resolved appeal direct respective governments for protection from Chinese outrages and protested inadequate manner persons guilty former outrages are being dealt with also strongly against constitution Chengtu Commission. Americans telegraph Washington. Campbell, Chairman.’

The Rev. J R Hykes, the Committee appointed at Monday’s meeting for American citizens here, also sent the following telegram to Mr. Olney, United States Secretary of State, after it has been submitted to and approved of by all the American citizens who could be collected together after yesterday’s missionary meeting:—‘Public meeting Shanghai yesterday expressed horror indignation Kucheng massacre resolved appeal direct respective governments for protection from Chinese outrages and protested against inadequate manner persons guilty former outrages have been and are being dealt with also strongly protested against constitution Chengtu Commission British cabled London.’

Thus Shanghai has done what it can for the moment. Meanwhile we read with great satisfaction the news telegraphed by Reuter that the massacre at Kucheng has aroused the deepest horror and anger throughout England. There were reports here yesterday that an American mission station on the Yuenfu river, near Foochow, had been destroyed, and that Fukien was on the brink of a rebellion, but it must be remembered that it is a common thing for officials in whose district a riot occurs to try to shift the responsibility by declaring that the country is in a state of rebellion. We want justice, only justice, because now means security for the future.

Hykes writes letter (7 Aug) to North China Herald protesting junior Brit consul to represent British AND AMERICAN interests re Chengtu. ‘The interests of American citizens must be protected by American officials.’ Hykes seems to have normally written in an inflammatory manner.

North China Herald Supplement, (Shanghai), 9 August 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE GREAT PUBLIC MEETING [Shanghai]

On Monday evening one of the largest, most representative and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in Shanghai took place in the Astor Hall to consider what action should be taken in connection with the terrible massacre in Kucheng. The meeting was convened by the China Association⁵ in the following form:—“The Committee of the China Association in response to the general feeling of sorrow and indignation felt by the community regarded the Massacre reported on Saturday, 3rd instant, hereby invites the public to attend a meeting at the Astor Hall, at 5 o’clock this afternoon, in consider what steps should be taken in the circumstances.” The seating accommodation of the fine hall was taxed to its utmost, and when the chair was taken a few minutes after five the meeting had assumed such proportions that the audience had overflowed on to the verandah running along one side of the hall, whilst at the back, under the gallery, many persons had to stand throughout the proceedings. All sections of the community were represented, including many ladies, and the unanimity of sentiment was a forcible demonstration of the intensity of the feelings aroused by this savage outrage. Some of the speeches were liberally punctuated with applause which was frequently prolonged for several moments. On the platform were Messrs. R M Campbell, C H Dudgeon, E B Skoltowe, E A Probat, W H Talbot, C Dowdell, and A Wright (of the Committee of the China Association), whilst letters of apology for inability to attend had been received from the Rev. H C Hodges and Mr. W E Wetmore.

Mr. R M Campbell, in calling the meeting to order, said—The China Association having called this meeting today it devolves upon me as Chairman of the Shanghai Branch of the Association to read the notice calling the meeting after which the meeting will be good enough to elect their own Chairman. (The notice printed above was then read.)

Mr. Alex McLeod—I beg to propose that Mr. R M Campbell be requested to take the chair at this meeting. (Applause.) As the Chairman of the Shanghai Branch of the China Association, which body has called together this assemblage, I do not think there could be a more fitting person to preside over this meeting than Mr. Campbell.

The Rev. T Richard⁵ seconded, and the resolution was carried, *nem con*.

The Chairman—Ladies and gentlemen, it is not easy in Shanghai for any but a very few to invite your attendance at such a meeting as this without the callers of the meeting appearing to place themselves in a more prominent position than they have perhaps any right or desire to occupy. I trust that I may on behalf of the China Association take it for granted that by your numerous attendance, that you approve of our actions in calling this meeting. The object with which the China Association was formed was for the purpose of furthering and protecting British interests in matters connected with China. I am sorry to say that those interests appear to me to be daily falling into grave jeopardy. There can be no question whatever that we have met today to consider a matter specially calling for swift and strong action on behalf of the British authorities, but it is because some of us, I hope all of us, believe that what threatens one foreigner in China threatens all foreigners that we have invited foreigners of all nationalities in Shanghai to attend this meeting. So that in our hour of sorrow we may have their sympathy and in our hour of need their help, as they have had ours would have them again. (Applause.) This is the third meeting of a similar nature that I have attended during the sixteen years I have lived in Shanghai. There has been ample cause given during that time for probably thirty meetings of a similar kind to be held. I say this so that those upon whom we must probably depend for success—I mean the public of America and England—may know that we are not in the habit of holding such meetings for trivial reasons. Each one of those meetings was held for the purpose of placing the extreme gravity of the situations prominently before the Ministers at Peking⁷ and begging, imploring them to do their duty. Had any proper attention been paid to these representations made from Shanghai in the first instance, I do not believe that we should have had to meet again to deplore the cause of the second meeting. Had any proper attention been paid to our representations following that, I do not believe we should have had to meet again today. As, however, the Ministers concerned allowed themselves as usual to be humbugged by the Chinese, as they in the most mean, contemptible, and culpable way allowed those acts of violence to be paid for by a few dollars, and condoned and hushed them up, we have met once more to see if we cannot do something to help ourselves and to avert in the future further frightful disasters which I am sorry, very sorry, to say appear to be principally attributable to manner in which all such matters have been dealt with in the past by the Minister concerned. For weeks, indeed months, we have been harassed by the narratives of the refugees from the riots at Chengdu. At an early after the news reached Shanghai, the China Association telegraphed to the British Minister at Peking asking for information on the subject of what was being done. A telegram was received and communicated to the Press which no doubt you all remember to the effect that “the Association and the Press were to be informed that strong measures were being taken.” What these measures were we don’t know, we were not told. At last we learn, incidentally by a telegram in the papers that a Junior Consul and an American Missionary have been appointed to represent British and American interests on the Commission of Enquiry. I have not one word to say against either of these gentlemen; it is quite possible that they may be eminently qualified by their natural abilities to be members of that commission. But I do say most emphatically that their rank and standing are two insuperable obstacles, and that neither Sir N. O’Conor nor Colonel Denby⁶ ought to have placed them in such a position. (Cheers.) It is almost incredible that they should have appointed such representatives on a joint commission of which two members at least on the Chinese side are of superior rank even to the Consul appointed, and the principal persons to be judged, as far as we know, is an ex- Viceroy. But what is quite

5 Rev. Timothy Richard was a Welsh Baptist missionary in China for over forty years. Soothill, W E, *Timothy Richard of China: seer, statesman, missionary & the most disinterested adviser the Chinese ever had*, (London, Seeley Service, 1924). Bohr, Paul Richard, *Famine in China and The Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884*, (Harvard East Asian Centre Monograph 48, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1972). See also Pfister, Lauren, (2003), ‘Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard,’ in Porter, Andrew *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Mission, 1880-1914*, (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003).

6 Sir Nicholas O’Conor, British Minister and Colonel Charles Denby, American Minister, both resident in Beijing (Peking.)

incredible is that Sir N. O'Connor and Col. Denby should have assented to the appointment on the commission of the Chengtu prefect whose hands are by no means clean in the matter.

It is just as much a lie to accuse missionaries of drugging children and concealing them in tin-lined boxes under the floor as it would be to accuse Sir N. O'Connor or Col. Denby of doing so. The only difference is that one is a Minister of God and the other a Minister of the Queen or a country. In this one case diplomacy would not permit of trouble being made; in the other probably immediate and sufficient reparation would be insisted on. How often have we heard a cry from one port or another in China? How often has the cry been disregarded? During the late war⁷ it was found quite easy to provide sufficient foreign soldiers in Peking itself to protect the Ministers of Queens, and Kings, and countries. No man grudged them the protections they no doubt needed, but they should consider that and not grudge help to others whose position is ten times more hazardous. (Applause.) I do not wish to refer in detail to the direct cause of today's meeting. The expresses which have been distributed during the day have told you that ten people have been murdered at Kucheng. I consider the persons largely responsible for these particular murders by the course of conduct they have pursued—are the successive British Ministers at Peking. I do not think that any money reparation should be accepted from the Chinese government. (Hear, hear.) I think that such should come from the British government. I think the Chinese government should be immediately forced—I use the word forced advisedly—to punish with the most extreme severity of the law those who are guilty of the murders. You will have seen that the China Association sent a telegram last night to Her Majesty's Minister at Peking. No reply thereto has yet been received. (Cries of 'Shame.') I cannot say myself that I expected a reply, but still there is also this to be said that there may not have been time to receive it. Our past experience has shown us, I think, that it is useless to expect help from our representatives in this country. A resolution will be proposed to you by my friend, Major Morrison, which I hope will meet with your unanimous approval and gain for those who are living scattered over this vast country in small and unarmed communities the help which is necessary to allow them to lead in peace their lives of self-sacrifice and well doing. (Loud applause.)

Major [G J] Morrison⁸ said—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, while I acknowledge the compliment that has been paid me in asking me to propose this resolution, I cannot help wishing that it had fallen to the lot of some one also to be chosen for this important duty. We have met here this afternoon to express our horror of the atrocities which have taken place; to express our sympathy with the survivors and the friends of the victims; but above all to ask the assistance of those in power to put a stop to this lamentable state of affairs. The special case which has brought us here today is the murder of ten people under circumstances of such a terrible character that I admit I am utterly unable in a public meeting to do more than refer to them. The circumstances, however, will no doubt be made public by the Press, and what I have to do is to explain our position in the matter and set forth the reasons why we, the inhabitants of Shanghai, should hold a public meeting and express our views on what has taken place in a neighbouring province. And first I would like to clear the ground of saying what we do not want to insist on. The rights of missionaries to travel and settle in the interior are matters with which I consider this meeting has no concern. I venture to state that if a meeting had been called to consider that question, the audience would not have included one tenth of the persons here present. The meeting today includes those of all shades of opinion. There are those who while approving of the principles of the missionary body consider that the results of their labours hardly compensate for the expenditure of time and trouble, and there are those who do not approve of missionary work at all and who sincerely think that the world would be much the better if the labours of the members of the missionary societies were diverted into another channel. And the only class wanting, I believe, to be those who invest and possibly believe the silly stories one occasionally sees to the effect that the whole missionary community are a set of imposters. We residents out here who meet members of that body and number them among our friends can feel nothing but shame when we see such opinions published, even if we feel that we cannot give missionary enterprises our hearty support. We are not here therefore to support the missionary enterprise, we are not here to insist on their right to travel and settle, we are here to insist on their right to be treated as human beings. (Hear, hear.) I am not sure that an Englishman has any right to

7 Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895.

8 Built the first, unsuccessful and dismantled, railway in China—the Shanghai-Woosung Railway was opened as far as Kiangwan (4-1/2 miles). It was bought by the Chinese authorities and torn up. URL india/tales/t-sinica.htm

settle in France or the United States. I am not sure that a foreigner has any right to settle in England, and such rights as any of us have to settle in China are only those which are granted to us by treaty; but the ordinary rights of every man to be treated as a fellow creature are independent of treaties or of international law, and I say without fear of contradiction that it is the duty of every civilised government to see that its subjects or citizens receive what is their due to this extent. When Palmerston, that Minister who possessed all the faults of which Englishmen are proud, rendered famous those well known words *civis Romanus sum* he never intended to be answerable for the justice of the slain of Don Pacifico; he only wished to maintain, and for the time did maintain, the proposition that an Englishman was entitled to justice, and that the English government would see that he got it and this is what we members of all nationalities now ask for our fellow-countrymen, be they missionaries or merchants. Even a mistake or worse than a mistake on the part of an individual does not rob him of that right. A stowaway has no right on board a ship, but the captain has no right to throw him over-board or starve him to death, and would probably be hanged for murder if he did either. And now let it be clearly understood that I do not compare the position of missionaries in the interior with the position of a stowaway on a ship. I only wish to emphasise the point that this meeting as a meeting has nothing to do with their rights and had better not insist on them. We might make some mistake and it might be pointed out that as our premises were incorrect our conclusions could not be accepted. I wish to go on the point simply that in this particular case the missionaries were at Kucheng and were entitled to be treated as human creatures, and following on that I wish to maintain that if they were not so treated the wrongdoers ought to be called to account by the governments of the victims. There is no doubt a desire on the part of governments to keep clear of troubles in distant lands. They do not want to be bothered with them, and up to a certain point one can understand this. As a rule out here we are Conservatives, but I fancy very few of us would like to be cross-examined about the questions that excite the greatest interest and even make and break governments in Europe. The point on which the last government went out may have appealed to me personally, for the impossibility of getting ships to bring ammunition here while a state of war existed has often caused me much anxiety. But as a rule I fear local matters assume a more important position than Imperial matters, and we must not be surprised if the same thing occurs at home and if the government let a Minister know that the less they hear from him the better. Then there is the feeling which is general, though happily not universal at home, that the colonist or settler is a man absolutely oblivious to any rights except his own. That if he gets into trouble with the inhabitants of the country where he resides it is almost certainly his own fault. If those at home could really recognise the fact that we are very like themselves, that we are the same flesh and blood and have the same feelings of justice and fair dealing as our brothers whom we have left in the old country, they would hearken much more willingly to our appeals for help. And if ever there was a case where we have a right to make an appeal this is one. The European governments jointly or singly are able to say to the Chinese government: "You shall respect the lives and property of our nationals. If any of our nationals commit any crime, or it appears to you that they have acted in a way not justified by treaty, you can bring them before the proper courts and they will be dealt with, but if in defiance of treaties, in defiance of all inter-national laws, in defiance of the ordinary dictates of humanity you rob and murder them or allow them to be robbed or murdered then will be force punish you as we see fit." (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt an immense difference between a mere local outbreak and an attack connived at, if not encouraged by, the authorities. Riots and local attacks accompanied by deeds of the most hideous brutality are unfortunately not unknown in European countries, and in this particular instance we do not as yet know all the details, but this much I may say, that we are all convinced that the Sungpu murders could have been prevented by the officials, and we are likewise convinced that there is a very strong *prima facie* case against the Viceroy of Szechuan with regard to the Chengtu outrages. And that even if this last awful massacre is the work of a riotous mob, the fact of former outrages having gone unpunished must have gone a long way towards inducing them to commit this one. (Applause.) The Chengtu attack has not yet been enquired into and it is our duty to do all that in us lies to bring before our governments the necessity of having that matter enquired into by a commission worthy of respect. There is no country in this world where rank counts for as much as in China. In England a man's office gives him standing independent of his rank, but we all of us know that even in the Mixed Court here, where the magistrate holds a respectable but not very exalted rank, he cannot enforce his decisions against men are possessors of higher button the one he wears. For any government therefore to take part in a commission consisting of Chinese mandarins of rank inferior to the

man whose conduct is to be enquired into is to make itself a laughing stock to the Chinese and to court failure, while to countenance the appointment on the commission of a person who to all appearances ought to be one of the accused is a proceeding which

I can find no words to characterise, as it lies entirely outside my limited understanding. It is not to our officials in China that we have to appeal. We speak in a general way of the manner in which our interests are neglected, but as soon as we meet and make friends with one after another we become convinced that the fault is not theirs. It is to the highest authorities in Europe that we must appeal and we know that as a rule they are honourable, capable men, to whatever party they belong, but their time and attention are naturally taken up with home affairs and if we are to do any good we must through our friends at home and in any other way that is open to us try to impress upon the proper authorities that the time has come when the question of the safety of European residents in China cannot be shelved any longer. It is for them to judge whether China is to be treated as a civilised country or not, but this affects only their methods of dealing, not the fact that they must act. Inhuman atrocities have been committed. If they have been committed by an enraged populace then let the perpetrators be punished and let such measures be taken as appear necessary to prevent such occurrences in future. If on the other hand on investigation it be discovered, as I believe it will be, that the higher officials, and the central government are to blame, then on them let the punishment fall and let it be heavy. This is the only port in China where the number of residents is sufficient to enable them to do anything for their own defence and they do what they can because the surrounding population have become accustomed to us and we live in comparative security we must not forget our brethren in the interior and we must do what we can to make it clear to our governments at home that they are not free from blame in allowing former outrages to pass unpunished, and I feel certain when they realise the true state of affairs they will take such action as will render a recurrence of such a tragedy as that of Kucheng impossible. I beg to propose:—That it is resolved to appeal directly to our respective governments for protection against outrages by Chinese; and against the apparently inadequate manner in which the persons guilty of former outrages have been and are being dealt with.

Mr. RW Little⁹—Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, when on Thursday last we felt the southwest wind blowing over Shanghai there was probably none of us who could have had any idea that it came loaded with the death cries of English women and girls who had come out to China to spend their lives for the sake of the women and children of China; that it came loaded with the smoke of the burning cottages on the hillside in Fuhkien, in the ruins of which were lying the charred remains of a clergyman, his wife, their servant and another lady. We can hardly, I suppose, so soon realise what that tragedy was that was consummated on Thursday last at Whasang. There are few of us, perhaps, who have yet realised that such a tragedy as this has not been heard of in China since 1870, We had had outrages and murders from time to time—the murder of two men at Wusueh and of two men at Sungpu—but not such a wholesale murder as this, consummated by savages who are not savages by nature, for there is none of us who has been very long in China, as I have, but does not realise that Chinamen are not savages by nature, but have been made savages by the doctrines preached to them, the preaching of which is assented to by the Chinese officials. (Applause.) In the Blue Books of China, in the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*¹⁰, the work of the great Admiral of the Yangtse, Peng Yu-lin, in the Hunan publications, the people are advised to assault and mutilate the missionaries, their wives, the female missionaries and children, and these books have never been properly condemned or withdrawn by the Chinese government. They are disseminated over China to this day. This day the Chinaman is told that he is doing a good action if he kill a missionary or mutilate a missionary woman or girl. It is on this ground that we say the officials are responsible for these outrages. (Hear, hear.) We do not know as a matter of fact that the officials had anything to do with this massacre at Kucheng, but we do know that they allow books and placards and pamphlets to be disseminated among the people the people urging the Chinese to do these atrocious deeds. What has been done to the author of the infamous Hunan publications, Chou Han?¹¹ Has he ever been punished? **No.** We held a meeting in Shanghai on that subject and sent up the minutes of our meeting to our Ministers in Peking. We sent them home to also to the home governments, but to this moment nothing has been done to make things better in Hunan, and so these things go forth, and some too

9 Introduced electric lighting to Shanghai.

10 Part Eleven: Anti-Christian Propaganda: A Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines.

11 Part Ten: Anti-Christian & Anti-Foreign Cartoons from Hunan Province.

have gone forth with the imprimatur of the government upon them. There are two subjects before us today, the Chengtu and Kucheng outrages. The Kucheng affair overshadows, as it must do, the Chengtu affair, but even if the Kucheng massacre had not occurred we should have been perfectly justified in holding this meeting to protest against the utter farce which the Chengtu enquiry has been made, with the assent of our Ministers in Peking. (Loud cheers.) It seems to us impossible and incredible that our Ministers—men of intelligence who know what China is—could have assented to such a farce being made of what should be a solemn and complete enquiry. If they do not know, we know that the full punishment of the officials concerned in any one of these outrages would prevent any outrages of this nature for ten, fifteen or twenty years. They have an example before them. There is not a province in China in which a foreigner's life is safe, or the foreigner is so well treated as in Yunnan, because a proper commission was sent to inquire into the death of Margary¹², and although the result of that commission was not what it might have been, still the memory of it remains, and a foreigner may travel from one end of Yunnan to the other and meet with nothing but respect and kindness. Ministers in Peking have that precedent before them and yet they put themselves off, with such a miserable farce as this enquiry at Chengdu. You do not expect me on an afternoon like this to detain you long. The subject has gone home to the hearts of you all so that it is unnecessary for me to detain you, nor need I say much about this tragedy of Kucheng. One thing, however, I may say. We have been told in some of the telegrams that this tragedy of Kucheng was instigated by a secret society or sect known as the Vegetarians. Now it is a very remarkable thing that the Vegetarians in the long experience of missionaries in China, I believe I may say have never been anti-Christian, having recognised more or less that the missionaries were teaching some-thing of the doctrines they themselves taught, and though have been, as Mr. Michie mentions in his *Missionaries in China*¹³ some cases of indiscretion, I believe that the missionaries have recognised that the Vegetarians were doing in their own way a good work amongst the people. It is perfectly incredible that a sect like the Vegetarians, who object to eat flesh because they object to taking life, could have been the murderers at Kucheng. (Hear, hear.) But it is quite possible that some other influence was at work and that the men who enacted this tragedy were told to call themselves members of the Vegetarian sect. That, however, we shall probably know by and by. The object of this meeting is to pass this resolution that we should appeal direct to our home governments. Our experiences of our Ministers at Peking surely warrants us in passing this resolution unanimously, nor indeed is it necessary to than anything more should be said on it. It is obvious we must go straight to headquarters if we want the lives of our brothers in the interior to be made as safe as ours are here. If we get nothing by going to headquarters we have done what we can, but I feel confident the voice of this large and general meeting will be heard at home, and I hope the result will be that some signal punishment will be inflicted not merely on the poor men who may have actually done the murders but upon the officials who winked at their commission, for as the Chinese proverb says, "the people move as the mandarin winks." It is to be hoped that these last outrages will be so visited on the officials who are responsible for them that no such outrage will be possible in China for many years. I have very much pleasure in seconding this resolution. (Applause.)

The Rev. Timothy Richard—Mr. Chairman, I have been asked to support this resolution. I wish specially to support the first part of it. After spending 25 years of my life in endeavouring to promote the best interests of the Chinese I think it would be difficult to make out a case that I am actuated by anti-Chinese bias. I believe the Chinese possess qualities which are not behind those of any other nation in the world. The people are good, many of the mandarins are friendly too, but a large number seem to be incorrigibly bad. But it is my duty today in the face of such terrible outrages against my fellow countrymen to take a glance at those great riots of China which have come within the sphere of my observation, and instead of having to record increasing friendship and gratitude of the Chinese for the gigantic charities of Christendom in China, I have to record continued hostilities and guilt of the Chinese authorities. First we have the great Tientsin Massacre of 1870 when 20 Europeans (mostly Sisters of Charity) were brutally

12 A junior member of the British diplomatic service in China. Margary undertook an exploratory journey across Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan in 1874 finishing his journey at Bhamo in Northern Burma. He was murdered at Tengyue, on the return journey. The "Margary Affair" was resolved in 1876 by the Chefoo Convention which gave Britain an indemnity of 700,000 taels of silver, and new treaty ports. There was a memorial on the Bund at Shanghai for many years.

13 Michie, Alexander, *Missionaries in China*, (London, E Stanford 1891), Michie was a journalist who was not sympathetic to missionary work in China.

murdered by the collusion of the Taotai, the Prefect and the Magistrate there. In 1875 we had the murder of Mr. Margary by the Mandarin Li Sieh-tai. In 1883-4 we had a general onslaught on 18 chapels, and on the homes of native Christians in the province of Canton. That was in consequence of a joint inflammatory proclamation put out by the Viceroy and Admiral. In 1886 there were riots both in Kiangsi and Szechuan. The Roman Catholic Lo resisting an armed mob which surrounded his house was put to death by the Chinese authorities. From 1886 to 1890 there were chronic troubles in Shantung against missionaries of all nationalities. A German Consul who was sent to investigate the matter discovered the instigator of these to be a member of the Tsungli Yamen itself! In 1891 we were startled by a series of riots all along the Yangtse valley from Shanghai to Ichang and foreign ports in other provinces had to arm themselves as they were in constant dread of riots. Those were afterwards discovered to be in consequence of a widespread propaganda having its headquarters in Hunan and the leader was Choa Han, none other than a mandarin of the rank of Taotai.¹⁴ The man who would not allow the friends of the murdered victims to be present at the mock trial of the murderers of the two Swedes was a great Viceroy. About the same time we learnt of a murderous attack on Dr. Greig in Manchuria by Chinese soldiers. In 1894 we had to record the foul murder of Mr. Wylie in Manchuria by Manchu soldiers. There have been riots also in Honan, in Hupeh, in Shansi, in Kansu, in Kueichow, as well as attempts made to stir up riots in Shansi by proclamations in my possession, issued by the Chinese magistrates. In May this year we had the riots in Szechuan in which twenty stations were wrecked and over a hundred foreigners were kept in daily suspense about their own personal safety for weeks. Instead of using the soldiers close at hand to check the riots the mandarins issued proclamations to urge them on. Before the riots in Szechuan were over news reached us of an outbreak in June against native Christians near Wenchow in Chekiang. Before definite news of what is going to be done in settlement of the Szechuan troubles reaches us we are stunned by the crowning atrocity of all recent riots of ten of our fellow countrymen brutally murdered, and all but one are ladies and children. From this outline it is evident that with one exception—of Kuangsi province, the riots have been universal throughout every province in the Empire. Another thing that should be carefully noticed is this, that all the great riots up to the Fukien one have been instigated directly or indirectly by the Chinese authorities themselves. Whether they have had any share in the Fukien massacre or not will be made clear on investigation. The object of presenting you with such a long list of riots is to show as briefly as possible what our position has been during the last 35 years and how the Chinese protect our lives and property. We have appealed again and again to our own authorities and they, treating the Chinese as honest in their intentions, in turn appeal to them to carry out the treaty contract of protection, with what result our gathering here today shows. Since the Chinese will not or cannot protect us, it matters not which, there is but one course left us and that is we henceforth cease from appealing to the Chinese and appeal directly to our own governments for protection. We meet here, today, that you may decide whether you wish to trust to Chinese protection any longer. Believing that we are one in the opinion that their acts amply prove that they cannot be trusted, I therefore most heartily support the resolution. (Applause.)

The Rev. J R Hykes¹⁵—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, as a citizen of the Great Republic, I am glad that this meeting has been called by the very influential China Association. It is eminently proper that we should meet here this afternoon to express our sorrow and sense of bereavement at the loss of our friends, and our horror and indignation at the brutal manner in which they have come to their untimely end. It is also fitting that we should tender our deep sympathy to those who have been so suddenly and sadly bereaved, to the Society under which they laboured, as well as to the more personal relatives and friends of the martyred missionaries. It is right that we should let the survivors know that all Shanghai, irrespective of class, creed, or nationality, is stirred with profound indignation at the thought of the awful experiences through which they have been called to pass. And it is our duty to demand of our governments that such immediate action shall be taken as will at once and forever put an end to these abominable atrocities. Feelings of patriotism and humanity alike will unite in impelling us to express ourselves in no uncertain sound. Our fellow countrymen have been hounded like wild beasts from their burning houses. A noble man and his devoted wife have been burned alive in their peaceful home. Refined and delicate ladies have been brutally massacred in cold blood, and god only knows what horrors preceded their murder. Beautiful children have been done to death

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

15 Agent of the American Bible Society in Shanghai.

with a savage cruelty which would put a savage to the blush. Innocent babes have been mutilated. The very refinement of fiendish cruelty was reached in the gouging out of a baby's eyes. Can any man, who is worthy to be called a man, keep silent? The account of eyewitnesses of these horrible butcheries curdles one's blood, and arouses righteous hatred against the perpetrators of such nameless barbarities. The dead are beyond the reach of our poor sympathy and help, but we have a plain duty to the living. It is incumbent upon us to bring such influence to bear upon our respective governments as shall secure to our countrymen in the far off and lonely stations, that protection which treaties and humanity alike guarantee them. These men and women are the pioneers of civilisation and commerce, as well as of our common faith, and as such they are entitled to our sympathy and help. They must be protected. These inhuman and unprovoked butcheries must cease. This massacre is a terrible comment upon the masterly inactivity with which the Szechuan riots have been treated. It is precisely what anyone acquainted with China could have predicted. The officially instigated rabble can burn and plunder with impunity; why not go a step further, and massacre the hated foreigners? Two months have passed since the Szechuan riots, and what has been done? A Chinese commission has been organised and its personnel accepted by our representatives. It consists of the Provincial Judge of Szechuan; the notorious Wang, Provincial Treasurer, one of the authors of the proclamation which stirred up the feeling which culminated in this riot, and the other is the Prefect of Chengtu, from whose fertile brain was evolved in the boy-in-the-box incident, and who further distinguished himself by formally trying two of the missionaries while imprisoned in his yamen. The very men who planned and instigated and encouraged the riots appointed Imperial High Commissioners to investigate and report upon them! Who ever heard of a criminal sitting as judge and jury at his own trial? Would it not be well to have the chief of the Vegetarian Society, or the leader of the Kolao Hui¹⁶ head the commission to enquire into the Kucheng outrages? The joint British and American commission, as proposed, consists of Consul Tratman, an English missionary, and the Rev. Spencer Lewis as the American member. Consul Tratman is a very able man, and he has won the respect and admiration of all nationalities by the active interest he has taken in the Szechuan affair. Perhaps no Consul could be selected who would better satisfy those directly interested. Mr. Lewis is an able man, and a brilliant scholar. No American would object to him as a member of the commission, but I submit that we want officers of the highest rank duly appointed and commissioned by the home governments. They must be men of sufficient rank to sit in judgement upon the notorious Viceroy of Szechuan. (Applause.) Our governments do not seem to realise the gravity of the situation. I do not so much blame our Ministers, for their hands are tied by official instructions from home. They have no discretionary power. But it seems to me that a man who is worthy to be the representative of a great nation ought to be willing in times of emergency to take responsibilities which he could so well justify to his government. (Renewed applause.) And on the other hand, a government is not justified in sending out a man in whom it cannot trust to act and to act promptly in times like these. I four representatives do not have the authority they should get it, and get it at once. It is said that the information to hand that the massacre at Kucheng was planned and carried out by the Vegetarian Society, an alleged branch of the Kolao Hui. This ruse of the guilty parties to shift the responsibility upon a secret society is too apparent. It is utterly absurd. The very foundation principles of the Vegetarian Societies forbid the taking of life its lowest forms. I believe that it is the work of a secret society, having its headquarters in the yamens of some of the highest officials in the land, and for its object the ultimate expulsion of all foreigners from China. Nothing is plainer than that these anti-foreign demonstrations are officially planned and instigated. They will not pass until the guilty parties, no matter what their rank or position, are brought to swift and adequate punishment. The time has passed for temporising with Peking. We should go direct to the provinces and exact reparations there. These massacres must not be settled with the usual "blood money." Those directly interested in these outrages would be the last to touch the unclean thing, but we do want justice and the prompt and sufficient punishment of the perpetrators of these atrocities. We have a right to demand this. And we also want the suppression of the vile literature which issues from that cess-pool of the Empire, Hunan; and we are determined that no native newspaper in

16 Ko Lao Hui (Gelaohui) or 'Elder Brother Society' was a Chinese secret society believed to have been involved in the Szechuan (Sichuan) riots against foreign missions. The U.S. Consul in Foochow. Colonel J. Courtney Hixson, claimed in his report on the Huasang Massacre that the Vegetarians were in some way connected to the Gelaohui. Some academic researchers have expressed doubt about the existence of the Gelaohui but Europeans in 19th China certainly believed it existed.

this Settlement shall publish such scandalous accounts of the Kucheng massacre as they did of the Chengtu riots, even if they are contributed to its columns by officials. (Applause.) I speak from a knowledge gained by a residence of more than 21 years in the interior of China, when I say that I believe the widespread riots of 1891 which cost two valuable lives at Wusueh, the Sungpu massacre, the Szechuan riots, and now this horrible butchery, were carried out with the connivance of the officials. They should be made to answer for it. Eyewitnesses tell that at the most there were eighty persons directly engaged in the massacre and they approached stealthily like fiends in the still hours before daybreak and murdered the still sleeping and unsuspecting ladies and children. There was no warning. It was entirely unprovoked. I should like first to see this meeting wire its sympathy to the survivors. Second, to cable to the British Foreign Office and the Secretary of State at Washington urging the immediate appointment of a proper commission, which shall impress upon China the gravity and heinousness of her crimes. The time is opportune for putting an end of these outrages. If our governments do not act promptly and vigorously, we shall find that this is only one incident in a terrible chapter of horrors. (Loud applause.)

The Chairman—I think, perhaps, we have heard all we shall hear on the subject we have met to consider. I do not think there is any more that can be said. Major Morrison has explained in a very logical argument that there is no means whatever of escaping the position in which the Chinese government and the home governments, or the Ministers in Peking, find themselves. There is no escape from this position. Mr. Little has emphasised that and shown us that the Chinese officials have been systematically engaged in these outrages. Mr. Richard in a very interesting *resume* of all the riots that have been going on for the last twenty years or more, has shown the same thing, and Mr. Hykes in his most interesting remarks has told us things which have evidently gone to the hearts of all of you, the principle of which is perhaps that if we have not got the Ministers here who can do the work one of our principal objects should be to get them as soon as we can. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Hykes made one reference to the formation of a committee to wire to America. Well, you will see that the resolution which was proposed by Major Morrison and seconded by Mr. Little was to the effect that it is “resolved to appeal directly to our respective governments for protection from outrage by Chinese, and against the apparently inadequate manner in which the persons guilty of former outrages have been, and are being dealt with.” In respect to that I would like to say that if the people present at this meeting would like to appoint anybody to act upon the committee to carry out the terms of this resolution, the China Association will be happy to confer with anybody of any nationality who may be appointed by this meeting to carry out the terms of the resolution, upon which I will now ask you to vote. The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously, amidst considerable cheering. The Chairman repeated his invitation to the representative of any other nationality to join the committee.

The Rev. Dr. C F Reid¹⁷ suggested that the resolution should be left at some convenient place in Shanghai, say a Bank, for signature by other nationalities.

The Chairman—I think before you go away if you will allow me I would suggest that the American citizens who wish to associate themselves with the British in this matter should appoint the Rev. Mr. Hykes to represent them. (Hear, hear.) The name of the Rev. J R Hykes was put to the meeting and unanimously agreed to.

The proceedings then concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The Age, (Melbourne), 9 August 1895.

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS]

THE KU CHENG MASSACRE ENGLANDS DEMANDS TO BE ENFORCED ORDERS TO NAVAL COMMANDERS

LONDON, 7TH AUGUST, 12.45 P.M.—The British naval commanders in Chinese waters have received instructions from the Admiralty to promptly enforce the demands of the Imperial Government on the Chinese authorities with respect to the investigation of the Ku Cheng massacres.

THE LEADERS OF THE ASSASSINS IDENTIFICATION BY THE AMERICAN CONSUL

17 American Methodist Episcopal Church (South), a pioneer of Methodism in Korea.
<http://www.kmcweb.or.kr/eng/history/his.htm>.

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST, 11.35 P.M.—The United States Consul at Foo Chow reports that he has obtained the names of the leaders of the band of assassins who perpetrated the horrible massacre at the Ku Cheng mission station, and that they will probably be identified.

**A VEGETARIAN SOCIETY PLOT
DESTRUCTION OF ALL MISSION STATIONS THREATENED**

LONDON, 8TH AUGUST, 12.30 P.M.—Telegrams from Shanghai state that it has been discovered that the secret society of Vegetarians, a band whose members perpetrated the Ku Cheng missionary massacres, has appointed 12,000 men to accomplish the destruction of all the missionary stations in the Kwan Tung province, and eject all missionaries from that part of China.

**PLUNDERING BY CHINESE “PROTECTORS”
LONDON, 7TH AUGUST**

It is reported from Ku Cheng that the Chinese soldiers who were sent, after the missionaries had been murdered and the mission station had been partially burned down, to protect the mission, devoted their attention to looting what property had been left ...

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS]
**THE KU CHENG MASSACRE
OUTRAGE NEAR CANTON**

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MISSIONS DESTROYED

LONDON, 8TH AUGUST, 12.20 P.M.—News has been received from Hong Kong of another outbreak of anti-missionary violence near Canton.

A mob of fanatical Chinese have attacked and destroyed the British and the American mission stations at Fatshan, but the missionaries managed to escape with their lives.

**A BRITISH CONSUL SENT TO KU CHENG
ESCORT OF 200 SIKH SEPOYS**

LONDON, 8TH AUGUST, 12.50 P.M.—It is announced that a force of 200 Sikh Sepoys, now stationed at the British colony of Hong Kong, have been detailed for duty as a special escort to Mr. Mansfield, a British consul, to Ku Cheng, to investigate the recent massacre of missionaries.

FURTHER DISTURBANCES

LONDON, 8TH AUGUST, 2 P.M.—Still further outbreaks against Christian missions are reported from China. The disturbances have extended from Ku Cheng, in the province of Fokien, to Chingchu, a seaport in the same province, and to Hupeh, Taiping, and Anhai to the northwest. The Chinese officials are stated to be organizing the attacks.

HOW MISS GORDON WAS MURDERED

LONDON, 9TH AUGUST.—The murder of Miss Annie Gordon, one of the Australian lady missionaries slain the Ku Cheng massacre, was witnessed by Miss Mabel Hartford, one of the few who escaped. Miss Hartford states, according to a telegram from Shanghai, that Miss Gordon's throat was cut, her head being nearly severed from her body.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 9 August 1895.

THE MARTYRS WORK AMONG LEPERS

One of the most important branches of the work of the murdered missionaries was among the lepers, to whom every attention was paid. By means of help supplied by the society for the evangelisation of lepers an asylum capable of holding 48 was erected at Ku-Cheng during the year 1893. In a church close at hand a congregation of between 30 and 40 lepers, of whom 29 were baptized, met for worship. An old man, himself a leper, whose ministrations among these poor sufferers were referred to in the annual report of the church Missionary Society for 1891-2, died during last year.

The Brisbane Courier,(Queensland), 9 August 1895.

**MASSACRES IN CHINA.
COMPLICITY OF THE MANDARINS.
PERSECUTION OF NATIVE CHRISTIANS.
BRITISH GUNBOAT FOR FOCHOW.**

The American Consul at Foochow has obtained evidence that the Chinese Mandarins were aware that an attack was intended on the missionaries at Kucheng some days before the massacre took place.

The Chinese native Christians are now being subjected to terrible persecutions, and foreigners are being insulted.

The British gunboat *Linnet* has been ordered to Foochow.

The Mercury, (Hobart), 9 August 1895.

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THE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES CHINESE SOLDIERS PLUNDERING CHRISTIANS. MANDARINS IMPLICATED.

LONDON, AUGUST 7.—The Chinese soldiers sent to protect the Christian Mission at Kucheng have broken into and plundered the dwellings of the Europeans, and have fraternized with the Vegetarians in continuance of lawless deeds.

LATER

The American Consul at Foochow has obtained evidence that the Mandarins were aware that the attack on the Missionaries at Kucheng was intended days before it took place.

The Chinese native Christians have of late been subjected to terrible persecutions, and foreigners insulted.

The *Linnet*, twin-screw gun vessel, Commander John E. Bearcroft, has been ordered to Foochow.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MISSIONARIES. INTERVIEW WITH MISS NISBET, OF NEW TOWN.

A representative of *The Mercury* has a conversation yesterday with Miss Ada Nisbet, eldest daughter of the Rev. J. Nisbet, Congregational Minister, New Town, with respect to the shocking martyrdom of Christian missionaries at Kucheng, in China, Miss Nisbet having recently returned from that mission.

“I knew them all,” said the young lady, with much feeling, “I only returned in December last, and had been working in this mission field at Kucheng for five years. Oh, it’s a terrible thing! I wonder what will be done! The work must be carried on, and I would like to go back. I think there is more need for workers there now than ever.”

“Why, you would share the same fate, probably, if you went back now!” “Well, it may be the Lord’s will, but His work must be carried on. Our lives have been preserved there many times.”

“Had you any experience of these hostile people?” “Oh, yes. Our dear brothers and sisters in the work there—all charming people—have been the victims of a hostile faction who go under the name of ‘Vegetarians,’ and consist of the lowest of the Chinese classes. They had before this threatened Christians on several occasions. Whilst I was there placards were put up again and again by these people, announcing that on a certain day they would come and pull the houses of the missionaries down or burn them. What has been published of these ‘Vegetarians’ is quite true, namely, that they form a semi-secret society in China, and draw into their ranks men who band themselves together against the authorities, and are joined by all the worthless creatures in the province. Kucheng is 120 miles from Foochow, on the River Min. It is one of the smallest provinces on the southern side, and away from the districts disturbed by the war. The city is of considerable size, and there are a great many native Christians in it. The young ladies went out on itinerant work, and I cannot understand what brought them (seven of them) all together into the city. They ought to have been away on the hills. Very likely it was that they feared further trouble and came down to the city, thinking to be safer there. In April the missionaries had to leave there for Foo-chow on account of the disturbances made by the same rabble, and had only recently returned. This hostility, however, must not be regarded as voicing the feelings of the people in China as a whole towards the Christians and Christian missionaries. We were able to go about as we liked, and the people were all very kind to us, excepting these agitating rebels. The seven young ladies who have suffered martyrdom in such a cruel manner included two from Melbourne, Miss Nellie Saunders and Miss Lizzie (Topsy) Saunders, who lived with their mother at Normandy-row, Kew. The mother and daughters offered to go to the mission field in China at their own expense. Then the crash with the banks came, and they lost a lot of money, so they had to abandon their

intentions of bearing the expense of going. But that did not discourage them in their desire, and the two girls, two years ago, after undergoing a preliminary training in Melbourne Hospital as nurses, departed for China, being sent out by the Church of England Missionary Society, and leaving their mother in Melbourne. Their ages were 24 and 22. Miss Mary Gordon was from Ipswich, and the others were from England (sic). The Rev. R. W. Stewart was the head of the Mission work at Kucheng, and many Tasmanian people will have a vivid recollection of his having been here about three years ago with the Rev. [Mr.] Eugene Stock, the editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society. They addressed meetings at Hobart, Launceston, and elsewhere, pleading for funds and workers, and met with a hearty reception. They all worked together most harmoniously and affectionately.

“Do you think young Barnett [Rev. C.H. Parsons] is safe?” “Oh, yes, I think so. He is labouring in a different province, and belongs to the Chinese Inland Mission. We have not heard from him very lately.

The *Argus* states that the Kucheng Mission dates back to 1850, when the Rev. W. Welton and R. D. Jackson, arrived at Foochow. It has had an interesting history since, and in 1889 it was able to show the following statistics. Number of native clergy, 8; Native lay agents, 209; Native Christians 7,582 (4,097 baptised and 3,555 catechumens); Native communicants, 2,142; Baptisms during the year, 49; 79 schools; 1,052 scholars; 236 voluntary exhorters; European ordained missionaries, 11; European lay missionaries, 2; European female teachers, 3. The province is one of the smallest of the 18 into which China is divided, but it contains a population of about twenty millions. The River Min, on which the capital stands, divides it into two unequal parts. The smaller half to the north is the district mainly occupied by the Church Missionary Society. On the south side of the Min the American Episcopal Methodists and Congregationalists are at work, and further south, around Amoy, there are stations belonging to other English and American societies. [See text of letter above at *The Weekly Times*, \(Melbourne\), 10 August 1895.](#)

The Advertiser, Adelaide, South Australia, 9 August 1895..

CHINESE FEROCITY. THE KUCHANG ATROCITIES. A SECRET SOCIETY'S PLOT. SOLDIERS DECLINE TO INTERFERE. WOMEN HORRIBLY TORTURED.

London, AUGUST 5, 9.15 p.m. Further details in respect to the horrible massacres of missionaries at Kuchang show that the residents of the station received absolutely no warning that an attack was contemplated, and that they were completely taken by surprise when the rioters rushed into the building. It is believed that the men who made the attack consisted of 50 members of a secret society, and this particular tragedy is thought to be part of a general plan to exterminate all the European missionaries in the district.

The Rev. H. S. Phillips, one of the clergymen of the Church Missionary Society, escaped from the building and from a place of hiding watched the whole of the terrible proceeding, but he was utterly powerless and dare not interfere lest he should share the fate of his companions. He endeavored to procure assistance, but was unable to do so, and he asserts that a force of 1,000 Chinese soldiers who were camped near the scene of the massacre looked on at the outrage without making any attempt to stop them.¹⁸

The assaults on the women captured by the rioters, and the destruction of the missions buildings, with the residences of the Chinese Christians, continued for hours. Some of the women were horribly tortured by the fiends into whose power they had fallen before death intervened to put an end to their sufferings.¹⁹

TWO LADIES HACKED TO PIECES.

LONDON, August 5, 9.20 p.m. While the scene of brutality and carnage was being enacted Miss Harriet Elinor Saunders and Miss Elizabeth Maud Saunders, who left Melbourne in 1893 for the mission field,

18 Comparison of this paragraph with other reports reveals imaginative rewriting. Phillips was not in the houses occupied by the other British missionaries but rented a room in a Chinese house some distance away. There were no Chinese soldiers anywhere at Huashan at the time of the massacre.

19 The entire episode was complete in half an hour, i.e. 7 a.m. to 7.30 a.m./ There were no Chinese Christian residences at Huashan. The women were not tortured as stated in the paragraph.

managed to escape from their captors, but before they could reach a place of safety they were overtaken by the murders and literally hacked to pieces.²⁰

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**THE CAUSE OF THE ATROCITIES.
VIEWS OF LADY MISSIONARIES.**

Miss Alardyce and Miss Goode, daughters of Mr. Matthew Goode, having but recently returned from mission stations in China, a representative of *The Advertiser* visited these ladies on Tuesday evening to ascertain whether they could give any particulars about the missionaries who were murdered. Both expressed their horror at the fearful massacre, but said they were not acquainted with any of the victims. They were stationed at Peking, which was some 1,200 miles from Kuchang, and they had only heard of the work without personally knowing the missionaries at the latter place. Riots, they said, were of yearly occurrence in the south, but since the massacre of 1870 [Tientsin] when 16 missionaries were killed, there had never been anything like the present outrage. The southerners were very excitable and treacherous natives, and very different from the northerners, who were much more phlegmatic and less given to violence. As soon as they read the first news of the massacre they felt sure that the secret societies were at the bottom of it. There were a large number of these societies in China, and although the majority were political there were many religious ones. The Church Missionary Society had been doing a very good work in the province of Fuh-Kien, and it was perhaps for this very reason that the feeling against them was so strong. A viceroy was at the head of either one or two provinces, and under him were the mandarins. These latter, and in fact sometimes the former, connived at the massacres, and there was no chance of their using their influence to check the onward progress of outbursts of violence. The only way to stop it was for the Powers to bring force to bear on the authorities in the capital, and even then it was possible that delay would occur, as the Chinese always put off taking stringent measures to prevent the massacre of missionaries as long as possible. Mrs. Alardyce and Miss Goode were both much alarmed at hearing the rioting had traveled as far as Han-Kow, and in fact imagined that a mistake must have occurred in the transit of the cable message. Their reason for saying this was that news traveled very slowly in China, and they did not think the account of the massacre could have spread so quickly over the 400 miles between there and Kuchang. If it were true, however, it would be a very serious matter, as they feared the rioting would then probably become almost general.

Miss Saunders and Miss Lizzie Saunders, of Victoria, who were murdered by the Chinese at Kuchang, are, we are informed, cousins of Mrs. J. H. Lindon, wife of the principal of Queen's School, North Adelaide.

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REV. H. S. PHILLIPS.²¹

The Rev. H.S. Phillips, of the Church Missionary Society, with his wife, had a narrow escape in 1893, when owing to a sudden rising at Kein Yang his house was attacked by rioters and destroyed by fire. Mr. Phillips was doused with manure by some of the men, who also heaped a cartload of filth up against his door, smashed the windows, and assaulted his servants. He left Kein Yang in consequence of the troubles that had arisen in the district, and did not return until the spring of 1893.

The Western Mail (Perth, Western Australia), 9 August 1895.

London, August 3. A report has been received from Shanghai stating that a great massacre of Christians has taken place at Kucheng.

London, August 4. It is now stated that four British lady missionaries and one American missionary have been murdered by the Chinese at Kucheng. No details have come to hand.

London, August 4. A despatch received to day from Shanghai states that besides the missionaries who were massacred by an infuriated Chinese mob at Kucheng, many others, including several children, were more or less seriously wounded.

20 Completely untrue as other reports indicate.

21 The Kien-Yang mission and related events involving Phillips and other CMS missionaries is discussed in McClelland, Rev. T. (ed), *For Christ in Fukien: The Story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society*, (London, Church Missionary Society, 1904, Ch Xi, pp. 112-123.) See also Hickling, Anne, *The Response of Protestant Missionaries to the Anti-Missionary Disturbances in China, 1891-1907*. MA, University of Hong Kong, January 1968.

London, August 5. Further particulars of the Kucheng massacre have come to hand. It is stated that the mob set fire to the residence of Dr. Stewart, burning the doctor and one child to death. Seven lady missionaries were butchered with spears and swords.

Miss Codrington was seriously wounded and several children were badly injured.

The atrocities perpetrated are described as being terrible. The mandarins, it is stated, incited the populace to commit the outrage.

A despatch received from Shanghai this evening states that the perpetrators of the massacre of missionaries at Kucheng were the members of a newly formed Chinese Vegetarian Society. This organisation, it is said, is composed of the rabble of the city.

Further details of the outrages show that the most revolting cruelties were practised upon the defenceless lady missionaries before they were finally murdered. All the victims belonged to the Church of England Missionary Society. In addition to Dr. Stewart and one of his children of tender years, who were burned to death, Misses Marshall (2), Gordon, Bessie Newcombe, Flora Stewart, Harriet Elinor Saunders and Elizabeth Maud Saunders were butchered with knives and spears. The last two mentioned ladies left Melbourne for China during the year 1893.

In consequence of the massacre at Kucheng, the Europeans at Shanghai have appealed to the Powers for protection against outrage. They have also protested against what they describe as the inadequate punishment meted out to Chinese on account of crimes of the stamp of that at Kucheng.

London, August 6. It transpires that eighty Chinese belonging, to the Kucheng Vegetarian Society are implicated in the massacre.

The ladies begged to have their lives saved, offering to surrender to the ruffians who attacked them all their valuables, but the leader of the miscreants shouted "kill!" and the work of slaughter at once began.

Miss Harriet Elinor (Nellie) Saunders, it seems, was burned to death in Dr. Stewart's house, the dwelling having been set on fire and none of those occupying it allowed to escape. Miss Newcombe was speared and then thrown over a deep precipice, her body becoming terribly mangled in the fall. The Misses Marshall had their throats cut. Miss Gordon, an Australian, and Miss Elisabeth Maud (Topsy) Saunders died from spear wounds in their heads. Four of Dr. Stewart's children were impaled and were severely injured.

Although there were a thousand Chinese soldiers at Kucheng, no one of these was despatched to the scene of the murders until the massacre had been completed.

When the rabble had finished their fiendish work they decamped with what-ever plunder they had been able to secure.

The Chinese Government has ordered the local authorities to punish the offenders.

The New Zealand Herald, (Auckland), Wednesday, August 9, 1895.

KUCHENG MASSACRE ACTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT INSTRUCTIONS TO ADMIRAL FREMANTLE ORDERS TO ENFORCE THE DEMAND FOR REDRESS LOOTING BY CHINESE SOLDIERS.

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LONDON, August 7.—The British naval commander on the Chinese station has received orders to enforce the demand for redress and satisfaction for the Kucheng massacre.

SHANGHAI, August 7.—Chinese soldiers who were sent to protect the missionaries in Kucheng broke into the houses and plundered what the Vegetarians had left.

The American Consul at Foochow has obtained evidence that the mandarins were aware that an attack was intended days before it took place.

Native Christians are being subjected to terrible persecutions.

Foreigners are insulted everywhere.

H.M.S. Linnet has been ordered to Foochow.

THE VEGETARIANS

SYDNEY, August 8.—Dr On Lee, in an interview, said the Vegetarians were fearless and quiet, but desperate as a class. He did not think the rising had any political significance, but was all on account of

religion. The Vegetarians, like the priests, have great faith in their religion. They live only for it. They leave father and mother and go away by themselves on the hills and live in seclusion like bandits. They do not care what you do with them, but do not like to see people turning away from their religion. They do not like foreigners, and the more Chinamen become Christians the more they hate the missionaries, and the more determined they are to get rid of them. They kill Chinamen who become Christians just the same as they do missionaries, and are always killing them off quietly. The Government is not to blame, but the Mandarins. They supported the Vegetarians because they did not like to see the people change their religion. The Vegetarian Society is one the Government dare not interfere with.

Quong Tart, the well-known Chinese merchant, said he believed the Government is as friendly disposed towards the missionaries as ever. Their non-interference was attributable to the fact that the war has left the troops in a scattered state, and the immediate subjugation of the Vegetarians was impossible. He confirms the religious character of this society.

Miss Newcombe, one of the Kucheng victims, was niece of a New Zealand schoolteacher of the same name

MEMORIAL SERVICES

SYDNEY, August 8.—The Anglican churches throughout this colony hold memorial services on Tuesday for the massacred missionaries.

WELLINGTON, Thursday.—The Rev. George McNicoll, of the China Inland Mission, who has spent 15 years in mission work in China, and witnessed the Itchang riots some years ago, is at present in Wellington. He is acquainted with Kucheng and the neighbourhood, and is of opinion that the Society of Vegetarians which is responsible for the outrage is an isolated one. He suggested as a remedy for the treatment to which the missionaries had been subjected the stoppage of opium traffic and to send more missionary labourers into the country to preach the Gospel, although it would probably mean sacrifice of further lives. The Heathen Chinese were taught from childhood to hate foreigners, and it was for missionaries to teach them better. In the past five years 481 male and 672 female missionaries had been sent into the country, and had done an enormous amount of Christianising work.

The Bay of Plenty Times, (New Zealand), 9 August 1895.

CABLE NEWS

HOME AND FOREIGN

The Massacre of Missionaries.

LONDON, August 7.—The Imperial Government has telegraphed to China demanding that measures be taken to ensure the safety of British subjects.

They insist also on a full enquiry and the punishment of the murderers.

Five ladies belonging to the Zenana mission at Kucheng have arrived safely in Foochow.

The massacre was carefully planned and executed in a most diabolical manner while the victims were asleep.

The American mission at Fungfuh has been burned and other stations between Kucheng and Foochow are threatened.

Yielding to Lord Salisbury's peremptory demand the Chinese have appointed a military escort to enable the British consul at Foochow to proceed to Kucheng and inquire into the massacre.

The Chinese Government has ordered the murderers to be executed and strict protection to be accorded to missionaries.

SHANGHAI, August 7.—The Chinese soldiers sent to protect the missionaries at Kucheng broke into houses and plundered what the others had left.

It is reported that rebellion has broken out in the province of Fuhkien and the position of Foochow is critical; the natives are openly hostile. Gun boats have been dispatched to the city.

LONDON, August 8.—The British naval commander on the Chinese station has received orders to enforce the demands for redress and satisfaction for the Kucheng massacre.

SHANGHAI, August 8.—The American Consul at Shanghai has obtained evidence that the Mandarins were aware that an attack was intended days before it took place.

Native Christians are being subjected to terrible persecutions. Foreigners are insulted everywhere. H.M.S. Linnet has been ordered to Foochow.

The Glasgow Herald, (Scotland), 9 August 1895.

**THE KU-CHENG MASSACRES.
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.**

Cardross, August 6, 1895.

SIR.—Some remarks have appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on the recent terrible massacre of missionaries in China, suggesting the lack of wisdom in sending female missionaries to the interior of that land. Probably the writer of those remarks was not aware that **the most terrible of all the riots in China occurred not in the interior, but in a treaty port in Tientsin, 1870, when a French Consul and all the Catholic Sisters of Mercy were brutally cut into pieces.** I think about 14 ladies was the number, as nearly as I remember, besides others. Some of us also well remember the riot in Shanghai, when a number of the European residents were severely battered. The riots in Canton also in our time, not far back, when the settlement was set fire to, and European ladies and children had to escape as best they might through the mob. More recently the riot at Fu-chow, a treaty port, and the riot at Ichang, where Europeans were pitched into the river, said to be by orders of military officials, and the British Consul's life in danger. The dangers and riots which have passed over Hankow, a large and important treaty port, are also to be added to the others. With such facts before us, one might almost think that the interior of China is not more dangerous than the ports.

In the year 1877, about a year after the murder of Mr. Margery, I passed through Hunan and some other provinces, and saw the wisdom of the British Government who compelled the Chinese to publish in every city, town and village of the empire the names of the officials who had been punished and what for. During over twenty years residence in China, I know of nothing that has quieted our residence in the interior as the action taken in that case. Probably, also, the fact that the terms of settlement were required to be published in the *Pekin Gazette*, and thus made known throughout the Empire. Unless this be done the mass of the people know nothing about it. It is quite common for the Chinese within twenty miles of a treaty port still to speak of the last wars with England and France as the English *rebellion* and French *rebellion*, which they (the Chinese) put down; and now I hear they speak of the Japanese rebellion and their own victories everywhere, until Japan *sued for peace*. I am, etc. J.

The Leeds Mercury, (England), 9 August 1895.

The Liverpool Mercury, (England), 9 August 1895.

**THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.
MORE MISSIONS ATTACKED.
HOSPITALS DEMOLISHED.
A CRITICAL SITUATION.**

**INTERVIEW WITH THE BRITISH CONSUL AT FOOCHOW.
(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)**

Hong-Kong, Thursday.—The British and American Missions at Fatshan, near Canton, were attacked yesterday by a large and infuriated mob.

The hospitals were completely demolished.

Some of the missionaries fled to Shameen, but others remained at Fatshan.

A Chinese gunboat has been sent to quell the riot.

It is reported here that the anti-foreign agitators intend that all the missions in the Kwant-Tung province shall soon be destroyed, and the missionaries driven into the treaty ports.

The so-called Vegetarians are now twelve thousand strong. They are well armed and organized, and are able to withstand the Chinese troops.

INDIGNATION MEETING AT HONG KONG

A great meeting, summoned in consequence of the massacre at Kucheng, was held here yesterday, when the deep feeling which the outrage has aroused in Hong-Kong was strongly manifested. All classes of the colony were present, and resolutions were passed by acclamation.

The first resolution declared the sympathy and condolence of the meeting with the survivors of the

massacre, and with the relatives of the victims.

The second resolution expressed horror and indignation at the crime, anger at the supposed connivance of the Chinese Government, and disgust at what it described as the apathy and indifference of the British Government in failing to recognise the gravity of the situation, and in not taking adequate measures for the protection of its subjects and for the punishment of the murderers of the missionaries generally.

It was further declared that money compensation for such outrages was wholly inadequate, and that the present state of affairs demanded swift and stern action.

A representative of Reuter's Agency had an interview with Mr. T. Waters, who has resided in China for over thirty years, and who has recently arrived in England, having held the post of British Consul at Foochow until July of last year. Regarding the massacre, Mr. Waters said—

I am quite certain that the massacres at Kucheng are not due to the people themselves. I knew both Mr. and Mrs. Stewart intimately. They were always exceptionally friendly with the Chinese, and had established the most cordial relations with them years ago. When Mr. Stewart left Kucheng, on his return home the last time, he received quite an ovation from the natives. Putting all these circumstances together, it is, therefore, clear that the people are not responsible for the horrible murders of which we have just heard. In my opinion, the outrages are partly due to the demonstration caused by the Japanese victories, and by the absolute collapse of the Chinese Government. During my thirty years' experience of China, I never heard of the Tsai-Li, or Vegetarians, in Fuhkien. The movement existed in the north. It was very strong in Tientsin and Peking, but, as far as we knew, was non-political. It has probably become political in the hands of the Mandarins. Nearly every secret society in China tends to become political, because the Mandarins are down on them. The Tsai-li or Vegetarians, as I knew them were peaceful, praiseworthy, and well-conducted people. They never drank or smoked, and were in fact something like a Band of Hope in England. They were allowed to marry, and there was no priesthood. In fact a member of the Tsai-li was always regarded as a most moral and well-conducted person. They are very anti-foreign. They pride themselves on their power of self-control and I remember once visiting one of their assembly halls in Tientsin, when I found the people sitting on benches and trying to practice self-control by holding their breath for long intervals. Apparently the movement has spread to the south. True, they were at one time connected with politics, at the time of the rising in Mongolia, against the Christians and the Peking Government some years ago, when they were said to be the instigators of the rebellion. That was the only occasion that they had been mixed up with such affairs. These massacres which we deplore to-day were probably caused by dissatisfaction with the local authorities and the Central Government. Hence foreigners were murdered to bring obloquy upon the local authorities and the Government. Probably that was the principal reason of the massacres. I could understand some missionaries being attacked, but, as I said before, it is a mystery to me why Mr. Stewart should have been attacked, and it is quite clear that in the first place the murderers were strangers to the town, and their object as an indirect one.

Regarding the scene of the outrages and the possibility of protecting the foreigners, Mr. Waters said:

Kucheng is a walled city two days' river journey from Foochow. Whasang is a small health resort a short distance away. It is not possible to send a gunboat up the river, when to Foochow no steamers can go beyond the pagoda anchorage, although perhaps a boat of very light draught might get up to Foochow. There is means of protecting missionaries in the interior except by making the Chinese Government directly responsible for their safety. The present state of excitement is very like that which prevailed during the Tientsin massacres, except that these outrages are directly due to political excitement. But it must be born in mind that there are hundreds of missionaries in China, and attacks upon them are very rare. What the American Consul at Foochow did by going up along to Kucheng and holding an immediate inquiry must be productive of good results. But is futile to despatch a body of Chinese soldiers as an escort to any Consul. It only leads to further outrages, as we have already seen. Moreover, by doing so, we are playing into the hands of the Mandarins, whose one object is to show that the people are unfriendly, and the ruling classes have difficulty in keeping them in order. Whereas every one in China knows that it is the people who are friendly, and the literate who are the reverse. The riots at Fatshan occasion no surprise, as it has ever been a turbulent and strongly anti-foreign district. The first thing to do is to find out the real cause of these murders, and if they are due

to an anti-foreign movement, the stronger and more united the measures taken by the foreign representatives the better. But we must not stop at strong protests. We must see that the promises made are carried out. One of the best and easiest things to do is to insist on the proclamation of an Imperial Edict, ordering condign punishment for any outrage on foreigners or native Christians, and to have the edict promulgated through the Consuls, and posted outside the various churches and chapels in the interior. This was very effective at the time of the Yangtse, and will be now, as the people have the greatest reverence for anything coming from the Emperor. Foochow is easily defended by sending up Blue-jackets from the pagoda anchorage, but Kucheng cannot be so defended. With regard to the Canton province, gunboats can go up the river to Canton if the Chinese will allow them, but not otherwise, as the river is strongly barred. They could not, however, proceed beyond Canton.

New York, Thursday.—The “World” publishes a statement made to its Foochow correspondent by Dr. Gregory, an American missionary, who was at Kucheng, near Hwa-sang, when the massacre at the latter place occurred. Dr. Gregory says— [See *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, \(Brooklyn, New York\), 8 Aug 1895 \(above\) for the text of Dr. Gregory’s statement...](#)

The Press Association says—It was officially ascertained last evening that neither the Foreign Office nor the Colonial Office has received news in confirmation of the report from Hong-Kong that the Chinese mobs had demolished the hospitals and committed other excesses in the Canton district of China. In the case of the Colonial Office, it was regarded as so certain that Sir William Robinson would have telegraphed any serious outrage brought under his notice, that it was not considered necessary to cable, inquiring as to the accuracy or otherwise of the report. Up to late yesterday, the Wesleyan Missionary Society’s London officials had received at their offices in Bishopgate-street no information whatever as to the alleged excesses, although it appears that it is this society’s hospital at Fatshan which has been attacked and destroyed. The telegram speaks of the “hospitals.” But so far as the society’s officials are aware, there is only one at Fatshan, and that is under the charge of Dr. Charles Wenyo, who is Chairman of the Canton district, and general superintendent. In the same district is the society’s North River Hakka Mission, under the charge of Dr. Roderick Macdonald, and there is a hospital attached to the mission, so that the use of the plural noun, “hospitals” may thus be explained. The absence of any direct news from China is regarded as a hopeful sign. The Chinese Minister, who has been absent in Paris, made a prolonged call at the Foreign Office this afternoon.

The Duke of Devonshire, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain returned to town yesterday afternoon, at the conclusion of their visit to the Queen at Osborne. At four o’clock a committee of the Cabinet met Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, and though no official information was obtainable as to the matters which called them together, it is believed that the question of the outrages on the missionaries in China held a prominent place in the Ministerial deliberations, and that the subject will be again reviewed at the full Cabinet meeting to be held to-morrow.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society desires it to be known that there are two societies concerned in the field of disturbance, and though they work together in mutual consultation, they are quite distinct in organisation. The four ladies—Miss H. Newcombe, Miss Marshall, Miss Gordon, and Miss F. Stewart—were all missionaries of the Zenana Society, as also Miss Rodd, whom the papers mention to-day. Miss Codrington is also one of the Zenana missionaries. The Rev. R. W. Stewart and Mrs. Stewart belonged to the Church Missionary Society, and the other ladies (the two Miss Saunders), also Mr. Stewart, acted as corresponding secretary to both societies.

Reuter’s Agency learns that the British and American mission stations at Fatshan belong to the Wesleyan Missionary Society and to the Methodist Episcopal Church of America respectively. Fatshan is one of the most important and successful medical missions in China, and is the third most important station in the Canton district. The Wesleyan station and mission is under the superintendence of Dr. Charles Wenyon, who has only just returned to his post, after a perilous journey overland, in the course of which it will be remembered, he was arrested in Armenia as a spy/ According the latest advises Dr. Wenyon was the only European missionary in the English station at Fatshan. The hospital, which is charge of Dr. Wenyon and a staff of native doctors, is a large and important institution, over 8,000 cases being dealt with in the course of a year. Fatshan was attacked a few years ago, and a missionary was then killed.

[Reports omitted from the China Inland Mission and the London Missionary Society.](#)

MISS HARTFORD'S STATEMENT.

(SPECIAL TELEGRAM.)

New York, Thursday.—The “World” Foochow correspondent telegraphs that the Chinese soldiers who were sent to Kucheng to protect the property of the foreign residents there have looted the Rev. Mr. Stewart’s residence. He also states that the mob have looted the American mission chapel at Inghok, a place fifty miles from Foochow, and that if prompt action is not taken there will be imminent danger of serious riots in other districts. No American gunboat has yet arrived at Foochow, and the situation is becoming more and more critical. An official who was on his way there from Kucheng was killed yesterday, and public anxiety is increasing. In the absence of protection for American citizens, the failure on the part of the American Government to provide protection is being commented upon in very strong terms. All the evidence forthcoming points to the fact that the massacre was planned a week beforehand, and the Consuls have in their possession the names of the leaders and many others of those who took part in the outrages. It appears that on the 24th July 200 soldiers were despatched from Foochow to put a stop to the murderous attacks of the Vegetarians upon the Chinese. The Vegetarians thought it was the missionaries who had been the means of bringing about this intervention, and they therefore decided to kill them. They immediately began to gather in force and to march through the villages en route for a general rendezvous, publicly declaring their intention to destroy the churches and kill all Christians. The local officials were aware of all this, but took no steps to protect the foreigners. The night before the massacre the pastor of Kucheng city learnt that the Vegetarians intended to kill the Christians on the following day, and wrote a letter warning Mr. Stewart of the impending danger, but he unfortunately delayed sending it until daylight, and the messenger arrived half an hour too late. Dr. Gregory, who was in the city at the time, had no notice of the impending danger, and none of the foreigners had any suspicion of the contemplated massacre.

Miss Mabel C. Hartford, the only American in Hwa-Sang at the time of the massacre, has made and signed the following statement”— [See *North China Herald Supplement*, \(Shanghai\), August 9, p v.](#)

The Manchester Times, (England), 9 August 1895.

The appalling news to hand from China will go home to the hearts of Englishmen with a thrill of horror greater than any excited by the descriptions of carnage which made up so large a part of the history the late campaign against the invading Japanese. Our sense of revulsion bears no proportion to the mere amount of brute violence inflicted, or to the consequent suffering endured. The war was regarded by most of those who watched it from afar as a drama filled with an unexpected train of eventualities. It excited an almost scientific interest—an interest for the engineer, the geographer, the historian, above all for the anthropologist; and the interest of the distant spectator was always greater than his feelings of sympathy with the conquered, or of compassion for the victims. Thus it is that people who could with indifference of the destruction of a thousand lives in an encounter between the two opposing forces, still suffer a keen moral shock when they learn that some ten English men and English women have succumbed to the treachery and fanaticism of the Chinese among whom they lived. Be a man ever so nearly destitute of the sentiment of patriotism, yet, in spite of himself, he must sympathise with one, even a stranger, of his own race, upon whom a dastardly outrage has been committed. The tie of kinship, even the most remote, is a powerful appeal to sentiment. In the present instance, the horror of the affair is aggravated by the fact that the majority of the victims were women, and in the first report of such an atrocity, the sense of chivalry, born and nurtured in the West, hears an indignant call to arms. The sufferers of Whasang were non-combatives in the extremest sense. They were the occupants of the mission station. Their only hostility to their surroundings was shown in the war they waged against ignorance and superstition, and that conflict was carried on with the only weapons that can be of avail in such a case—the weapons of patient teaching and gradual conciliation. Missionaries in China have always recognized that they lived under conditions of only partial security. Strictly speaking, the danger to which such workers are exposed is not that of being surrounded by a semi-civilised people. It is rather that of isolation among a vast population having in the foundations of their nature many of the characteristics of the savage. Some or all of these may at any time come to the surface through the extremely thin veneer of civility which covers them. Yet one could hardly convert to the purposes of the case the proverb that is often applied to the Slav. In order to awaken the Tartar element in the Chinaman, it is not necessary to scratch him. It is always there, and, without waiting to be called forth by

any external irritation, will from time to time break out spontaneously.

It has been said since the lamentable occurrence at the Whasang Sanatorium, that missionaries should not be exposed to positions far distant from the European influence that centres in the treaty ports, and practically out of reach of friendly shelter, should emergency arise. The expression of such sentiments at such a time is as natural as it is inconsistent. In view of the heart-chilling sacrifice of English womanhood that has been entailed, it may seem to many that any course would have been better than exposure to the risk of such a terrible catastrophe. But that is not the spirit by which missionary societies have theretofore been actuated. Had it been so there would now be few, if any, proselytes to Christianity, either in Africa or in the Southern Seas. The missionary has in numberless instances gone among hostile and even cannibal races, well knowing the risks he ran, and the home society, perhaps even better informed than he as to the dangers to be courted, have thought it a righteous act to God-speed his departure. The missionary, in his capacity as a scout or advance guard of the Church militant, has gloried in the thought of possible hardship and peril, and this will ever be the case so long as mission work is imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice and earnest labour. To recall all workers who stand at posts of danger, would be more than a retrograde step. It would be little less than the hauling down of the colours altogether. At the same time it must not be inferred that the home society, the British Government, or Christendom at large are justified in neglecting one single precautionary measure as a safeguard of the lives of those who prosecute the work of mission stations. Our duties as a professedly Christian people are in this respect manifold, and it is perhaps because the tasks of this nature which we have set ourselves are so very numerous that some of them are apt to receive but scant attention, and to either lapse from neglect or be performed in only a slipshod manner. Such events as that reported from the outstation near Ku-Cheng come as sharp reminders of our negligence, and though they come too late to allow of any preventive, or even remedial, measures being taken, they may none the less strike home as reproofs to our negligence, and waken a sense of the necessity of greater vigilance in future.

Although Europeans are not free to roam over China at their pleasure, and although they may relinquish the active protection of the European consulates, as soon as they exceed the treaty limits of the ports where Western commerce has set foot, yet there exists an understanding, referred to in more than one treaty between this country and China, to the effect that pioneer, whether missionaries or otherwise, who may pursue their callings peacefully in places remote from British protection, shall still be guarded from molestation. This is a duty expressly imposed upon the native local population. But having imposed it we are not justified in sitting idly down. We must remember that we have no guarantee for its fulfilment except the promise of a friendly Government, but a Government not too closely in touch with its subsidiary agents acting in provinces remote from Peking. We must not forget that hatred of the foreigner is a sentiment deep-rooted in the Celestial breast. It has been so for centuries, and a paper agreement that it shall not be injuriously effective is by itself little better than worthless. If the sentiment were confined to the lower orders of the people, and if these were subject to the discipline of firm government, administered by those of higher station, the case would be different. All Government posts in China have from time immemorial been bestowed as marks of distinction in reward for literary merit. The governing class, by instinct conservative to a degree of which the word as used here conveys no adequate idea, are conservatives in self-interest also. They are not blind to the fact that the spread of Western notions must modify the idea that a knowledge of letters is a qualification for rulership. They themselves are living examples of the rottenness of the theory, for, taken as a class, they are corrupt from top to bottom. They gain promotion by bribery, and they repay themselves by extortion, and even plunder. They know that the possession of a remunerative sinecure in one of these "good things" which would go with the first sweep of the sickle of reform, and they naturally view with no kindly eye the advent of Western strangers among them. Indeed, they have every motive for looking the other way when signs of hostility are manifested among the people. That they have done so is a charge, and not perhaps the least, that may be brought against them. But we have ourselves been guilty of a sin of omission, in that, while we have had plenty of evidence that this was so, we have not insisted at the Court of Peking that the outlying provincial Governments should be kept alive to a sense of their responsibilities. That active measures will now be taken goes, of course, without saying.²² Nor shall we be satisfied with the extremely polite and regretful apologies which have on previous occasions been offered, and offered most

22 An enduring questions about anti-foreign riots in 19th century China is the unstable relationship between the Peking authorities and the provincial administrations.

likely in all sincerity. We shall insist on firmer administration of the law protecting defenceless Europeans. In this lies the remedy rather than in any vindictive punishment of those guilty of the massacre. That these shall be brought to justice is naturally one of our imperative demands, but among a nation whose daily thoughts are steeped in fatalism we must not suppose that the example of the decapitation even of scores of them would act as a really powerful deterrent to those who might contemplate outrage in future. The real security of the law-abiding foreigner in China will have to rest upon the conviction, which must be brought home to governors of provinces, that they are personally answerable to Peking for breaches of duty in this matter as in any other, and that no excuse for anti-European demonstrations of any kind, which could possibly have been prevented, will serve to screen them from swift punishment and degradation.

Western Mail, (Cardiff, Wales), 9 August 1895.

WALES DAY BY DAY.

Mrs. Stewart, the lady missionary who has fallen a prey to Chinese barbarity in Whasang, whilst living in this country was a frequent visitor to the Welsh coast, and at Barmouth her memory is held in very great respect.

The Pall Mall Gazette, (London), 9 August 1895.

THE NATIVE RISING IN CHINA.

MRS. STEWART'S LAST LETTER.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE MASSACRE.

The Rev. T. W. Pearce, the senior missionary of the London Missionary Society, has sent the following telegram to the head office in London:—"Amoy wires all well; Canton quiet."

A letter dated Ku-Cheng, June 6, from the late Mrs. Stewart to the hon. Secretary of the Ladies Auxiliary, Dublin University, is published in the *Dublin Express*. She says:

China is opening up in a most wonderful way, and the people seem more and more ready to listen to the Gospel message. We think it wonderful, looking back to the time when we first came to China nineteen years ago. Then there was much opposition and prejudice against foreigners, so that even at the Treaty ports it was difficult to get girls or women to come to be taught, and we had no missionaries residing inland. Now there are six missionaries and their families who all live at some distance from the Treaty ports, and a good number of unmarried ladies also carrying on work among the women in districts that have only been opened a short time. Of course the ladies work consists chiefly in visiting the women in their homes, and going from village to village seeking in every way to impress upon the women the importance of the message they have come to give them. In other districts where the work is more established as in this district of Ku-Cheng, for instance, of which my husband has charge, the work is more varied. As the prejudices of the people are broken down they become willing to allow their children to be taught, and we have here a girls' school with over fifty girls as boarders; also a boys' school which holds about twenty. The women also need teaching as much as the children, and we have now got a house for a women's school, in which we can have twenty women at a time. But perhaps one of these great, dark regions is the teaching of the children in the little village day schools, and we now have fifty-six in my husband's district along, and we believe God is using them much not only for the children but for their parents and friends too. My husband has just come back from a trip round part of the district, where he has been examining some of the schools, and he was delighted with all he saw and heard. Some of the villages and towns he visited had no other Christian teacher, and the children and their parents had all been heathen before the school was opened. Now the moment he appeared it was a signal for a crowd to collect. The schoolroom and every corner within hearing range was filled with the most attentive audience, some even climbing to the loft overhead and peering down through holes that gave an opportunity of seeing and hearing.

Continued in the *Newcastle Weekly Courant, (England), 17 August 1895.*

... The children almost without exception, answered beautifully, and had a good knowledge of all the leading truths of Christianity. The friends and relatives standing by listened with the deepest interest, and we feel sure that what they hear in this way makes a far deeper impression on them than listening to ordinary teaching. Then we have often heard during the year of cases where the boys and girls aught

their friends at home some of the verses and hymns they learned in school, and at last led them to come to the Christian services and give up their idols.

One other method we are finding very helpful just now I must mention, that is 'station classes' for women. By station classes we mean some central place where a class is opened for three months for women. Several have been tried already in this district, and with marked success, the women learning quite enough in the three months to make them intelligent Christians, and best of all, those who have taught them believe that many have experienced real change of heart, and are now true followers of the Lord Jesus. We have had good news of many of these women after their return to their homes. When some of the lady missionaries visited their villages they were doing as good work as Biblewomen, and teaching their friends and neighbours what they had learned in the station class. God is truly blessing the work, and has set wide open the door in China; but how can I give you any idea of the terrible need of workers? Each lady in this district (and it is supposed to be well supplied) has a district all to herself of about 400 square miles, and these densely populated towns and villages close together.

The north-west of the province is in even greater need, for there are only a few ladies working in a region which includes seven whole counties, so you see there is plenty of room for all the reinforcements the T.C.D. Auxiliary can send to the Fuh-Kien Province.

The Leeds Mercury, (England), 9 August 1895 and The Liverpool Mercury, (England), 9 August 1895. include a statement of Mr. T. Waters, a former British Consul at Foochow.

HOW THE VEGETARIANS HAVE PROGRESSED.

Dr. B. van Sommeren Taylor²³, who was for many years missionary in the districts where the recent massacre occurred, among other interesting information gives some particulars of the Vegetarians in a letter published by the *Daily Telegraph*. Speaking of the wealthy Chinese always being able to buy a decision in a court of law and that to resist the officials required strength and courage and organization, he says: but slowly a new force has been developing. A certain secret society was organized, one tenet of which was that they should eat neither meat or opium, and, therefore, they have been described as "Vegetarians," though it must be borne in mind that there are numerous Vegetarians in China who do not belong to the secret society. Proceeding slowly, yet resolutely, they discovered that their actions were not opposed or repressed. They moved from one bold action to another. The leaders were well known, gloried in their position, and defied arrest by the authorities. Still, nothing was done: no soldiers were sent to capture them. By degrees they realized that the officials were afraid of them—that they, not the officials, were the true rulers. The war with Japan was just what they wanted, for the official mind was thereby engaged elsewhere. At last news came that Foochow might be attacked, and they seized the opportunity to plan an attack upon the official at Ju-Cheng city. It was found out in time, and the city gates were closed but to their joy they found nothing further was done beyond replacing the mandarin. No soldiers were sent against them, and they knew well enough that many of the troops were really members of their society. Peace, however, was arranged, and they naturally concluded that now the officials might attack them. For a time they lay quiet, but as it now appears occupied themselves in planning a stroke against a game higher than their own officials. Knowing perfectly well the power that lies behind the Englishman, they saw that to attack him would be a bold stroke of policy. They knew the policy that has so often been pursued of simply paying so much money, and reckoned that in all probability they would never be punished. The plan was risky, but worth trying. They have tried and have succeeded, and at this present moment, emboldened by their impunity, are openly defying the authorities. The way they are to be met is by orders from Peking, for which they care nothing, and by an inquiry, for which they care less. Their names are known and have long been known, and an inquiry will suit their plans excellently, as it will give them time to spread the ramifications of their society, and to organize. Secret societies elsewhere, hearing that at Foochow nothing had been done to arrest the guilty men, have taken courage, with results shown at Fatshan, and unless energetic measures are adopted, and that quickly, England will have to face the complication of consequences of a character disastrous to the lives and interests of her citizens in China. ***This report also appeared in The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, (England), 10 August 1895.***

23 Dr. Taylor's remarks appear to be based on the letters of Robert Stewart published by the CMS in England and on general newspaper reports. He had no personal knowledge of events at Huashan. In another article, he referred to the secret society as the Ko Kao Hui (Gelaohui).

The Daily Mail and Empire, (Toronto, Canada), 9 August 1895

THE MASSACRE.

Details of the Murder of the Missionaries.

CRUEL CHINESE FANATICISM.

Neither Youth, Nor Age, Nor Sex Evoked Pity.

MORE OUTBREAKS ANTICIPATED.

Great Britain Urged to Take a Firm Stand With the Eastern Barbarians.

London, Aug. 8.—All the papers in the morning will have editorials urging the necessity of energetic action in China to protect Europeans. The Times will say:—“We are far from desiring to insist upon a policy of armed coercion. Probably a steady policy of holding the Pekin Gov A newspaper representative has had an interview with Mr. W. W. Rockhill, third assistant secretary of state of the United States, who was one of the delegates to the recent international geographical congress and who returns to New York on Saturday next. Referring to the massacres in China Mr. Rockhill said he thought it was a great mistaken for the missionaries to have returned so soon to the outlying stations after the conclusion of the war [Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895] especially as they had been warned of the danger of so doing. Mr. Rockhill could not say anything about what the United States and British governments might be expected to do under the circumstances, but he expressed himself as being certain that the diplomatic representatives of the different countries interested would make a common cause of such cases, as they did when the Swedish missionaries were murdered at Sang-Pu.

Continuing, Mr. Rockhill said he thought the vegetarians must be the north China society known as the Tsaili, who are not so much vegetarians as abstainers and non-smokers. They are neither a political nor an anti-foreign society and, according to Mr. Rockhill, a number of the servants of the United States ministry at Pekin are members of it.

DIPLOMATIC INTERVIEW.

The Chinese Minister had a protracted interview with the Marquis of Salisbury today.

MORE FANATICAL OUTBREAKS.

A despatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Shanghai says that further and reliable news of an alarming nature has been received there. It is stated that there have been fanatical outbreaks against the Christians at Ching-Chow, a seaport of the Province of Fo-Kien, and at Hupeh, Taiping, and An-Hui. These outbreaks, it is added, are not merely the work of the Vegetarians, but they are said to be organized and carried out by Chinese officials. The extent of the damage done, it appears, is not yet known; but the foreigners are reported to have escaped. Owing to the unsettled state of the province, 300 Sikhs, reliable British Indian troops, from Hong Kong, will escort the British Consul from Foo-Chow to Ku-Cheng, where the Consul will conduct an inquiry into the recent outrages. In conclusion, the Shanghai correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette expresses the opinion that further outrages are inevitable unless Great Britain “takes swift and deadly vengeance.”

MISSIONARIES IMPRUDENT.

In regard to the despatches from Hong Kong announcing that the British and American missions at Fat-Shan, near Canton, were attacked yesterday by a large and infuriated mob, which demolished the hospitals and caused some of the missionaries to flee to Shameen, it is stated that the Wesleyan mission has one of the most important medical missions in China at Fat-Shana. The hospital and station are under the charge of Dr. Wanyon, who has just arrived there after a perilous overland journey, during which he was arrested as an Armenian spy. The rest of the mission staff at Fat-Shan are Chinese. They were attacked a few years ago, upon which occasion a missionary was killed. A newspaper representative has had an interview with Mr. W. W. Rockhill, Third Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, who was one of the delegates to the recent international geographical congress and who returns to New York on Saturday next. Referring to the massacres in China Mr. Rockhill said he thought it was a great mistaken for the missionaries to have returned so soon to the outlying stations after the conclusion of the war [Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895] especially as they had been warned of the danger of so doing. Mr. Rockhill could not say anything about what the United States and British governments might be expected to do under the circumstances, but he expressed himself as being certain that the diplomatic representatives of the different countries interested would make a common cause of such cases, as they did when the Swedish missionaries were murdered at Sang-Pu.

Continuing, Mr. Rockhill said he thought the Vegetarians must be the north China society known as the Tsaili, who are not so much vegetarians as abstainers and non-smokers. They are neither a political nor an anti-foreign society and, according to Mr. Rockhill, a number of the servants of the United States ministry at Peking are members of it. [See text at *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, \(Brooklyn, New York\), 8 Aug 1895.](#)

The Daily Colonist, (Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 9 August 1895.

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Kucheng Massacres—Imminent Danger of Christians in Various Localities.

Fanatical Outbreaks by Vegetarians and Public Officials—

Great Indignation—Stern Action Required.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—A dispatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Shanghai says that further and reliable news of an alarming nature has been received there. It is stated that fanatical outbreaks against Christians have occurred at Ching Chow, a seaport of the province of Fo Kio [Fukien, Fujian?] and at Huleh, Taiping, and Anhui. These outbreaks are not merely the work of Vegetarians, but are said to be organized and carried out by Chinese officials. The extent of the damage done is not yet known, but the foreigners are reported to have escaped. Owing to the unsettled state of the province, 200 Sikhs, reliable British Indian troops from Hongkong, will escort the British consul from Foo Chow to Ku Cheng, where the consul will conduct and inquiry into the recent outrages. In conclusion the Shanghai correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette expresses the opinion that further outrages are inevitable unless Great Britain “takes swift and deadly vengeance.”

A dispatch from Hongkong cabled exclusively to the Associated Press last night announces that the British and American missions at Fatshan, near Canton, were attacked yesterday afternoon by a large and infuriated mob, which demolished the hospitals and cause some of the missionaries to flee to Shamon. It is stated that the Wesleyan mission has one of the most important medical missions in China at Fat Shan. The hospital and station are under the charge of Dr. Wanyon, who has just arrived here after a perilous journey, during which he was arrested in Armenia as a spy. The rest of the mission staff are at the Wesleyan mission at Fat Shan. They were attack a few years ago and a missionary was killed.

The Chinese minister had a protracted interview with the Marquis of Salisbury today.

In his letter from Foo Chow describing the massacres of missionaries at Ku Cheng, Rev. Dr. Gregory stated that apparently no post-mortem mutilation had been attempted. He added:

From various reports of those who saw the attack, I believe that about eighty men were engaged. They were armed with spears and swords and seemed strongly organized under one leader. Mr. Phillips and I worked all the latter part of the night placing the remains in coffins. We finished the horrible duty at 8 p.m. on the second, and fearing longer to remain on the scene, undertook to secure transportation to Sui Kow, which we reached that night. We left for Foo Chow in the afternoon. We were welcomed by, and our hearts were devoutly thankful to, U. S. Consul Hixson for his prompt action and successful efforts in securing and immediately dispatching a rescuing party, the presence of which greatly relieved our fatigue and suffering during the remained of the journey to Foo Chow.

Of those killed, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Nellie Saunders and Lena Bellow [Yellop], an Irish nurse, were almost wholly incinerated in the burned house. Kathleen Stewart saw Nellie Saunders lying unconscious on the nursery floor and removed baby Stewart from beneath the dead body of the nurse. Hessie Newcombe was cut on the left cheek and hand, and was then thrown over s steep embankment, where we recovered the body. Miss Marshall’s throat was frightfully cut and there was a deep sword wound in her left wrist. I failed to find any serious wound on the body of Miss Stewart. I am inclined to think she died from the shock. This opinion is sustained by Miss Codrington’s report to me. Miss Gordon received a deep spear wound in the face, another in the side, on the neck and one on the right side of the head. Topsy Saunders’ death was caused by a spear wound on the right side of the head, the weapon entering the brain.

The doctor’s report says that Baby Stewart, thirteen months old, was fatally injured; his brother Herbert, six years old, had his skull cut through. Even Stewart, three years old, was stabbed in the left thigh, Mildred Stewart, twelve years, was seriously injured, and her sister Kathleen, eleven, received slight wounds. Misses Codrington and Mabel C. Hartford, the latter of the Methodist mission, were also severely cut and badly beaten.

HONGKONG, Aug. 8.—At a public indignation meeting just held here resolutions were passed

expressing anger at the supposed connivance of the Chinese government to the Ku Cheng massacres and disgust at the apathy and indifference of the British government failing to recognize the gravity of the situation. Those present further declared that a monetary compensation for such outrages is wholly inadequate, and that swift and stern action is required.

USS Petrel

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—The State department has not called on the Secretary of State for war vessels to assist in protecting the missions, but it is known at both departments that the Petrel, (picture) on her recent voyage up the Jong Tse [Yangtse] river, assisted in maintaining quiet. There has been received at the State department a report from Consul-General Jernigan, in which he quotes from the French fathers at Wu Hua, stating that the arrival of the Petrel off Wu Hua was providential, saving many lives and preventing anticipated trouble. British Consul Ford confirms the report and says that had it not been for the American gunboat the



foreigners at Wu Hua would have suffered in the riots. A letter from Minister Denby, dated towards the close of June, shows that Mr. Denby had made sweeping and peremptory demand upon the Chinese government for the fullest protection for all Americans living in China. Just what answer was returned by the Chinese government is not known, but it is a fact that, so far as the department is informed, in all of the outrages committed upon the missionaries in China not one American was killed or injured.

The New York Times, 9 August 1895.

CHINA'S ANTI-FOREIGN MOB.

Attacks Are Led by the Organized Sect Called Vegetarians.

SIKHS TROOPS FOR BRITISH CONSUL.

Missions of the Kwang-Tung Province are Threatened—

Other News of Outrages Lack Confirmation.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—a dispatch from Hongkong says that a large mob of infuriated Chinese attacked the British and American missions at Fatshan, near Canton, at noon yesterday. Some of the missionaries fled to Shameen for safety, and the others remained at Fatshan. Neither the Foreign Office nor the Wesleyan Mission has a report of this.

A Chinese gunboat has been sent to quell the rioting. It is reported that the anti-foreign agitators intend soon to destroy all the missions in the Kwant-Tung Province and to drive the missionaries into the treaty ports.

The Chinese sect known as the Vegetarians, who are at the bottom of the outrages, now number 12,000 men. They are organized, well armed, and able to withstand the Chinese troops.

A dispatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Shanghai says that it is stated in that city that further fanatical outbreaks against Christians have occurred at Ching-Chow, Taiping, Hupeh, and Anhui. It is said that all the foreigners escaped without injury. No confirmation of this report has been received.

A dispatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Shanghai says that Europeans there ridicule the idea of a Chinese escort accompanying the British Consul at Foo-Choo to Ku-Cheng, where he goes to investigate the massacre of British missionaries.

When the Viceroy's troops were dispatched to the scene of the massacre, they immediately looted the mission houses. The dispatch adds that, owing to the unsettled state of the province, it has been decided to send 200 British Indian Sikh troops from Hong Kong to escort the Consul to Ku-Cheng.

The London Missionary Society has received a cable dispatch from its Central Chinese agent saying that Central China is quiet.

Lord Salisbury and the Chinese Ambassador had a lengthy interview at the Foreign Office this afternoon.

It is supposed that their conference was in relation to the massacre of missionaries and the steps to be taken to prevent a recurrence of the outrages.

The New York Times, 9 August 1895.

CHINESE LEGATION COMMENTS.

Powerlessness of the Government Against the Native Prejudice.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—The Chinese Legation in this city is still without official information regarding the late outrages by the members of the “Vegetarian” Society in China upon the missionary and other foreign element residing near Kucheng. The members of the Legation claim never to have heard of the “Vegetarians” before.

They are believed to be fanatical sect whose purposes are political, and who have incited the present troubles in order to embroil the Peking Government with foreign powers. This being accomplished, they will then initiate rebellion against the constituted authorities, and under cover of this commit such atrocities as would be most gratifying to their savage nature.

The prejudice against the foreign missionaries among the native population is very great. While the Chinese Government is bound by its treaty obligations to protect the missionaries, and permit them to carry their faith into the remotest provinces of the Empire, it finds itself powerless at times to overcome the feeling of hostility which the majority of the people entertain for foreigners.

The social, religious, and political life of the Chinese is so intertwined that where a Chinaman abandons the teachings of Buddha or Confucius, he is believed also to have become an enemy of his country. While the absurdity of this is apparent to all persons outside of China, opinion is believed to be well founded that the missionaries are sowing the seeds of discontent against the Government, and this accounts to some extent for much of the opposition to them.

The place where the outrages occurred is not indicated on the map, and it is unknown to the members of the Legation. It is believed to be a summer resort near Ku-cheng, where certain of the missionaries and their families were spending the heated term. Its remoteness from the large industrial centres made it the more easy, it is said, for the Chinese fanatics to assault the helpless foreigners.

DR. LEONARD'S INFORMATION.

There is No American Methodist Mission at Fatshan.

The Rev. Dr. Leonard, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, said that he had written to Secretary of State Olney on the subject of the outrages in China. He had received a cable from George B. Smyth, President of the Anglo-Chinese College at Foo-Choo, which, adding the words that were obviously left out, reads as follows:

Soldiers are looting Kutien [Kucheng-Gutian]. Foreigners are safe at Foo-Choo. No efficient measures have been taken by the Chinese Government to catch the murderers. Appeal to Washington to rouse Minister Denby.

Miss Mabel C. Hartford, who was attacked at Hwasang, but fortunately escaped with light injuries, was sent out by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He comes from Dover, N.H., and has been in China eight years.

Dr. Gregory, who has sent information of the atrocities, has been nearly seven years in charge of the Methodist Episcopal Hospital at Ku-Cheng, which is ninety miles from Foo-Choo. Dr. Leonard thinks the word ‘Kutien’ in the cable telegram means ‘Kucheng.’

As regards the atrocities in Fatshan, near Canton, Dr. Leonard says there is no American Methodist Mission at that place, which is about 900 miles from Foo-Choo.

Fort Worth Gazette, (Texas), 9 August 1895.

ATTACK AMERICANS.

Mission Chapel at Inghok is Looted.

SLAUGHTER CONTINUES.

Administration is Much Censured for Not Endeavoring to Protest Missionaries in China.

NEW YORK, Aug. 8.—The World will print the following special dispatches from Foo Chow:

A mob has just looted the American mission chapel at Inghok, fifty miles from here. Unless prompt, effective action is taken there is a great danger of a riot in other places. The Chinese soldiers sent to Ku

Cheng to protect foreign property plundered the Stewart residence. No American gunboat has come. The situation is critical.

Foo Chow, Aug. 8.—An official on his way to this city from Ku Cheng was killed yesterday. There is no American protection. The American government's neglect is infamous.

Foo Chow, Aug. 8.— The evidence already obtained shows that the massacre at Hwasang was planned almost a week beforehand. The foreign consuls have the names of the leaders in it and some of the participants. An official of Foo Chow sent 200 soldiers into that section on the 24th of July to prevent the Vegetarians from murdering Chinese. The Vegetarians thought the missionaries had caused the troops to be sent and decided to kill them. They immediately began to gather at a certain designated place. In passing through the villages the Vegetarians publicly declared their intention to destroy the churches and to kill the Christians. The local officials knew of this but nothing was done to protect or even warn the foreigners. The night before the massacre a native pastor in the city of Ku Cheng was warned that the Vegetarians were going to kill the foreigners on the morrow. He wrote a letter of warning to Mr. Stewart at Hwasang. The messenger arrived half an hour too late. Dr. Gregory was in the city of Ku Cheng at the time, but he was not notified. The foreigners had no suspicion of the intended slaughter. **Miss Hartford's account follows.**

HAVE ORDERED NO VESSELS.

The Administration Considering the Protection of American Missionaries.

Washington, Aug. 8.—The state department has not called upon the secretary of the navy for war vessels to assist in protecting the missions, but it is known at both departments that the Petrel on her recent voyage up the Yang Tze river assisted materially in maintaining quiet. There has been received at the state department a report from Consul General Jernigan, in which he quotes from one of the French fathers at Wu-Hu saying that the arrival of the Petrel at Wu-Hu was providential, saving many lives and preventing anticipated trouble.

Acting Secretary McAdoo today sent for the list of vessels on the Asiatic station with their positions, and will consider moving them so as to better protect American interests. The Detroit is at Shanghai, the mouth of the Yang Tze river, but it would be useless for her to attempt to ascend the Yang Tze.²⁴ The Petrel, the lightest of the fleet, is at Yokohama, a long distance away. There is no disposition to interfere with Admiral Carpenter's management of his squadron unless the state department should ask for a vessel, but it is thought at the navy department that it would be well to have the Petrel on the Chinese coast in case of her immediate need. Admiral Carpenter will be so advised. **Comment on the Vegetarian Society follows.**

TROOPS ARE NEEDED.

Shanghai, Aug. 8.— Great anger is felt here at the omission to send British troops from Hong Kong to escort the consul to Ku Cheng. The ministers in Peking fail to realize the gravity of the situation. It is highly advisable that British troops go to Fu Chau. The viceroy has not sufficient force, except on paper, to make arrests.

Jackson, Miss, Aug. 8.—Bishop Galloway of this city has received a cablegram from Rev. Drs. Parker and Reid, at Shanghai, China, which reads as follows: "Horrible massacre. More danger. Move Washington."

Omaha Daily Bee, (Nebraska), 9 August 1895.

MESSENGER CAME TOO LATE.

Native Christian Sent the Missionaries Warning of the Impending Massacre.

WAS ALL OVER ON HIS ARRIVAL.

NEW YORK, Aug. 8.—The World tomorrow will print the following special dispatches from Foo-Chow, China: A mob has just looted the American mission chapel at Ing-Hok, fifty miles from here. Unless prompt and effective action is taken there is danger of great riots in other places.

The Chinese soldiers sent to Ku-Cheng to protect foreign property plundered the Stewart residence. No American gunboat has come here. The situation is critical.

The evidence already obtained shows that the massacre at Hwa-Sang was planned at least a week

24 Note the assumption that the Huashan Massacre was related to the Sichuan-Chengdu riots of June, which occurred on the upper reaches of the Yangtze River. None of the comments at this stage on U.S. Navy involvement appreciated that the Huashan location inland from the Min River was beyond the reach of warships of any size.

beforehand. The foreign consuls have the names of the leaders in it and of some of the participants. An official of Foo-Chow sent 224 soldiers into that section on the 24th of July to prevent the vegetarians from murdering Chinese. The vegetarians thought the missionaries had caused the troops to be sent and decided to kill them. They began immediately to gather at certain designated places. In passing through the villages on their way to the rendezvous the vegetarians publicly declared their intention to destroy the churches and to kill the Christians. The local officials knew of this, but they did nothing to protect or even to warn the foreigners. The night before the massacre a native pastor in Ku-Cheng heard the vegetarians were going to kill the foreigners on the morrow. He wrote a letter of warning to Mr. Stewart at Hwa-sang, but delayed sending it until daylight. The messenger arrived half an hour too late. Dr. Gregory was in the city of Ku-Cheng at the time, but he was not notified. The foreigners had no suspicion of the intended slaughter.

Dr. Gregory, an American missionary who escaped from Ku-Cheng, gives the following account of the massacre: **See report at *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (Brooklyn, New York), 8 Aug 1895.**

MADE NO CALL ON THE NAVY YET.

Petrel the Only Vessel which Could Ascend the River.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—The State department has not called upon the secretary of the navy for war vessels to assist in protecting the missions, but it is known at both departments that the Petrel on her recent voyage up the Yang-Tze assisted materially in maintaining quiet. There has been received at the State department a report from Consul-General Jernigan in which he quotes from the French fathers at Wu-Hui, saying that the arrival of the Petrel at Wu-Hui was providential, saving many lives and preventing anticipated trouble. British Consul Ford confirms the report and says that had it not been for the American gunboat the foreigners at Wu-Hui would have suffered in the riots. The Petrel is the only vessel of the Asiatic squadron which can go up the river for any considerable distance, the others being of great draught. The Petrel on her last voyage went to Han-Kow, 600 miles above Shanghai. This would not bring the vessel to the immediate scene of the first disturbances, but it is believed that if a vessel were sent up the river it would have a quieting effect upon the rioters.

Acting Secretary McAdoo today sent for the list of vessels in the Asiatic station, with their positions, and will consider moving them, so as to better protect American interests. The Detroit is at Shanghai, the mouth of the Yang-Tse river, but it would be useless for her to attempt to ascend the Yang-Tse. The Petrel, the lightest of the fleet, is at Yokohama, a long distance away. There is no disposition to interfere with Admiral Carpenter's management of his squadron, unless the State department should ask for a vessel, but it is thought at the Navy department that it would be well to have the Petrel on the Chinese coast, in case of immediate need. Admiral Carpenter may be so advised.

At the Chinese legation the statement is reiterated that the central government will do everything in its power to suppress the Chinese outbreaks and punish the offenders. The latest Shanghai dispatches giving alarming reports of outbreaks in new quarters were shown to the legation officials, but no additional information could be given by them, beyond locating the scenes of the trouble and explaining the classes involved. The places mentioned are easily accessible and are near the large cities of Amoy and Shanghai. It will be much easier to reach them than the inaccessible places where the first uprisings occurred.

It is said that the military forces will not be sent from Peking or other large cities, as there are garrisons near at hand under the direction of the governor-general of the provinces. There is telegraphic communication between the authorities at Peking and these provinces, so that there need be no delay in putting into effect such strong military policy as China may adopt.

The vegetarian fanatics who are causing the outbreaks are a secret political order. They claim to be a religious sect, but in reality they stand to China as the nihilists do to Russia. They have long been seeking to overthrow the Peking government, and it is the belief that their main purpose at present is not directed against Christians, but is intended to embroil the government with foreign countries and thus lead to the embarrassment and possible overthrow of the present Peking authorities. For this reason it is believed that the central government will use all its resources to suppress the vegetarians, not only in response to foreign demands, but as a measure of self-precaution. The vegetarians get their name from the fact that they live wholly on vegetables, denying themselves all flesh food. They are mainly Buddhists, for the central government allows Buddhism, Confucianism and one other religion to flourish, and there is no clear line of demarcation between them.

FEARFUL OF GREATER SLAUGHTER.

Methodist Missionary Bishop on the Latest Outrages in China.

MASON CITY, Ia, Aug. 8.—(Special Telegram.) Bishop Thoburn, the missionary bishop of the Methodist church, addressed a large audience here tonight. He was interviewed by the Bee correspondent tonight relative to the massacre of the Christians in China. Knowing all about the conditions he pronounces the situation very alarming. He is fearful that greater slaughters will soon follow. He looks to China's attempt to kill or banish all missionaries, but says that he does not believe that this ever can be done. Asked regarding his opinion as to what should be done, he said European powers should at once put a strong armed force at the principal ports of China and the nation should be taken by the throat and made to behave...

Obtained the Names of the Murderers.

SHANGHAI, Aug. 8.—J, Courtney Hixson, United States consul at Foo Chow, has obtained the names of fifty natives implicated in the Ku Cheng massacre, including the leaders and some of the actual murderers. He has also obtained proof that the Chinese officials knew trouble was brewing for some days prior to the massacre. Not a single Chinese official attended the funeral of the victims. Reports are arriving daily from every province of the horrible official persecution of native Christians and the molestation and insults to foreigners in the interior.

Denounce British Inactivity.

HONG KONG, Aug. 8.—At a public indignation meeting held here resolutions were passed expressing anger at the supposed connivance of the Chinese government in the Ku Cheng massacres and disgust at the apathy and indifference of the British government in failing to recognize the gravity of the situation. Those present at the meeting further declared that money compensation for such outrages is wholly inadequate and that swift and stern action is required.

1895, August 10.

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

Cypher Despatched Foochow 4.46 p.m. August 10, 1895. Received Peking, 6.45 p.m. August 11. 1895.

Society has robbed and killed official and five soldiers on river forty miles hence. Best informed missionaries consider journey from river to Ku-t'ien unsafe without British escort at least twenty-five. If you approve can Admiral furnish two gunboats [gunboat?] here has not sufficient men. If you wish I am ready to take risk of going with Chinese escort only. Officials are acting with energy, some arrests made, Messengers report activity among society but as yet no armed resistance as no attempt could be made to arrest on large scale until troops now on spot arrive.

One gunboat here another expected. Orders from Yamen about British escort useful. All missionaries from locality have come in. Mansfield.

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, August 10, 1895. No 2304, Denby to Olney.

Subject. Riot at Kutien.

Synopsis. Yamen promises to act in the matter of protection and redress.

Sir:—In my despatch No 2303, of yesterday's date, I had the honor to enclose a translation of the Yamen's reply to my despatch concerning the murders at Kutien. The subsequent disturbance at Yungfuh, resulting in the destruction of an American chapel, I found it desirable to bring to the Yamen's notice not in writing but in a personal interview.

To my remark to the Yamen that their previous promises of protection appeared, in view of the Yungfuh affair, to have been futile, they replied that they:

Regretted to admit that such was the case, The disturbed condition of the province they said was such that local officials could not guarantee the safety of foreigners in remote places.

They stated, however, that every effort would be made to restore order and secure redress for grievances already done; that to this end two imperial decrees had been sent by telegraph to the provincial authorities, and they requested me to rest in the assurances of their earnestness in this matter.

The Consul at Foochow having telegraphed this Legation that cholera was raging there, and having requested that orders be issued from Peking to prohibit the burying of the victims of this disease within the limits of the foreign settlement, I submitted this matter to the Yamen. They stated that they had not been previously informed of the prevalence of the disease, and they undertook to telegraph at once satisfactory instructions as to the burial of the dead. Yours etc. Charles Denby.

The Times, (London), 10 August 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

SHANGHAI, AUG. 9. The chairman of the public meeting recently held here requests me to forward to you the following message:—

We strongly urge upon the British people and the House of commons that Lord Salisbury's demands are utterly inadequate. The Chinese have always promised to protect the missions and punish the guilty, but they never perform their promises. We believe that outrages are generally inspired by the officials. It is imperative that the Consul at Fu-chau should have a British escort. The Cheng-tu Commission must be reformed. Both cases require more than one British official of adequate rank.

Delay will be dangerous to the outposts of the mission stations. *Our Correspondent.*

BERLIN, AUG. 9. It is stated that the Pope has addressed a letter to the German Emperor requesting him to take the Catholic Missions in China under his protection. *Our Correspondent.*

PARIS, AUG. 9. The *Temps*, which for the first time comments on the Ku-cheng atrocities, remarks that, in such a case, the word "Christendom" assumes fresh vitality, for national and religious rivalries are in abeyance. It adds:—

Europe cannot be a passive and apathetic spectator of these outbreaks of savagery. It has no right to abandon its citizens, and even if it carried the superstition of the lay State to the length of refusing to protect missionaries risking their lives to win souls, it could not forsake its duty towards that class of citizens without jeopardising all other classes from the merchant of the open ports to the diplomatists of Peking. The initiative of measures of reparation and prevention, of course, belongs to the Power whose citizens have peculiarly suffered. It may be presumed that, in these circumstances, the moral unity so vexatiously compromised a few months ago by the resolution of the Cabinet of St. James's to stand apart will be reconstituted, and that China will give prompt, ample, and serious satisfaction to the whole of Europe, which is resolved on enforcing respect for the life and property of its citizens in the Far East. *Our Own Correspondent*.

o o o

The Press Association states that the London Missionary Society yesterday received a telegram from the Rev. T. W. Pearce, their senior missionary at Hong-kong, saying "Amoy all well; Canton quiet." These cities are the principal centres of the society's mission in China. The society's judgment, the above telegram, sent more than 24 hours after the disquieting report of an outbreak at Fatshan, a town situated about ten miles west of Canton discredits that report, Fatshan being a recognized outpost of the society's Canton mission.

Mr. T. Waters, late British Consul at Fu-chau, was made to say, in the course of an interview with a representative of Reuter's Agency published yesterday, that the Vegetarians were "very anti-foreign." The sentence should read, "The Vegetarians were never anti-foreign."

The Argus, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA. AN AMERICAN LADY BEATEN BY THE MOB. MISS GORDON'S FATE.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—Further details continue to be received regarding the recent terrible massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng.

Miss Mabel Hartford, an American lady missionary, who was in Ku-Cheng at the time of the massacre, and was an eye-witness of the scene, states that the mob of the fanatical vegetarians attacked the mission station at 7 o'clock in the morning. She herself narrowly escaped being speared, and was severely beaten by the Chinese. Miss Hartford also states that she found Miss "Topsy" Saunders, and both ladies escaped to the house of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, which was soon afterwards set on fire. Miss Saunders was overtaken by the mob and killed just outside the house. The massacre of the two Misses Gordon was also witnessed by Miss Hartford, who states that the head of one of the hapless ladies was almost severed from her body.²⁵

A FRESH OUTBREAK AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS. ATTACK AT FATSHAN. 12,000 WELL-ARMED RIOTERS. DESPATCH OF A CHINESE GUNBOAT.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—Details are published of a renewal of the savagery displayed by the Chinese against the Christians resident among them.

Yesterday a large mob made a determined attack upon the headquarters of the British-American Mission at Fatshan, near Canton. The hospitals attached to the mission were demolished, and several of the inmates took to flight.

A Chinese gunboat has been despatched to the scene of the outbreak, where 12,000 well-armed rioters, who are members of the Vegetarian Secret Society, have assembled.

FURTHER ANTI-CHRISTIAN RIOTS.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—The *Pall Mall Gazette* states in its issue to-day that anti-Christian riots have broken out at Chang Chow, Hu-peh, Tai-ping, and An-hiu.

THE BRITISH CONSUL VISITS KU-CHENG.

25 An excellent example of journalistic imagination. Miss Hartford was at no time within sight of the massacre and was too busy fighting off an attack by "No. 7", Ming Chiang chek. See Part Six, Banister reports. Miss Hartford learned of the nature of the murders of the English missionaries after the event.

AN ESCORT OF SIKH TROOPS.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—Mr. Robert William Mansfield, the acting British Consul at Foochow, has arranged to visit Ku-Cheng and hold an inquiry into the recent massacres. In view of the disturbed state of the district, Mr. Mansfield will be escorted by a detachment of 200 Sikh troops.

THE MASSACRE ORGANISED BY OFFICIALS.

HIGH FEELING AT HONG KONG.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—It is believed in Hong Kong that the attack upon the Ku-Cheng mission station was organized by Chinese officials. A public meeting has been held at Hong Kong, at which the connivance of the Chinese officials in the massacre was denounced.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BLAMED.

INSUFFICIENT PROTECTION FOR ITS SUBJECTS.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—At a public meeting which has been held at Hong Kong complaints were made of the inadequate means of protection afforded by the British Government to British subjects in China.

A demand was made that pressure should be put upon China to compel reparation for the recent outrage.

(The province of Kuang-Tong, in which Fatshan is situated, has an area of 79,456 square miles and estimated population of 20,500,000. According to statistics furnished in the C.I.M. Cycle of Prayer there are 250 missionaries there, 84 of whom are British, 91 American, and 75 German. Of the British 33 are married men, 33 married women, 4 are single men, and 14 are single women. The Germans have 31 married couples, 6 single men, and 7 single women. The province of Fuh-Kien, in which the recent massacres occurred, is immediately north of Kuang-Tong, and that of Hunan, which has been so uncompromisingly hostile that no missionary stations have been opened there, lies on the north-west border of Kuang-Tong. But, notwithstanding its proximity to hostile provinces, Kuang-Tong has never been regarded as a dangerous district to work in. The civilising influences of Canton, the port, and of the British island of Hong Kong, lying alongside the port, were generally credited as being sufficient to counteract the evil influences of the provinces on the borders.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

CATHEDRAL MEMORIAL SERVICE.

The memorial service held at St. Paul's Cathedral last evening in relation to the martyrdom of missionaries in China was attended by a congregation which completely filled the building. The hymns and lessons were chosen with special reference to the occasion, and the anthem was "Blest are the departed who in the Lord are sleeping, from henceforth for evermore; they rest from their labours and their works follow them: (Spohr's "Last Judgement"). As an outgoing voluntary Beethoven's "Funeral March" was played by the organist.

The Bishop of Melbourne was the preacher, and chose as his text "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."—(Matthew x.,39.) After touching briefly on the tragic circumstances of the massacre and the profound impression which they had created on the community, he alluded to the motive for the murders. He pointed out that the first impression created was that the missionaries had been attacked because they were foreigners, but it now appeared that the hatred manifested towards them by the fanatical sect known as "Vegetarians" was on account of their being Christians. There was no doubt that these devoted missionaries died as martyrs for Christ. To the question, Was it worth their while thus to sacrifice themselves, he would answer that if the words of Christ in the text were true, as they assuredly were, no mortal could tell, no finite mind could conceive how entirely it was worth their while thus to suffer. The records of the martyrdom of Christians in all ages testified that they would endure willingly and triumphantly for the sake of the living Lord, who, have died for and in them, would return to bestow upon them everlasting blessedness. No one could read the letters of the martyred ladies without perceiving that Jesus Christ was not a mere creed or philosophy with them. He was a living constant friend, whose presence and favour was the very sunshine of their souls. It had been suggested that they would have been better employed in instructing the Chinese of Melbourne, but if that argument had weight it would put an end to foreign missions altogether. While the news of the barbarities they had suffered had caused much sorrow, it must be remembered that all was over now, and it was quite superfluous to use words of pity with respect to them. They had far more cause to pity us than we had to pity them, for they had realised the promise of eternal life. When we contemplated the great reward of those who suffered for Christ we must say it was

worth their while thus to suffer and die. Another matter for consideration was the effect martyrdom had on the growth and extension of the church. The church had always gained by her martyrdoms, and would be quickened, edified, stirred up, and extended by such noble examples. The mother of two of the girls, so far from pitying them or regretting the step they had taken, had bravely said that if she had two daughters more she would send them to China likewise. This was the language of a Christian matron, and was worthy of comparison with the Spartan mother who, when her boy was going to battle, gave him a shield and said, "Come back either with or upon it."

THE MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS.

Sir,—The hearts of the people of this country are touched by the sad news just received from China. In view of the melancholy martyrdom of our own countrywomen at Ku Cheng, I would suggest that an opportunity be given the people of Melbourne to publicly express their sorrow by attending a united service of mourning, to be held, say, in the Town Hall. Perhaps the clergy and ministers of all denominations would be glad to unite in such a demonstration. Yours, etc. Hawthorn, Aug. 6. SYMPATHY.

MEMORIAL SERVICE AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL BISHOP GOE ON MARTYRDOM

The Anglican cathedral was crowded with worshippers last night, who had attended the special service held in connection with the murders of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, his wife and children, the two Misses Saunders and Miss Gordon at Ku Cheng, whilst they were working in connection with the Fuh Kien mission. The congregation included a large number of clergymen and leading laymen of other denominations.

Dr. Goe, Bishop of Melbourne, preached from St. Matthew, 10th chapter, 39th verse, "he that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life, for My sake, shall find it." Having alluded to the fact that the whole community had been profoundly moved by the tidings of the massacre, he said the Melbourne press, to which the Church was deeply indebted for the full and accurate information it had supplied on the subject, had drawn attention to a placard which the Vegetarian fanatics had published, indicating that the outbreak was against the missionaries, not as being foreigners, but as being Christians. No thoughtful person could read the news which had been received without coming to the conclusion that there was something to explain. The missionaries being dead yet spoke to us. What did they say? There was one question raised by the event for which he felt sure not a few were clamoring for an answer. It was, "Was it worth while for the missionaries thus to sacrifice themselves?" His answer to that was, If the words of Christ in His text were false, then it was not worth while; but if the words in his text were true, assuredly no mortal could tell, no finite mind could conceive, how entirely it was worth their while to suffer. He desired to emphasise the Master's words, "For My sake," "He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." The records of the martyrdoms of Christians in all ages of the world testified that they were endured willingly, and often triumphantly, for the sake of the love of the Lord. Having died, they soon rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven to enjoy everlasting blessedness in His immediate presence. That had always been the creed of martyrs. No one could read the simple, natural letters of the latest acquisitions to the "noble army of martyrs" without perceiving that Jesus Christ to them was not a mere creed or a philosophy. Jesus Christ was palpably to them a living, constant friend, to whom they offered their prayers, from whom they obtained answers to their prayers, and whose presence and favor was the very sunshine of their souls. It had been suggested that the ladies of the mission, who had been murdered, would have adopted a wiser course if they had devoted their energies to the instruction of the Chinese in Melbourne; but if that argument were to be pressed to its conclusion it would put an end to all the churches' foreign missions. St. Paul would have preferred to have remained in Jerusalem after his conversion, but Christ said to him, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." The sufferers in China heard a call to go there, and they obeyed it. Their course was brief, but he doubted not they had by this time realized in part, and would realise in full, the unlimited promise of the kingdom of Him whom they delighted to serve. All felt very sorry to read of the barbarities which they suffered, but that was all over now: and seeing that it was all over, it appeared to him quite superfluous to sue words of pity with respect to them. They had far more cause to pity us than we had to pity them.

The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895.

**TERRIBLE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES IN CHINA
TEN PERSONS MURDERED
SEVEN LADY MISSIONARIES BUTCHERED
A CLERGYMAN BURNED ALIVE
WITH HIS WIFE AND CHILD.
CHILDREN'S EYES GOUGED OUT**

LONDON, 6th August.—Details of a terrible character have been received from Shanghai concerning the massacre of missionaries by Chinese at Ku-Cheng.

The murders were accompanied by the grossest outrage and cruelties. Incited, it is said, by Chinese officials, the mob of fanatics which attacked the mission station, having once reached the inmates, behaved with unspeakable brutality.

Men and women, young ladies belonging to the Zenana and other missions were butchered in the most atrocious fashion, and in some cases with most savage cruelty.

Ten persons belonging to the British mission station were massacred.

Among the lady missionaries who were killed were the following, belonging to the Zenana mission, namely:—

Miss Elsie Marshall

Misses Gordon (two)

Miss Bessie Newcombe

Miss Flora Stewart

Miss Harriett Eleanor Saunders

Miss Elizabeth Maud Saunders

The Rev. Mr. Stewart, his wife and one of their children were deliberately burned alive. The eyes of the children who did not share their parents' fate were gouged out by the murders.

**LATEST DETAILS
HOW THE VICTIMS DIED
A SERIES OF GHASTLY BUTCHERIES**

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The lady missionaries in the Ku-Cheng station, when it was captured by the gang of fifty desperadoes detailed for the purpose, hoped at first they would not be murdered, and tried to purchase their lives by offers of property and jewels.

The leader of the band, however, peremptorily forbade his followers to show any mercy, ordered them to commence the work of murder, and to see that it was thoroughly completed.

The slaughter then commenced. Miss Elizabeth (or 'Topsy') Saunders was stabbed through the face with a spear, her brain being penetrated.

A far more dreadful death befell her sister, Miss Harriet (or 'Nelly') Saunders, who was tortured for some time, hacked and lacerated with knives and finally burned alive.

Miss Bessie Newcombe was transfixed with spears, and her bleeding body was then thrown over a precipice.

Miss Elsie Marshall was butchered with knives, her throat being cut.

Mr. Herbert Stewart, son of the Rev. R W Stewart, who was burned alive had his skull split open and his brain exposed.

The children who fell victims to the ruthless cruelty of the murders were impaled alive upon spears and borne aloft in brutal derision as a spectacle for the onlookers.

Miss Gordon, an Australian lady missionary, was speared in the head.

**THE REV. MR. STEWART.
HIS LAST LETTERS
HE FORESAW DANGER.
THE LADIES REFUSED TO GO.
THEY TRUSTED.**

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The Rev. R W Stewart, who was burned alive by the murders, was known in the Australian colonies, having accompanied Mr. Eugene Stock, the editorial secretary of the Church Mission

Society, on a tour through Australia as a deputation from England.

The Ku Cheng station, in addition to its British missionaries, had a staff of thirty native teachers and a membership of Chinese converts of 2,000.

In a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Stewart a month ago—the last that was received from him—he spoke in most eulogistic terms of the ‘noble work’ that had been done by the Misses Saunders.

These letters, however, disclose that at the time of writing the Rev. Mr. Stewart feared that a disaster was about to occur. In one of his letters he states that he had earnestly advised both the Misses Saunders and Miss Gordon to depart to the coast, where they might remain in safety until the agitators became less excited.

The young ladies, however, refused to accept his advice, and afterwards, when he again pressed them to go temporarily to a place of relative safety, all pleaded most earnestly that he would allow them to stay ‘They had trust in God, and would remain on duty.’

A LONG PLOTTED MASSACRE.

LONDON, 6th August.—Later details of the massacre show that the Misses Saunders and Miss Gordon were sleeping when the mission station was first attacked.

A lady missionary, who has recently returned from Ku Cheng district, states that there could have been no ground for an outbreak of fanaticism, as the work of the missionaries was conducted in a most quiet manner, and with a studious care not to offend any class of the natives.

It has been ascertained that the attack on the Ku Cheng station and murder of the missionaries had been long plotted by the Vegetarian Secret Society.

THE STORY OF HORROR TOLD BY AN EYE-WITNESS REV. H. S. PHILLIPS IS PRESENT AT THE MASSACRE. A FEARFUL SCENE.

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The intelligence received from Shanghai today concerning the awful massacre of missionaries at Ku Cheng is of a pathetic and terrible character.

An account of the awful tragedy is supplied by the Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, a church missionary, who contrived to make his escape from the house of the Rev. R W Stewart when it was fired by the Chinese.

Mr. Phillips was an eyewitness of the whole scene, but was powerless to interfere. He made piteous appeals to the mandarins for assistance, but the latter refused to even attempt to suppress the riot, or prevent the murders. There was a force of a thousand Chinese soldiers in close proximity to the scene of the outrage, but they made no effort to stop the attack upon the missionaries.

The scene as described by Mr. Phillips, was one of terrible carnage. The burning of the houses of the missionaries occupied hours, and the uproar created by the murderous crowds of Chinese fanatics was deafening. Several of the missionaries died a fearful death from fire in the burning houses, and others who attempted to escape met with an even more terrible fate.

FATE OF THE MISSES SAUNDERS HACKED TO PIECES. WOMEN TERRIBLY TORTURED

LONDON, Aug. 6th.— Miss Nellie Saunders and Miss Lizzie Saunders of Melbourne attempted to fly from the house and were set upon by an infuriated crowd. The unhappy girls were literally hacked to pieces.

Mr. Phillips states that an even worse fate befell some of the other women missionaries, who were horribly tortured before being put to death.

APPEAL TO THE POWERS.

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The burning indignation created among the foreign residents in China by the Ku Cheng massacre is beyond description.

A meeting was held at Shanghai today when it was decided to ask the consuls to appeal to all the foreign powers to obtain prompt reparation for the awful butchery.

The Chinese Government has been prompt to act and has dispatched troops to the scene of the murder.

AMERICAN MISSION HOUSE DESTROYED. THE MISSIONARIES ESCAPE

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The latest news from Shanghai is to the effect that the American mission house at Hankow has also fallen before the fury of a mob.

The mission house was attacked and completely destroyed by fire. Happily the missionaries had received warning in time, and they succeeded in making the escape without being subjected to any personal violence.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT DEMAND PROTECTION, INVESTIGATION, PUNISHMENT

LONDON, Aug. 6.—The British Government has been prompt to take action in regard to the massacre in China.

The Marquis of Salisbury has formally made a demand upon the Chinese Government to afford protection to British subjects under its jurisdiction; to make a thorough investigation into the doings at Ku Cheng; and to punish the murderers.

The Chinese Government professes itself unable to cope with the outbreak and declare that the whole province in which Ku Cheng is situated is in a state of rebellion.

STATEMENTS OF SURVIVORS

LONDON, Aug. 6.—Further details in regard to the shocking massacre of Christian missionaries at Ku Cheng are to hand.

These all go to prove the truth of the dreadful stories already made public.

The survivors say that the massacre was long prearranged by the lading spirits amongst the Vegetarian Society. It was executed while the missionaries were sleeping, and in the most diabolical manner conceivable.

DISTURBANCES SPREADING MORE MISSION HOUSES BURNED.

LONDON, Aug. 6.—Latest news from Shanghai points to the fact that the disturbances in China are both widespread and serious.

So close as Soo Chow, a town not many miles inland from Shanghai itself, the European residents are reported to be in peril.

The American mission houses at Sung Fuh have been attacked and burned.

The missionaries are said to be in danger, and boats have been requisitioned to aid them in escaping from the fanatical fury of the mob.

REBELLION IN FUKIEN

LONDON, Aug. 6.—A cable message from Shanghai reports that an armed rebellion has broken out in the province of Fu Kein.

The position of Foo Chow—the great port for the shipment of tea—is a critical one, the natives being openly hostile to the foreign residents.

The British authorities have sent gunboats from Shanghai to Foo Chow to protect the foreign residents.

SYDNEY, August 5.—Mr. C R Walsh, Secretary of the N.S. W. Church Missionary Association, says the 'Age', has received from Archdeacon Wolfe at Foo Chow, the following cablegram:—"Gordon, two Saunders, Stewart, wife, son and four others murdered. Inform relatives."

'This means', said Mr. Walsh in explaining the message, 'that the rebels who go under the title of Vegetarians who two or three times lately have threatened Ku-Cheng have come down in force. The Vegetarians are a secret society in China. They draw into their ranks men who band themselves against the Government, and are joined by all the worthless creatures in the province. For some time they have caused great uneasiness both to missionaries and to the governing authorities. In consequence of their threats a few months ago, all the women and children were withdrawn from Ku Cheng and sent to the larger city of Foo Chow. Apparently things became quieter and they returned to Ku Cheng and were massacred. Ku Cheng is a city of considerable size, situated about 90 miles from Foo Chow, quite away from the district disturbed by the late war. As to the people mentioned in the cablegram, the 'Gordon' is Miss Gordon from Melbourne [*Brisbane*]. Curiously enough I received a paper from her this afternoon, containing a letter. It is as follows:—

"Dong Geo, Fuh-kien, China, 14th February, 1895.

'In God I put my trust. I will not be afraid what man can do unto me.' Psalms LVI, 2.

I am still itinerating in this vast Cingnang district and have also the oversight of foundlings' during Miss Nesbit's absence. I visited a great many villages last year, but there are hundreds that have not yet been touched, and alas there is no one to send. In this one district alone we can truly say the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Do pray that the Lord of Harvests will send both natives and foreigners, men and

women after his own heart. This territory is over 100 miles in extent. It abounds with large densely populated villages, and yet I am only foreign worker for it all. The work here in Gong Geo is most encouraging. On Sundays some 60 or 70 women come to church, and before service we have Sunday school. One woman, a widow, ever since she gave up her idols, has been very much persecuted by her heathen relations and they have tried to force her to marry a heathen, and now that she is baptized I am sure they will persecute her still more. During the last few months trouble has been threatening all around. Satan has tried hard to drive us from our stations but praise the Lord he has not succeeded yet, and I don't think he will so long as we have God on our side. A number of people called Vegetarians have banded themselves together to defy the Mandarin. One day when he caught four of them he put them in prison, and the others surrounded his house, and said they would pull it down if he did not let their comrades out. So he had to release them, and to send his secretary to be beaten by their own hands. This happened in Ku Cheng city, quite close to us. They have persecuted Christians, and have threatened more than once to pull down the chapels but the missionaries as yet have not been threatened at all, although they have expressed their hatred. It is so lovely and comforting to know that they can do nothing to us or our native Christians. Yes, it is the will of God, and we are safe in his keeping and have only to "Trust and not be afraid." We scarcely know what fear is. In these inland places we hear very little about the war. You hear far more than we do, but of one thing we feel sure that it will ultimately prove a blessing to China."

'I don't know Miss Gordon personally,' continued Mr. Walsh, 'but I know the others intimately. Miss E. M. Saunders and Miss H. E. Saunders are both from Melbourne, where their mother still lives. Mrs. Saunders was to have gone out with her daughters, to keep house for them and the other missionaries. She was a woman of means, but the crisis in Victoria prevented her from disposing of her property in Melbourne, and consequently she had to remain behind. Robert Warren Stewart is well known in New South Wales. He is a clergyman, who came out three or four years ago in connection with Mr. Eugene Stock, editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society, as a deputation to the Australasian colonies. They held a series of meetings in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Church Missionary Associations were formed. Mr. Stewart was a very devoted, whole-hearted and humble minded Christian, one of the finest men I have ever met. He made a very great impression on all the people he met in this country. Mrs. Stewart, by the way, remained in England. She is very well known, however, to many people in Australia through her husband. Mention is also made in the cablegram of their son that would be their youngest child. The other children—they have three or four boys—would be in England at one of the leading public schools. Mr. Stewart was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and eighteen years ago he went out to the Fuhkien province. He was a man, I should say, of about 45 years of age. The others mentioned are some missionaries belonging to the same society. I know that a number of ladies were stationed there.

'Barely an hour or two had elapsed from the receipt of the cable when a letter from Mr. Stewart was put in my hands. He makes no mention of possible trouble. In previous communications, however, he speaks of the Christians having been beaten, and of the European women having been sent to Foo Chow for safety. He was also conscious of the danger that surrounded him and his associate. In a previous letter he said:—'Owing doubtless to the Government being fully engaged with the war, a sect known as the Vegetarians, but hitherto without influence or position, has suddenly sprung into vigorous life in this part of the country. They first came into prominence in August a month after the declaration of war, and at a village called A-Dong-Bang, where an unusually large number of men joining our church. They attacked the converts, beating some, pillaging the shops of others, and finally cut down and carried off \$100 worth of the crop belonging to a leading convert of the place. I at once visited our chief mandarin, who promised to take the matter up without delay. On sending out officers to investigate they were met by an armed mob, and there being no soldiers nearer than Foo Chow there was nothing that could be done. I ought to say perhaps that on paper we have 100 soldiers attached to Ku-Cheng but the mandarins do without them and pocket the money. A month or so later, in another part of the district, these Vegetarians, with whom are allied one of the most dangerous of the secret societies, committed some offence but not in any way connected with our church, but so heinous the magistrate was forced to seize three of four and imprison them. This was a signal for a rising. Messages were quickly despatched in all directions and a mob assembled outside the Yamen. All that day they beat around the house shouting threats of vengeance. On their way to Yamen they paused outside our city church. Some were for rushing in and demolishing it, others advised to move on to the Yamen and if

they proved unsuccessful there they could return and take it next. The poor women and others in the church building were terrified knowing by past experience there was every chance of the threats being carried out. As the mob crowded around Yamen, ever increasing in numbers, one leading citizen after another, who had been closeted with the Mandarin, came forth with offers of concessions. The first, holding up his hand for silence, cried, 'Go home go home, the mandarin will allow you to build your headquarters in the city', which before he had refused, 'and will give \$200 himself'. After a moment's pause this was greeted with shouts of disapproval and so for hours it went on. As our little children listened to it you may imagine their feelings. The fall of the Yamen would possibly have meant the attack on us. At last, as evening was drawing on and the mob showed their determination to have their way, a Mr. Lang, one of the best known men of the city, came out with a message that all they asked for would be granted, the prisoners would be liberated and sent home safe, etc., and the Mandarin would acknowledge himself defeated by allowing his secretary to be publicly beaten before the people. The poor man got 300 blows with the bamboo and was dismissed the next morning from his post. This to Chinese minds means that the mandarin himself was beaten and brought to his knees in disgrace. From that day, when they learned their power, recruits have crowded in: all in trouble with the neighbours through debt or law suit, flock to their standard. I have been interrupted writing this letter by a poor convert coming to report to me fresh wrongs done to him in broad daylight. 'What can I do for you?' I said, 'You see the authorities are powerless and what can I do?' 'Yes, I know that, but you can pray.' A couple of days before that another had come from a distant village with a similar sad story. He had come a long way this man. I asked him too, 'What can I do for you,' and he too said, 'Teacher, I have come to tell you about it, only you may pray.' And we did to Him to whom was given all power on earth. We talked of olden days, when God's faithful people had so often suffered and that it was for a moment, working for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. Things which are seen are temporal, but things which are not seen are eternal. Since last August their murmurs have rapidly increased and in December notices were placed all through the city and country, calling a monster gathering at their new head quarters here. Very disquieting rumours reached us. The converts urged me to organize them and to procure arms. Of course, I would not do this, and showed them how futile any such proceedings would be. The day arrived, an enormous meeting was held, but no injury done. It was the 19th of the month; from early dawn to-day a belt of prayer was encircling the earth for the Fu-kien mission. Prayer uttered by thousands, from New Zealand round to Canada, who used the Church Missionary Society cycle of prayer. They little knew how thankful we were to them that day. I have just learned that up to the present 2000 have enlisted, mostly of the lowest orders. At present the reins of Government are practically in their hands. What the immediate future will unfold it is hard to say. One most significant fact is that the better classes have subscribed some thousands of dollars to re-build their city walls and put all in order to resist attack. I asked some men why this expense was being incurred, and they said openly for fear of the rebellion of the Vegetarians. Our house being quite outside the city, the rebuilding will not make any difference to us: but we have far better protection than that. 'He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.'

The Rev. R W Stewart wrote on 10th April:—

'The Vegetarian rebels mustered strong at Sek Chek Du and Sek Baik Du, and were about to march on the city when the mandarins had the gateway blocked. Mr. Sing Mi, with others, came across the river to see me at 4 in the morning. At daylight all the women and children got to the other side of the river and over the wall. For three days we were shut in, and then for some reason the Vegetarians separated and went to their homes.'

INTERVIEW WITH MRS SAUNDERS "A GLORIOUS DEATH."

By RITA

I felt some diffidence in entering a house of sorrow to beg for details of the lives and work of the Misses Saunders, but the bearing of the bereaved mother at once put me at my ease. Resigned is not the word to describe her state. She glories in the work and faith of her daughters. Refers to theirs as 'a glorious death' and says that though they were her only children if she had two more she would send them on the Lord's work.

'You needn't mind asking,' was her encouragement when I shrunk from touching on details that I thought would be too harrowing. Added to this marvellous self-command, Mrs. Saunders has a perfect grasp of all the work of the missionaries. She tells the salient points lucidly, tersely and connectedly. Mrs. Saunders tells

here story more clearly than any lady I have interviewed. I can easily believe the remark of a lady friend sitting by the fire that the martyrs were 'such clever girls.' It is what you would expect after listening to the fluent, concise conversation of their mother.

'My daughters were born at Brighton,' she said. 'At the time of their confirmation they were drawn to the Lord, and from then began to seek for a field to work for Him. Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Hudson Taylor fired their hearts with the stories of the woes and wants of the heathen, and they both decided to dedicate their lives to converting the heathen. Some time passed before an opportunity presented itself. In 1892 they got the chance they had been waiting for. They were accepted as workers if they would first qualify themselves by some additional study. 'This they consented to. My eldest daughter spent six months in the Melbourne Hospital gaining medical knowledge, which has been invaluable to her. Then Canon Berry and the late Canon Chase coached them in theology. On the 10th of October 1893, they were accorded a splendid send-off by Christian friends at the Spencer street station. On the 16th of the same month they left Sydney by the *Menmuir* for China. They had a protracted voyage, and spent some time at Manila, ultimately arriving at Hong Kong in time for Christmas. They waited here for three weeks till the Rev. Stewart, who has been killed, arrived from Canada to take charge of them, and they have been in his charge ever since. Their home has been at Ku-Cheng. Just now they ought to have been on their holidays, Why they were not I do not know. Of course I know nothing more of the actual massacre than what has appeared in the cablegrams, but I know something of the state of affairs prior to the event. These Vegetarians, the avowed enemies to law and order, have been causing much trouble. The Vegetarians are the rabble, the scum of society, the Nihilists of China. Now, I do not believe what has appeared in one of the morning papers, that they acted under the direction of the Mandarins. My daughters have written that the Mandarin was very kind to them, and would protect them.'

'May not the seeming kindness, and the assistance in their murder, be just another instance of the duplicity of the Chinese character?' I asked.

'The duplicity of the Chinese character is no worse than the duplicity of some Christians' character,' replied Mrs. Saunders, warmly. 'I stand up for the Chinese. They are not to be judged by the work of their rabble any more than we should if the strikers had perpetrated outrages. The respectable Chinese are a fine people, and I exonerate them. My daughters and their friends had only returned home after going away till it was thought safe to return, and have fallen victims to the treachery of a few. Mrs. Stewart's children and maid were up the mountains where my daughters and their friends usually spend the summer, and I suppose the maid and some of the children have escaped. I think from what I know they were most likely attacked at night.'

'I thought the Chinese would not venture on night attacks/'

'Don't you believe it; these Vegetarians would. I regard it as an assault of Satan.'

'Will you tell me something of the routine of your daughters' work?'

'As I said just now, my elder daughter found her medical knowledge very useful. She studies further in China under Dr. Gregory, a medical missionary. From 8 to 12 daily she received patients, dressed their limbs, and prescribed for them. Then after lunch she went out with Miss Elsie Marshall, a friend of hers. Miss Marshall used to preach, and my daughter to prescribe for the listeners. By this means they got hold of the people. Then they always took a Bible woman with them, because she had more ready command of the language, and the Chinese trusted her more, and so they worked from day to day.'

'Had your daughters any considerable acquaintance with the language?'

'My elder daughter passed her second examination last May after being out fifteen months. My younger daughter was thrown back because she took longer to get acclimatized. She passed her first examination last Easter, and was preparing for the other. My elder daughter was 24 and the younger 22 just this day week. Great success has attended the work of the Christians in China. At this particular place, Caching, there are 500 Christians. Mr. Stewart baptized eighty last time he held a baptismal service. It is a glorious work.'

'Do you know anything of Miss Gordon?''Yes, at first she volunteered for work in India, but her health was not good, and she feared the climate. They sent her to China, and she worked with my daughters. She should have been away now; July and August are the holiday months. My daughters hoped to come home on furlough, but they had dedicated themselves to their work. Indeed, if I could have sold my property I would have gone myself.'

'I suppose you have given up any idea of going now?'

'Indeed I have not. I'd go tomorrow if I could dispose of my property. 'Both Mrs. Saunders and a lady friend who was present frequently referred to the 'glorious deaths' of the victims, and count them 'privileged to die for the Lord.'

'I do not think of their bodies. I think of them in heaven,' said their mother.

Anyone seeing the comfortable home the young ladies abandoned when they left 'The Willow' to labor in China, would know that only devotion to their work would induce them to make the change. Both were handsome girls. The elder was an excellent pianist, and both, their friends assured me, were 'well fitted to shine in society, and had every inducement to give themselves up to a life of pleasure.' They chose differently.

MISS NEWCOMBE

Miss Newcombe, another of the victims, was well known in Australia and New Zealand. She was niece of Mr. C P Newcombe, a well-known New Zealand schoolmaster. She, too, had devoted her life to missionary work, and labored in New Zealand and Australia in connection with the Baptist Church.

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHINESE MISSIONARY IN MELBOURNE.

THE REV. CHEOK HONG CHEONG.²⁶

THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF CHINA.

The Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong, [pictures next page] Chinese missionary in Melbourne, was seen on the subject of the massacres on Wednesday, with a view of ascertaining his opinion of their probable cause. He is a native of the province of Canton, and has no personal knowledge of affairs in Fuh-Kien, where the outrages have taken place, but he is closely in touch with the Chinese mission work generally, and knows much about the difficulties and dangers encountered by those who devote themselves in spreading the Christian religion among a barbarous, and often antagonistic, people. Mr. Cheong is strongly of opinion that the Chinese people generally are inclined to be friendly to the missionaries, but that the disturbances are caused by the acts of members of the secret societies with which China is honeycombed. These societies, he says, are semi-political, semi-freebooting, and are a frequent source of trouble to all The Agencies of civilization, as well as to the civil authorities of the country. Rioting, stimulated by these people, is frequent, and is often directed against the houses and churches of the missionaries. 'But why should they be angry against the missionaries, who are peaceful people, one would think?' is a natural question.

'Because they are foreigners,' is the best explanation Mr. Cheong can give. 'It is race hatred that is at the bottom of it perhaps. We have had an Anti-Chinese Society formed in Melbourne, and some of the people in China band themselves together in much the same unreasonable way, only their methods are not so civilized.' They certainly are not!

Mr. Cheong thinks that one result of the massacres will be that the missionary societies of England will see the necessity of devoting more of their energies to the Christianisation of his country. He considers that the Chinese mission field has been sadly neglected in the past, and in proof of this, mentions that on a recent occasion when 156 missionaries were sent out from England, only six went to China. The great bulk of them being destined for India. Now that the Chinese Emperor and Empress have shown themselves to be devoted students of the Bible, and so friendly to the work of the missionaries, a terrible events like that which has filled all minds with horror, will, Mr. Cheong hopes and believes, lead to more being done for the winning of the teeming millions of China to the Christian religion.

26 Welch, Ian, Alien Son. The Life and Times of. Cheok Hong CHEONG, (Zhang Zhuoxiong). 1851- 1928, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2003, online at: <http://dspace.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/49261/1/01front.pdf>

Cheok Hong CHEONG, age 16 years.



Cheok Hong CHEONG, aged c 65 years.



Ian Welch

AUSTRALIAN LADY MISSIONARIES.²⁷

From Mr. Thomas Selkirk, secretary of the China Inland Mission in Melbourne, we have obtained a list of the ladies from these colonies who are present engaged in this heroic and self-denying work in China. Mr. Selkirk has been a missionary in China, and received only yesterday letters from missionaries there, in which reference was made to the rioting which had endangered their lives. One letter was from the Rev. Edward Williams, who is engaged in the province of Szechuan. He spoke of an infuriated attack which was made upon his residence and chapel by the mob. It was the occasion of the feast of the Dragon when this particular attack happened, and the populace appear to have been in a highly excited condition. They battered down the gates of the chapel, swarmed in, broke windows, and did as much damage as they could, until the Mandarin, who had been sent for by Dr. Williams, put in an appearance and arrested the ringleaders of the riot. Another missionary in China, from whom a letter was received by Mr. Selkirk yesterday, spoke of having to escape by his back window, and swim a river with his wife and child to escape from the mob. Mr. Selkirk says that the vegetarian societies, to which are attributed the course of the present terrible troubles, are really Buddhist societies, the members of which are pledged not to eat meat, and who angrily resent the work of the Christian missionaries in China.

THE REV. H. S. PHILLIPS

The Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, who, as our cable message reports, witnessed the massacre [*Kucheng*] graduated at Cambridge College, London, and took his BA degree in 1886. He was ordained deacon by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Manchester in 1888 for London and the Colonies. In 1890 he became a priest at Victoria, Hong Kong. In the following year he was appointed to the Kien-Yang-Dio mission, and was sent to Nan-wa-Kang, in South China. Lately he proceeded to Ku Cheng.

HISTORY OF THE MISSION

The 'two Saunders' referred to in Archdeacon Wolfe's message, says the *Argus* are Miss Nellie Saunders

27 See Part Twelve: Appendix 3.

and Miss Lizzie (Topsy) Saunders, daughters of Mrs. Saunders, of Normanby road, Kew. Miss Nellie Saunders 24 years of age and her sister about 22. In their youth they were seized with a desire to devote themselves to missionary work, and as their aspirations were encouraged and shared by their mother their education was specially directed to the essentials of missionary enterprise. The Zenana Missionary Society, with its special work by women and for women first attracted the attention of the Misses Saunders and Mrs. Saunders proposed to devote her private means to the life-work of her daughters, and sharing their Christian zeal, she proposed to accompany them in their journeying to India or China, whichever land was selected as the field for their missionary work. But meantime the failure of the banks and the financial stress of the period involved the fortune of Mrs. Saunders, and she was compelled to abandon her long cherished purposes of spending her money in the service of the advancement of Christianity in the heathen East. She was above The Age at which missionaries were sent out by any of the societies, and at last, with much pain, she had to consent to a separation from her daughters, for whom the newly organized local branch of the Church Missionary Association had found openings in the Chinese mission. Just about two years ago, the young ladies, after a preliminary training in the Melbourne Hospital, departed for their new sphere of labor, burning with Christian zeal, and strong in the hope of years of useful life among the Chinese. They were given an enthusiastic send-off by their friends and the members of the Christian Missionary Association in Melbourne and in course of time they reached their new home in Ku Cheng. They both applied themselves with such diligence in the study of the Chinese language that they made wonderful progress, and in six months Miss Nellie Saunders had outstripped all the other pupils in the school and had obtained a proficiency not usually gained by less than twelve months of hard study. Her sister, though not so apt, made rapid strides in the acquisition of the language, and also promised to rapidly become fully qualified. On May 30, 1894, Mr. Wilcox, Missionary, M.E.M, [Methodist Episcopal Mission, Ku Cheng] certified that he had thoroughly examined Miss Eleanor Saunders in the required course of Chinese studies of the second year, and had found her work entirely satisfactory. This meant that Miss Saunders was then declared competent for responsible work, and ready for the duty of an itinerant missionary. Both the young ladies maintained a constant correspondence with the Victorian Church Missionary Association and with their relatives, and as will be seen from extracts of their letters published below, they were well established in their new home, thoroughly inured to all the hardships and not lost any of the enthusiasm which had induced them to renounce friends of their childhood and their native land with ease and comfort.

Miss Mary Gordon, another of the unfortunate ladies referred to in the telegram as amongst the victims of the massacre, is about 27 years of age, and came from Ipswich, Queensland. She was trained for missionary work by the Rev. H B Macartney at St Mary's, Caulfield and was sent to China by the Zenana Missionary Society about five or six years ago. She had accomplished much good in her new sphere, and was a valued worker of the society which sent her abroad.

The Rev. R W Stewart and his wife, who, with one of their children, have also fallen before the ferocity of the Chinese, went to China in 1876. Mr. Stewart was a graduate of Dublin, and he was accompanied to Foochow by the Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd of the Church Missionary Colleges at Islington. Mr. Stewart's chief work was the training of native agents, and Mrs. Stewart devoted herself to the Biblewomen's class. He labored assiduously and without remission until about four years ago, when with Mr. Eugene Stock, editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society, they visited the colonies amongst other places, with the view of obtaining further funds for their missionary and enlisting volunteers. In Melbourne, which they visited about three years ago, their meetings were attended by large numbers of people, and their description of their life and work in China led to a quickening of the missionary spirit. The local branch of the Church Missionary Society, as at present constituted on an independent basis, was the outcome of the visit, and when a year later the society sent out the Misses Saunders as their first two missionaries the work of Mr. And Mrs. Stewart and of Mr. Stock was considered to be crowned with success. On the occasion of their visit, Mr. And Mrs. Stewart endeared themselves to all with whom they were brought into contact, and though not Australians, as the others are. Their sad deaths were deeply deplored.

THE FUH-KIEN MISSION

The Fuh-Kien Mission, to which Miss Gordon and the Misses Saunders were attached, dates back to 1859, when the Revs. W. Welton and R. D. Jackson arrived at Foochow. It has had an interesting history since, and in 1889 it was able to shew the following statistics: -

Number of native clergy,	8;
Native lay agents,	209;
Native Christians	7,582 (4,097 baptised and 2,555 catechumens);
Native communicants,	2,142;
Baptisms during the year,	49;
79 schools;	1,952 scholars;
236 voluntary exhorters;	
European ordained missionaries,	11;
European lay missionaries,	2;
European female teachers,	3;

The province of Fuh-Kien is one of the smallest of the eighteen into which China is divided, but it contains a population of about twenty millions. The River Min, on which the capital stands, divides it into two unequal parts. The smaller half to the north is the district mainly occupied by the Church Missionary Society. On the south side of the Min the American Episcopal Methodists and Congregationalists are at work, and further south, around Amoy, there are stations belonging to other English and American societies.

Mr. Eugene Stock, in describing the mission and the work, wrote: - 'The Chinese of Fuh-Kien are in character like their country, more rough and vigorous than the people of the more level provinces of the north. Those more inland, where the ridges and peaks are highest, partake of that energetic and daring disposition which the unavoidable struggles with which the difficulties and dangers of a rugged region usually impart to its inhabitants. In those nearer the coast, the qualities of the mountaineer and the mariner are combined. It is from Amoy and other southeastern ports of the empire that the wonderful tide of emigration has been pouring for several years past which is giving a large Chinese population to Australia and California, and has now become a great difficulty in American politics. In the Chinese war of 1856-57 our naval surgeons were struck with the calm, unflinching courage with which the men of these provinces who, as wounded prisoners, came into their hands, underwent the most painful operations. The country presents a strange mixture of prosperity and degradation, of industry and squalor.

THE CAUSE OF THE MASSACRE A BLOOD-THRISTY VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

The Rev. Mr. Stewart and his lady missionaries have not been without warning of serious trouble, and only six weeks ago news was obtained in Melbourne of an attempt to murder them which had been made by a society known as the 'Vegetarians'. The ladies made their escape at night by clambering over fences and hurrying thence to the seaside under the protection of the British Consul. Of this peculiarly bloodthirsty vegetarian sect, Mr. Stewart wrote recently: -

'Owing doubtless to the Government being fully engaged with the war, with the war, a sect known as the Vegetarians, but hitherto without influence or position, has suddenly sprung into vigorous life in this part of the country. They first came into prominence in August a month after the declaration of war, and at a village called A-Dong-Bang, where an unusually large number of men joining our church. They attacked the converts, beating some, pillaging the shops of others, and finally cut down and carried off \$100 worth of the crop belonging to a leading convert of the place. I at once visited our chief mandarin, who promised to take the matter up without delay. On sending out officers to investigate they were met by an armed mob, and there being no soldiers nearer than Foo Chow there was nothing that could be done. I ought to say perhaps that on paper we have 100 soldiers attached to Ku-Cheng but the mandarins do without them and pocket the money. A month or so later, in another part of the district, these Vegetarians, with whom are allied one of the most dangerous of the secret societies, committed some offence but not in any way connected with our church, but so heinous the magistrate was forced to seize three of four and imprison them. This was a signal for a rising. Messages were quickly despatched in all directions and a mob assembled outside the Yamen. All that day they beat around the house shouting threats of vengeance. On their way to Yamen they paused outside our city church. Some were for rushing in and demolishing it, others advised to move on to the Yamen and if they proved unsuccessful there they could return and take it next. The poor women and others in the church building were terrified knowing by past experience there was every chance of the

threats being carried out. As the mob crowded around Yamen, ever increasing in numbers, one leading citizen after another, who had been closeted with the Mandarin, came forth with offers of concessions. The first, holding up his hand for silence, cried, 'Go home go home, the mandarin will allow you to build your headquarters in the city', which before he had refused, 'and will give \$200 himself'. After a moment's pause this was greeted with shouts of disapproval and so for hours it went on. As our little children listened to it you may imagine their feelings. The fall of the Yamen would possibly have meant the attack on us. At last, as evening was drawing on and the mob showed their determination to have their way, a Mr. Lang, one of the best known men of the city, came out with a message that all they asked for would be granted, the prisoners would be liberated and sent home safe, etc., and the Mandarin would acknowledge himself defeated by allowing his secretary to be publicly beaten before the people. The poor man got 300 blows with the bamboo and was dismissed the next morning from his post. This to Chinese minds means that the mandarin himself was beaten and brought to his knees in disgrace. From that day, when they learned their power, recruits have crowded in: all in trouble with the neighbours through debt or law suit, flock to their standard. I have been interrupted writing this letter by a poor convert coming to report to me fresh wrongs done to him in broad daylight. 'What can I do for you?' I said, 'You see the authorities are powerless and what can I do?' 'Yes, I know that, but you can pray.' A couple of days before that another had come from a distant village with a similar sad story. He had come a long way this man. I asked him too, 'What can I do for you,' and he too said, 'Teacher, I have come to tell you about it, only you may pray.' And we did to Him to whom was given all power on earth. We talked of olden days, when God's faithful people had so often suffered and that it was for a moment, working for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. Things which are seen are temporal, but things which are not seen are eternal. Since last August their murmurs have rapidly increased and in December notices were placed all through the city and country, calling a monster gathering at their new head quarters here. Very disquieting rumours reached us. The converts urged me to organize them and to procure arms. Of course, I would not do this, and showed them how futile any such proceedings would be. The day arrived, an enormous meeting was held, but no injury done. It was the 19th of the month; from early dawn to-day a belt of prayer was encircling the earth for the Fu-kien mission. Prayer uttered by thousands, from New Zealand round to Canada, who used the Church Missionary Society cycle of prayer. They little knew how thankful we were to them that day. I have just learned that up to the present 2000 have enlisted, mostly of the lowest orders. At present the reins of Government are practically in their hands ... Men's minds are in an unsettled state, and an extraordinary letter that purports to come from Peking, and that last week was posted on the city walls, runs something like this, professing to come from the Emperor himself: -

'When I came to the throne, I determined on a progressive policy, but I have had the reins of Government now but a few years in my hands, and the time has been too short to carry out my designs. The Japanese have come upon me, and my generals have failed me. It was through my own sins. I chose them badly. I have failed. Now I propose leaving Peking and seeking quiet in a Western city; and do you, my people, now select some other man to take place, who will do better than I have done.'

A VEGETARIAN PLACARD.²⁸

The ways of the 'Vegetarians' are strange, though in some sort they have imitators in civilized countries where missionaries are deemed to be little needed. The Rev. H M Eyton-Jones, of Fuh Ning, South China, wrote recently as follows in the *Church Missionary Gleaner*.

Although the war between China and Japan is happily settled, the position of the missionaries and native Christian congregations in China is still a cause of anxiety, those best acquainted with that country anticipating internal troubles and practical anarchy amongst her three hundred millions of people. Some idea of the way in which the people are being incited against the Christian religion may be gathered from the following translation of a placard, numbers of which have been affixed to the walls of Fuh-Ting city near Fuh ting all say: -

"In former days, before this doctrine came, all was peaceful. Its origin is unknown. Christ's teaching was evil. His followers were unwilling to confess how evil it was. Confucius's teaching, unlike Jesus', was good.

28 See Part Ten: Anti-Christian Cartoons.

Followers of Jesus became akin to the beasts, their conscience is dead, their lives become injured, their end is certain. Even in death their bodies are maltreated. Their eyes are torn from their sockets, their hearts from their bodies, and their kneecaps wrenched off. The foreigners who do this hide their evil deeds. Their goodness they blaze abroad. There is neither rest in life, nor peace in death. Children are taught to be unfilial, subjects disloyal, and men to treat their relatives as strangers. Our maidens are lead astray by the foreign clergy. Their vices forbid enumeration. Our forefathers will not protect such bestial ones, who destroy the worshipping of our ancestors and idols, sever husband and wife, and alter our customs. They are the laughing-stock of all. Thus we are all on the high road to evil. Christ was a wicked man. Be firm. Burn down his church and his books when he (Mr. Eyton-Jones) comes again. Woe to the landlord who rented him a house. Townsmen fight to the bitter end. We heap insults and abuse on Jesus' head. I call heaven to witness. Let him avenge himself and punish us if he can. Let Fuh-Ting city witness. We stand to our words. We hate with bitterest hatred. Let all take knowledge of this.

LETTERS FROM MISS [ELIZABETH] "Nellie" SAUNDERS.

The following is an extract from the letter which was recently received from Miss E. Saunders, and was published in 'The Victorian Church Missionary Gleaner': -

Foochow, April 1895.

I think you would be interested to have some account of the scenes we have lately been passing through. I know you are all upholding us here in prayer—there is no stronger power, and it would take something powerful to move the hearts of the wicked men who have been plotting evil against Christ's followers—and we cannot help thinking that the way all the trouble seems to have been stopped is just due to that power of prayer.

Early in March in new woman's school was opened in Ku Cheng with such a nice set of women—most of them real enquirers, and they were getting on so beautifully, and all the work was in full swing, when there came a sudden stop to everything in the shape of mission work up there. I think I told you once before of the 'Vegetarians,' which is a very harmless name given to a set of lawless creatures, whose great idea is to upset the government by Mandarins, whom they hate utterly! They use vegetarianism as a cloak for their real motives, which are to try and get all they can into their own hands. They talk a great deal about 'power', and I have heard it said that there are hundreds who would join their ranks if they could prove in any way that their 'power' is greater than that of the mandarins, or of the Jesus doctrine people. They have pretty successfully proved their superiority to the Ku Cheng Mandarin, who was obliged to give in to them last November in a way that gave their courage to try again. And this they proceeded to do in March—much to our inconvenience! A rumor came to the ears of the Mandarin late on the evening of the 27th of March that Vegetarians, numbering some 3000 were collecting in a place not far from Ku Cheng, intending to make a raid next day on the city for the purpose of plundering all the houses with anything in them to plunder. Of course the Yamen and our houses would stand first on this list, and, moreover, as ever since last August they have been threatening at intervals to come and burn them down, they would probably take advantage of this occasion to fulfill their threats.

The Mandarin was in a great state of alarm on hearing that they were coming again. He had enough of them last year! Orders were immediately given that the city gates should be blocked up, and a watch set on the walls. These walls have been in a very dilapidated condition till within the last few months, when thousands of dollars have been spent on renewing them. They would not now stand a besieging army of any force. The Yamen people went about the city to see what they could get to block the gates with, and finally resorted to wooden coffins—great tree trunks cut in lengths, and big stones. They robbed the poor coffinman's shop in order to carry out his Excellency's orders, and I don't know if ever they returned him his coffins.

It must have been about 3 o'clock in the morning when Ling Sung-Mi, the clergyman of the city church, and Li Saik-Ing, the itinerant gospel preacher, two of the leading Christians, came over the river (which flows along outside the city wall) and up the hill to our compound to rouse us up and consult with Mr. Stewart as to what would be the best thing to do. There were so many people to think of—the women in the school, and the 50 girls and 25 boys, with 8 or 10 foundlings in the house where Miss Nisbit used to live with them, and the women who look after them: all these must be got out of the way of any danger, if danger there was, and these two men declared that there was. By 3 o'clock, all except ourselves and few men were over in the city chapel, inside the walls to remain at least for the present. We thought of going to Hua Sang, a

mountain village four hours ride from Ku Cheng, but delayed starting as the rain was pouring in torrents, and as we could not get any chairs, it meant walking all the way, which would not have been good for any of us, especially the children. About an hour later a messenger came from the Mandarin, with his card, and an invitation to go into the city till the excitement was over. This invitation was accepted, and we decided to go and take possession of an empty house belonging to one of the American missionaries, who had not been in Ku Cheng for some time [Mr. Wilcox]. Another thing that made it impossible for us to go to Hua Sang was that the vegetarians were also up there and would probably have come to wherever we were to see if we had anything worth taking. So we all went over into the city—quite an imposing procession—and we took up our residence in the big house, which we quite filled.

HER LAST LETTER

By the last mail the Rev. Mr. Barnett received a letter from Miss Saunders, at his residence, the Caulfield Grammar School. Coming as it does after the news of her murder the contents of the letter will have a melancholy interest for her friends. The text is as follows; -

Ku Cheng, June 24, 1895.

Dear Mr. Barnett: - It is now close on the beginning of our summer resting time, and with the few weeks since our return from banishment, in consequence of the vegetarian troubles lying behind us. I would like the committee to know something of what has been going on in that time. Our hearts were just full of praise to God for His wonderful goodness, as when we returned to Ku Cheng to find all quiet once more. Nothing but praise. For has not He guarded us and answered our prayers about the Christians in His own loving way, giving us, as ever, far more than we deserve? About a week after we came back I had my second language examination, and since then we have been free to do what I so much wanted to—namely, to be able to visit more in the villages near here. The people are so friendly, and so glad to see one that it is a pleasure to be in their houses, especially in any village where there is a Christian house. There is one specially nice woman in a village about three miles from here who was in the women's school that was only opened about a fortnight before we all had to go. She is always so glad to see one, and she has such a bright happy face, and talks about the Lord with such evident joy that one just praises God for her. Her son goes to the boys' day school in that village. Every quarter the schools are examined in a three months' course, and I examined this particular school the other day, the boys, some sixteen of them, all sitting on two long forms, and the rest of the space in the room crowded with people who came in to hear and occasionally make observations. It is a really good chance of preaching the Gospel to them.

Last Thursday I went into the country with one of the teachers from the girls' school to a place about ten miles from here. It is called Dong Liang ("a long flight of steps") and is the home of one of the most earnest Gospel preachers in the mission. He is an itinerant preacher and goes round from place to place with a young doctor, and holds services in the different chapels. His wife, I am sorry to say, is not at all calculated to assist him in his work. Till quite lately she was entirely opposed to Christianity, and refused to be taught anything, owing chiefly to the influence of her old mother-in-law, who was very bitter against Christians and their God. I made the acquaintance of the wife in the city chapel, where she was living while her husband was itinerating. She had been baptized at the last Cie Huoi Church Council in February, and though very ignorant was willing to be taught. I am afraid her brain has got a trifle rusty: she did not learn very fast. But, as since our return she had been away in her own home at Dong Liang, I felt I should like very much to see her, and the only way to do that was to go up there. There is another woman there who was possessed with a devil some time ago but who now is all right again. I was interested in her and been once before to see her. The chair-ride was a very hot one: the temperature all day for the last fortnight has not been under 90. deg [*Fahrenheit scale*] but we got to Dong Liang by dinner time.

Li Daik Ing Sing Sang happened to be at home himself just then, and he was very glad to see us coming to his place. They had made preparations for us, and gave up their rooms in the lower part of the house to us, as they said they were so much cooler. We were entertained in the front hall by the wife of his younger brother, who used to be in the girls' school. It is very sad that none of the three younger brothers have followed their father and elder brother's good example, and two of the wives are quite untaught, but they are very nice women. They got ready a feast for us in the back room, and brought us in to partake of it with their usual politeness, making us sit down and do all the eating, while they all stand about pressing things on us.

You need a good deal of pressing to eat Chinese dainties on a hot day, but they are so pleased if you will eat their things that you do not mind doing it so very much. I had a nice time all the afternoon, first in the house, just talking to these four women, and specially to one of them who had not been talked to before, and seemed specially bright and interesting, and then in the village, where we had a large number of women in the house of the girl who was once demon-possessed. That evening Daik Ing Sing Sang told me about the villages near there, and among them he mentioned one about a mile from where we were, straight up a very high mountain, to which no foreigner had ever gone, and he himself only about twice. It is just these little out-of-the-way places that don't get reached because of the great amount of other work to be got through, so I at once thought I should like to go there if possible. He said at first we could not do it and be back in Ku Cheng by the next evening; but we were up very early the next morning, and had time to go and see two women in a little group of houses about 10 minutes' walk away before starting at 10 o'clock for Sa Kang.

It was a most dreadful climb in the baking sun for a mile straight up the side of this mountain. The poor Biblewoman was very hot, and out of breath by the time we got up, so we sat on some stones in the shade of a big tree for a few minutes before going into the village. The men, who travel about a good deal, had seen foreigners before, and had heard the Jesus doctrine, but the women had not, so were very shy at first. Our guide sat on the other side of the guest hall fanning himself vigorously and answering all sorts of questions about me, asked by three or four men who were standing about. By degrees a crowd of women gathered to look at us, and presently asked us to go to another house to talk to them. I was struck by the friendliness of these women to me, when they had never seen a foreigner before—asking me into their houses like that. I was so glad they did, for I knew we would never get them to come and listen with the men standing there. We had a good time with them. They listened very well, but, of course, it is difficult to tell the first time, like that, whether they really were impressed or not. They asked us eagerly to come again, and did their best to get us to stay to dinner, but this we could not do. They gave me what I liked much better than a Chinese dinner, and that was a

bowl of beautiful clear cold water from a little mountain stream up there.

May God grant that before long in some hearts there the living waters may be springing up into everlasting life. On our way home to Ku Cheng we spoke to a crowd of women in another village for about an hour. So many, many of them there are—and the laborers are so few.

Besides the second class of boys in the school here, which I have taught ever since last August I have now the first class. I have been teaching it for about three weeks, and on Saturday afternoons I have the Ku Cheng city day school, about 16 boys, up to the house, and teach them a little more. They sing hymns too, but that is not very charming to listen to; however, I am sure they will improve in time. The little boys that one meets everywhere are so bright, so quick, so easy to teach and so eager to learn that one just longs to be able to give them the chance of being Christians by having schools in as many villages as possible. Thank God for the way the prayers about the day schools have been answered, and to Him be all the glory.

On Sundays the house is full of women from morning till night. I have just had a note from my sister, in which she says she had 24 women yesterday morning and thirty in the afternoon. She wanted very much to go to a village about three miles from Sek Chek Du, but was deterred from doing so by the Christians there on account of some fresh Vegetarian troubles at the very place she wanted to go. This time the trouble has nothing to do with us. And we know, and have proved—even if it should come to us—that God is a strong hold in the day of trouble.

We do not forget to pray for God's richest blessing on the C.M.A. and believe for the answer.. Please go on praying for us. When one is tired and worn out by the heat and the often hard work, it is rest and strength unspeakable to remember that friends are praying for you.

I must now conclude, and with our united kind regards,

Believe me, yours in the King's service, Nellie Saunders.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 August 1895.

SYMPATHY OF CHINESE RESIDENTS

Through the efforts of Mr. Quong Tart and several other prominent Chinese citizens, a mass meeting of Chinese residents has been convened for this afternoon at the Natatorium, Pitt-street, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the relatives of the martyrs, and indignation at the brutal action of their country-

men in China. The Chinese residing in Sydney, it is said, feel very keenly regarding the massacres, and attribute the revolt to the lower or 'larrikin' classes.

**SYMPATHY IN SYDNEY
KINDRED MISSIONARY SOCIETIES**

CMA Receives letter from the Rev. George Campbell on behalf of the London Missionary Society.

CMA receives letter from Rev. J. E. Carruthers, President, Wesleyan Conference.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

Tomorrow evening the Rev. Rainsford Bavin, hon. Secretary for New South Wales of the China Inland Mission, is announced to conduct a special memorial service at the Centenary Hall. Mr. Bavin, whose daughter has spent four years as a missionary in China, is well versed in the work now being carried on there by the different missions.

In various churches of all denominations reference will be made to the massacres in China at tomorrow's services, and in several instances special memorial services are announced.

As already stated, the Dean of Sydney will conduct a memorial service in St. Andrew's Cathedral on Tuesday next. Special interest will attach to this service, as it will be held under the auspices of the society whose missionaries have been slaughtered.

FURTHER MISSIONARIES FOR CHINA

The news of the terrible massacre at Ku-Cheng has not in any way diminished the zeal of those interested in missionary work; indeed it has had the effect of making those missionaries at present on furlough doubly anxious to return to the sphere of their labours. During the past few days the Rev. Rainsford Bavin, of the China Inland Mission, has received two further applications from eligible candidates for mission work in China, and they will be laid before a meeting of the board on Wednesday next.

Town and Country Journal, (Sydney), 10 August 1805.

MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES.

A terrible massacre of missionaries has taken place at the town of Kucheng, near Foochow, China. A mob of natives belonging to a revolutionary society called the Vegetarians set fire to the residence of Dr. Stewart, at Ku-Cheng, and he, his wife, and one child were burned alive. Seven lady missionaries were butchered with spears and swords.²⁹ A Miss Codrington was seriously wounded, and several children were badly injured, some having their eyes gouged out. During the massacre terrible atrocities were committed. All the victims were connected with the Church Missionary Society. ... Although 1000 soldiers were near at hand they made no attempt to save the missionaries. The assaults and burnings occupied hours. Some of the women were horribly tortured. ... A Chinese Commission in Inquiry has been appointed to investigate the outrages. The commission includes the Prefect of Ku-Cheng, who is himself implicated in the massacres.

The Mercury, (Hobart), 10 August 1895.

The Brisbane Courier, (Queensland), 10 August 1895. (Essentially the same report.)

EUROPEAN TELEGRAMS.

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FURTHER OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

MISSIONS ATTACKED: HOSPITALS DEMOLISHED.

LONDON, AUGUST 8.—Further outrages by Vegetarians are occurring in China.

Yesterday the British-American Mission at Fattishan (sic) was attacked. The hospitals were demolished, and some of the Europeans fled to save their lives.

Chinese gunboats have been despatched to quell the disturbance.

The Vegetarian rebels number twelve thousand, and are well armed.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* reports outbreaks against Christians at Ching-Chow, Hupeh, Taiping, and Anhiu.

Two hundred Sikh troops will escort Commissioner Mansfield, who investigates the Kucheng affair.

29 The widespread use of syndicated reports saw this phrase is repeated in at least six Australian, four New Zealand, three American and one Shanghai report in just this part of the collection.

It is now clearly known that the attacks on missionaries there was organised by Chinese officials.

A public meeting held at Hongkong has denounced the connivance of Chinese officials in these outrages, and complained of the inadequate means provided by the British Government to protect its subjects in China. The meeting also demanded that instant pressure should be brought to bear upon the Chinese Government.

LATER.

Miss Mabel Hartford, an American missionary, states that the mob attacked the mission at 7 o'clock in the morning, and that she was nearly speared after being severely beaten.

It has been found that Miss Topsy Saunders escaped from Mr. Stewart's house, but was killed outside. Miss Gordon's head was almost severed from her body.

The West Australian, (Perth), 10 August 1895.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE CHINESE.

FURTHER OUTRAGES.

A SERIOUS OUTLOOK.

ONE THOUSAND WELL ARMED VEGETARIANS.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

OFFICIAL CONNIVANCE.

PUBLIC MEETING IN HONG KONG.

INADEQUATE PROTECTION OF EUROPEANS.

London, August 8.—The anti-Christian outrages in China are increasing with alarming rapidity.

Yesterday a Chinese mob attacked the British and American mission at Fatshan, near Canton. The hospitals connected with the mission were demolished. Some of the missionaries, in order to save their lives, took to flight. A Chinese gunboat has been despatched to the scene of the outbreak. In the town there are, it is said, a thousand well armed vegetarians, whose leaders are urging them to exterminate the Christians.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that the Anti-Christian agitation in China has reached serious dimensions. Outrages against missionaries have occurred at Ching-chow, Hupeh, Taep'ing and Anhiow.

It transpires that the escort of Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul at Foochow, who has proceeded to Kucheng for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances attending the recent massacre of missionaries, consists mainly of two hundred Sikh troops.

This fact has now been fully established that the Kucheng outrage was organized by Chinese officials.

— — —

Regarding the missionaries massacred at Kucheng, in China, a correspondent has supplied us with the following information:—

Rev. Robert Stewart, M.A., (Trinity College, Dublin), was one of the missionaries sent out by his college to the Fuh-Kien Mission in Southern China. He was practically the founder of the mission, and it was mainly through his efforts that the mission is in the flourishing position that it occupies at present. He finished his college course about eight years ago, and then went out to China. After repeated attacks of fever, etc., he returned home on furlough. During that time he occupied himself in organising plans for extending the mission, and it was in pursuance of this object that he accompanied Mr. Eugene Stock, secretary for the Church Missionary Society, on his late visit to the colonies. During this visit, about the end of 1892, they succeeded in establishing auxiliary societies in connection with the Church Missionary Society in Victoria and New South Wales, and as a result of this visit also the Miss Saunders and others volunteered and were accepted for service in China. The mission at Foochow comprised a school and training college for children and young men to employed as teachers in the province of Fuh-Kien, but there were several outlying stations, at one of which it was, evidently, that the recent deplorable massacres occurred. Mr. Stewart married a daughter of Mrs. Smiley [Smyly], Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin, Dublin, who is so widely known at home in connection with charitable and religious work. The deceased missionary was of a kind and genial disposition, and wherever he went made hosts of friends. As said before, it was through his energetic and untiring efforts that the mission was brought to a flourishing condition, and his loss, apart from personal considerations, will be sincerely regretted by all who are interested in the progress of Christianity in China. One of his chief helpers was the Rev. Thomas Collins, also a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who left for China about the year 1890.

Miss Newcombe is supposed to be identical with an experienced missionary of that name, who came from Warrnambool, Victoria, and has spent many years in connection with the Presbyterian and other Churches as a Zenana missionary. She spent some time, when home on furlough (1892-3), in lecturing throughout Victoria on missionary subjects.

The Misses Saunders originally lived in Bendigo, Victoria. One of them was know very widely throughout Victoria by her efforts and work amongst the police of the colony. They left for China about the latter end of 1893.³⁰

Timaru Herald, (New Zealand), 10 August 1895.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

(By Telegraph.)

WELLINGTON, August 9,—The Rev. George Nicholl, of the China Inland Mission, who spent 15 years in mission work in China and witnessed the Itchang riots some years ago, is at present in Wellington.³¹ He is acquainted with Kucheng and neighbourhood and is of opinion that the society of Vegetarians, which is responsible for the outrage, is an isolated one. He suggested as a remedy of the treatment to which missionaries are subjected, the stoppage of the opium traffic and to send missionary labourers into the country to preach the gospel, although it would probably mean a sacrifice of further lives. The heathen Chinese were taught from childhood to hate foreigners, and it was for missionaries to teach them better. In five years, 481 male and 672 female missionaries had been sent to the country, and had done an enormous amount of christianising work.

30 This information is incorrect. Hessie Newcombe came from Dublin, Ireland and was one of four sisters who worked in China. The Saunders Sisters were far too young to have been workers with police in Victoria.

31 Note that the China Inland Mission had no mission stations in Fujian Province.

The Times, (London), 10 August 1895.

The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times, (London), 10 August 1895.

Massacre of English Missionaries in China.

Further information from Kucheng show that the cowardly and fiendish massacre of the English missionaries was perpetrated by a society known as the Vegetarian Sect. The Misses Saunders, who were among the killed, went to Kucheng in 1893, Miss Elsie Marshall had been there since 1892, and Miss Gordon had been at work in Ping Nang only a year.

Aberdeen Weekly Journal, (Scotland), 10 August 1895.

FURTHER EXCESSES IN CHINA.

CANTON FOREIGN HOSPITAL DESTROYED.

(DALZIEL'S TELEGRAM.)

Shanghai, Friday.—The anti-foreign movement among the natives is spreading. Ten days have now elapsed since the demand was made by Europeans upon the authorities at Peking for the punishment of those implicated in the attacks upon foreigners, and the mob, seeing that nothing has been done, in spite of the promises given, are going on to further excesses. Outrages are now reported from the southern provinces of Kwantung, and the large foreign hospital at Canton has been attacked by the rioters and destroyed.

The Chinese officials, with a view to misleading the foreign residents and shielding themselves from responsibility in the recent outrages in Szechuen and Fu-Kien, are spreading stories to the effect that a rebellion has broken out among the people.

The inactivity of the British and American authorities in regard to the latest outrages is looked upon here as astounding.

It is the general impression here that the wholly inadequate demands of the British Foreign Office will compel the English missions to withdraw from China altogether, as the latter are evidently distasteful to the Chinese Government itself. The fact that the abandonment of the missions should be considered at all is creating here a great deal of disappointment and indignation.³²

Following the lead given by the recent meeting at Hong-Kong the Shanghai Municipal Council has offered Mr. R. W. Mansfield, the British Consul at Foochow, an escort of fifty mounted Sikhs to Kucheng, but the offer has been refused.³³

The foreign residents at the river ports are again supplying themselves with arms from Shanghai.

Washington, Friday.—the State Department this morning directed Mr. Denby, American Minister to China, to protect the Americans in the country, and to take special measures for the safety of those threatened at Ping-Yang. The State Department has authorized him to secure an armed force for this purpose. It has also ordered the gunboat Petrel to go and reinforce the naval strength under Admiral Carpenter, the United States commander in Chinese waters, who already has eight ships. The admiral has been ordered to proceed with gatlings and a thousand men in steam launches, and accompanied by the Petrel, to Ping-Yang, the Petrel being the only armed vessel of sufficiently light draft to navigate the river.³⁴ She is of 820 tons, has engines of 1300 horse-power, with an estimated speed of 13 knots, and is armed with four 6-inch breech-loading rifled guns, three 3-pounder quick firing, and four Maxims.

A cable message was received by the State Department this morning, reporting that a riot had taken place at an unnamed town 20 miles from Ku-Cheng, resulting in mission buildings being looted, and one British

32 This is an unattributed suggestion that British missions might withdraw from China. It is repeated in the *Pall Mall Gazette* below. In some American reports, the suggestion that all Americans should withdraw is strongly repudiated.

33 The Shanghai International Settlement, although subject to Chinese sovereignty, was effectively independent, maintained its own municipal services, including police and a British-run militia. The Shanghai Municipal Council was controlled by British business-men with some American and later Japanese participation. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shanghai_International_Settlement

34 See comments in Introduction regarding the use of foreign troops at Kucheng.

and two Americans being killed. This is said to be a different outrage from that perpetrated at Ing-Hok and which was reported earlier.

This paper goes on to report issues previously reported in other newspapers and cited in this collection, including the statement of Miss Mabel Hartford of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, (Portsmouth, England), 10 August 1895.

**MASSACRE AT CHINA.
ENGLISH SUBJECTS MURDERED.
SPREAD OF THE PERSECUTION.
PERSONAL NARRATIVES.**

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NAVAL FORCES AT FOOCHOO.

Reuter's Agency is informed that, in spite of all statements to the contrary, no orders have been despatched from home regarding movements of Her Majesty's ships in Chinese waters in consequence of the massacres, and that in the ordinary course any new disposition of vessels would be made by the Admiral in command. With regard to the British Naval force available in the neighbourhood of Foochow, Reuter's Agency learns that telegraphic advice of the despatch of the second-class gun vessel Linnet has been received, and it is believed that by this time she must be at Foochow. The twin-screw cruiser Rainbow is at Amoy, and, according to the last advices, there is a strong Naval force at Shanghai. Among the ships at the last-named place are the twin-screw cruiser Porpoise, the first-class gunboat Rattler, and the twin-screw gunboat Esk.

It is regarded as likely that some, if not all, of these vessels may have been ordered to Foochow, thus constituting a sufficiently strong force on the spot to meet all emergencies.

According to the last information, the United States Naval force in the neighbourhood of Foochow is as follows:

At Chefoo—the cruiser Monocacy, six guns; and the gunboat Machias, eight guns.

At Shanghai—The gunboat Yorktown, six guns, and the cruiser Detroit, nine guns. There are also in Chinese waters the Baltimore, Concor, Petrel, and Charleston.

ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES.

The United States Consul at Foochow is reported to have proceeded to the scene of the recent massacre, and to have ascertained the names of about 50 persons implicated, including several leaders and some of the actual murderers. The native Christians are suffering great persecution.

Washington, Wednesday.—The Secretary of State has directed the American Ambassador at Peking, Mr. Charles Denby, to demand protection from the Chinese Government in his task of collecting information with respect to the recent outrages on American Missionaries.

CHINA MISSIONS CRITICISED.

In his book "the Problems of the Far East" the Hon. G. N. Curzon³⁵ writes thus of the missionary movement in China:—

With rare exceptions, more liberal-minded than their fellows, the missionaries adopt an attitude of all native religions and ethics, ignoring alike their virtuous aspects and influence, the all-powerful hold which they have acquired upon the Chinese character and the sanction lent to them by a venerable antiquity. Particularly is this the case with respect to ancestor-worship, with which they decline all parley. The Chinaman, who is entirely content with his own religion, and asks only to be left alone, is assailed by a propaganda that commences with an attack upon all that he holds most dear. To him the ethics of Confucius (six) sum up the whole duty of man to the family and the State; while the payment of homage to the higher powers is provided for the polytheistic conceptions of the Buddhist cult. He hears the former disparaged, the latter derided. He is invited to become a convert at the cost of ceasing to be a citizen; to tear up the sheet anchor of all morality as the first condition of moral regeneration. If the evangelists of some new faith were to appear in England, drawn from a race whom

35 Curzon, Rt. Hon., George N, *Problems of the Far East*, (New York, Longmans, Green and Co, 1896).
Online 1 May 2010 at: <http://ia341317.us.archive.org/3/items/cu31924023034469/cu31924023034469.pdf>

we hated and despised, and were to commence their preaching by denouncing the Bible, and crying Anathema Maranatha ³⁶ upon the Apostles' Creed, what sort of a reception would they meet with?

Another source of misunderstanding is the constantly increasing employment of women, and particularly of unmarried women, by the missionary bodies. In a country like China, the institution of sisterhoods, planted alongside of male establishments, the spectacle of unmarried persons of both sexes residing and working 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. Only last year, at the remote inland town of Kuie-hwa-cheng, a friend of mine encountered a missionary community consisting of one male and of 20 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 these innocent girls only allowed them 200 dols., or £27.10s a year apiece for board, lodging, and clothing. As a consequence 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?

Pall Mall Gazette, (London), 10 August 1895.

FOURTH EDITION.

THE NATIVE RISING IN CHINA.

PROTEST BY AMERICAN RESIDENTS.

DESPATCH OF A FORCE OF CHINESE TROOPS.

SHANGHAI, Saturday.—The American residents here have telegraphed to President Cleveland protesting against the action of Mr. Denby, the United States Minister at Peking, in consenting that the British Consul should represent the United States at the Szechuen inquiry. They recommend that the commission should be reconstructed, and that an American official of adequate rank should be sent, while the Chinese officials in any way implicated in the massacres should be excluded. In conclusion, the residents urge that the commission should be accompanied by a marine escort.—*Reuter.*

ENERGETIC ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States State Department has directed Mr. Denby, American Minister to China, to protect the Americans in the country, and to take especial measures for the safety of those threatened at Peng-nang. The State Department has authorized him to secure an armed force for this purpose. It has also ordered the gunboat *Petrel* to go to reinforce the naval strength under Admiral Carpenter, the United States commander in Chinese waters, who already has eight ships. The Admiral has been ordered to proceed with a thousand men in steam launches, with machine guns, and accompanied by the *Petrel* to Foochow. She is of 890 tons, has engines of 1,300 horse-power, with an estimated speed of thirteen knots, and is armed with four 6-inch breechloading rifled guns, three 3-pounders, quick-firing, and four Maxims. A cable message has been received by the State Department reporting that a riot had taken place at an unnamed town twenty miles from Ku-Cheng, resulting in mission buildings being looted and one Englishman and two Americans being killed. This is said to be a different outrage to that perpetrated at Ing-hok and reported earlier.

PEREMPTORY ORDERS TO THE CHINESE VICEROY AT FU-KIEN.

An official telegram has been received in London, stating that imperative orders have been issued from Peking to the viceroy of Fu-Kien to instantly despatch troops to Ku-Cheng for the protection of the remaining portion of the missionary buildings at Hwa-Sang. Further, it has been ordered that an inquiry be at once instituted relative to the origin of the troubles at that place, and that those persons accountable for the disturbances, whoever they might be, should be arraigned with the least possible delays. In obedience to these peremptory orders, 1,500 Chinese troops have been despatched in great haste.

POSITION OF BRITISH MISSIONARIES.

It is the general impression in Shanghai that the wholly inadequate demands of the British Foreign Office will compel the English missions to withdraw from China altogether, as the latter are evidently distasteful to

36 Anathema Maranatha — "May our Lord swiftly execute his judgements."

the Chinese Government itself. Following the lead given by the recent meeting at Hong Kong, the Shanghai Municipal Council has offered Mr. R. W. Mansfield, the British Consul at Foochow, an escort of fifty mounted Sikhs to Ku-Cheng, but the offer has been refused. The foreign residents at the river ports are again supplying themselves with arms from Shanghai.

DISCUSSION AT YESTERDAY'S CABINET COUNCIL.

At the Cabinet Council held yesterday the action of the Government with regard to the massacre of missionaries in China was under consideration. Lord Salisbury, it is stated, reported to his colleagues the steps taken by the British Minister at Peking and his own complete endorsement of the Minister's action. The Prime Minister was also able to acquaint his colleagues with the fact that China had acceded to the British demands, but as to the further results of the action of the Government nothing has come to hand, so that the position is in a sense unsatisfactory. It is understood that Lord Salisbury also assured the Cabinet that both Sir Halliday Macartney and the Chinese Minister had expressed the profoundest regret for and abhorrence of the crimes. Every member of the Cabinet was present, and it is stated that all were unanimous in approving of the action taken by the Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain reported the receipt yesterday morning of a telegram from Sir William Robinson, Governor of Hong Kong, confirming the report, which had already reached this country, that the greatest excitement prevailed in the British colony, and giving the gist of the resolutions passed at an indignation meeting held there. Up to six o'clock yesterday evening no further news from China had been received either at the Foreign or the Colonial Office, and this fact, coupled with the arrival of a reassuring telegram at the missionary headquarters in London, leads to the belief that the report of the outrages at Fatsan and the destruction of a missionary hospital there was founded on a rumour which has happily not been borne out.

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, (London), 10 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES.

INDIGNATION IN SHANGHAI.

SHANGHAI, Saturday.—The American residents here have telegraphed to President Cleveland protesting against the action of Mr. Denby, the United States Minister at Peking, in consenting that the British Consul should represent the United States at the Szechuen inquiry. They recommend that the commission should be reconstructed, and that an American official of adequate rank should be sent, while the Chinese officials in any way implicated in the massacres should be excluded. In conclusion, the residents urge that the commission should be accompanied by a marine escort.—'Reuter.'

OPINION IN PARIS.

The Paris *Temps* says:—Europe cannot be a passive and apathetic spectator of these outbreaks of savagery. It has no right to abandon its citizens, and, even if it carried the superstition of the principle of the lay State to the length of refusing to protect missionaries risking their lives to win souls, it could not forsake its duty towards that class of citizens without jeopardizing all other classes from the merchant of the open ports to the diplomatists of Peking.

THREE MISSIONARIES KILLED.

A Washington telegram says that a cable despatch was received by the State Department on Friday reporting that a riot had taken place at an unnamed town 20 miles distant from Ku0Cheng, resulting in mission buildings being looted and one British subject and two Americans being killed. This is said to be a different outrage tot hat perpetrated at Ing-hok, and reported earlier.

The following communication was received yesterday from the Rev. George Tonge, secretary to the Church of England Zenana Missionary society:—"Private information leads us to believe that all the Church of England Zenana ladies at Hing-Wa and Lo-Nguong are either at Kuliang, near Foochow, or in Foochow itself. Miss Fleming, of Nang-Wa, a distant station, is known to be at Foochow."

The Graphic, (London, England), 10 August 1895.

The Missionary Tragedy in China.

The missionary who chooses China for his field of labour truly carries his life in his hand. He may win his way with the people, but the cultured and official classes owe him a perpetual grudge till one day a burst of fanaticism ends in some horrible catastrophe. Such is the ghastly tale of the massacre of British missionaries

at the station near Ku-cheng in the province of Fu-Kien, on the south-eastern coast of China. For forty-five years missionaries have worked in this province, which is people but some of the most lawless and turbulent natives of the whole Empire, with a considerable sprinkling of pirates. The station at Ku-cheng was established in 187=87, and six years later it was put under the charge of the Rev. Robert Warren Stewart, of the Church Missionary Society, who had been working in the neighbourhood twelve years, as Principal of the Society's Theological College at Foochow. His wife and children were with him, and Mr. Stewart was particularly successful in establishing native schools. Several English ladies joined the station, besides American missionaries. As usual, however, the Christians incurred the enmity of various secret societies particularly an important body called the "Vegetarians." Last April the societies were particularly threatening, so the Mandarin in charge at Ku-cheng brought Mr. Stewart and the ladies from the missionary compound into the city, where they eventually retired to Foochow for safety. As the situation quieted down the party returned to Ku-cheng—to meet their death as it proved. They had gone up to the Sanatorium at Whasang last week, when, in the middle of the night, a band of eighty 'Vegetarians' suddenly fell upon the luckless missionaries. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and two ladies were burnt alive in their house, five ladies were brutally speared, and Mr. Stewart's son was beaten to death. Two more of the Stewart children were badly hurt, the baby having an eye gouged out, while Miss Codrington, of the Zenana Mission, was also wounded; but the Rev. H. S. Phillips, of the Church Missionary Society, and the Americans escaped uninjured. The mob finished their work by looting the houses, and the Chinese officials ingeniously arrived on the spot when all was over.

Thus ten victims succumbed to mob violence. Mr. Stewart was of Irish education, and one of the best-known workers of the Church Missionary Society. He went straight to China from his ordination in 1876, and called it "his dear homeland," but he had also been on missionary tours in Australia and Canada. His wife was formerly Miss Louisa Smyly, sister to a well-known Dublin doctor, and after sharing his work, shared his death, together with their son Herbert. Their governess, Lena Irish, also perished. Of the other victims, Miss Elsie Marshall was daughter of the Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Blackheath, and had been three years in China, a letter from her describing "all quiet" being received on the very morning that her family learned the terrible news. Miss Hessie Newcombe was a Dublin lady belonging to the Zenana Mission, while Miss Flora Stewart was a daughter of the vicar of Little Stukely, Huntingdon. The two Misses Saunders and Miss Gordon were Australians, and were studying the language at Ku-cheng. Directly the news was known Great Britain formally demanded satisfaction for the outrage, together with a promise of safety for her subjects and the punishment of the guilty Chinese. Nor was Lord Salisbury's action confined to words, for to ensure that the Chinese Government shall actually carry out the British demands, the British Consul at Foochow was ordered to go up to the scene of the disaster with a Chinese military escort, and make an inquiry into the circumstances of the outrage on his own account. The Pekin Foreign Office agreed at once to the British conditions, and issued a proclamation ordering the punishment of the offenders.

The Newcastle Weekly Courant, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), 10 August 1895.

THE LATE REV. R. W. STEWART.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The Rev. Robert Warren Stewart, who, with his wife and child, has been massacred, was born in Kingston, near Dublin. He was first educated at Marlborough College, when Archdeacon Farrer was the Principal, and afterwards he was a graduate at Dublin University, where he was recognized as a brilliant scholar, and in 1871 he took his degree. He was originally called to the Bar, but when in London he came under the influence of the Rev. Evan H. Hopkins, and he decided to give up his practice at the Bar, and offer himself as a missionary. His ambition as a disciple of Christ running somewhat on the same lines as that of his brother, the Rev. Dr. Stewart, now resident in Claremont Park, Gateshead, who is well known in that borough. The Rev. R. W. Stewart was accepted by Church Missionary Society, and before taking his departure to the mission field in China he went through a course of training at Islington College. He was ordained in 1876 by the then Bishop of London, and in the same year he was married to Miss Louisa K. Smyly, daughter of the late Dr. Smyly. He was appointed Principal of the Church Missionary Society's Theological College at Foochow, which was built out of funds chiefly subscribed by the families of Dr. Stewart and his devoted wife. Mrs. Stewart was an intelligent and able woman, and soon becoming an accomplished linguist of the various

dialects spoken in China, she decided to further Christianity amongst the women in the country by taking up Zenana work, which she carried on successfully, especially in the higher circles of Chinese society. After Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had been a few years in residence the College was attacked by a mob and burnt to the ground.³⁷ Several of the catechists were killed and Mr. Stewart himself was brutally beaten, but his wife escaped with her child in her arms. Mr. Stewart on this occasion bravely stood his ground with the students, and was the mans, to a certain extent, of protecting them from the ill-treatment of the fanatics. The English Government intervened on behalf of the assaulted Englishman and women, with the result that the Chinese paid a large indemnity, with which a new college and church were erected outside the walls of Fu-chow, where Mr. Stewart continued his splendid work with increased vigour, and a striking proof of the success of his efforts was afforded by the fact that 9,000 converts joined his church. He was twice invalided home, and upon the second of these visits to England he was selected by the Church Missionary Society to accompany Mr. Eugene Stock, the Society's head organizing secretary, on a tour through Canada, New Zealand, Australia and India, to stir up missionary zeal. They were signally successful in their campaign, forming many branches of the Church Missionary Society at the different places, and securing considerable funds. From India he proceeded straight to China.

Mr. Stewart subsequently returned to England, and visited several of the principal towns in the country, being in great request as a missionary deputation. He was twice at Gateshead, preaching in Christ Church, Low Fell, and St. Aidan's, of which his nephew, the Rev. E. H. Stewart, is vicar. During his stay in the borough, Mr. Stewart was the guest of Captain Chapman, J.P., who with his family is greatly distressed at the sad fate which has befallen their beloved friend. Mr. Stewart left England in 1895 with his wife, visiting Canada on a mission similar to that in which he had been formerly engaged. Before he sailed he wrote, on August 31st, 1893, to his brother, Dr. Stewart, Gateshead, as follows:—

We are off tomorrow to catch the Canadian steamer to New York, (the Lusania). We are due at New York on the 9th September, and proceed at once to Toronto for the General Synod of the Canadian Church, the first ever held. There we shall meet everyone of note from all the dioceses, and hope to form plans for a short campaign in the Dominion. Some of the Bishops are giving me a hearty welcome, but we are in God's hands, and ask Him to carry out His purpose in sending us there. If it is little, or if it is much, His purpose is what we want to accomplish, and the great thing we ask of Him is that the man may not come to the front. This is what I have learned to dread. Think of us and pray for us. Leaving home this time feels like walking off a platform into absolute darkness—a kind of dying. But He has our hand, and in His hands too are the loved ones we leave behind, and we are not one bit afraid.

“God holds the key of all unknown; and I am glad.

If other hands should hold the Key, I might be sad.”

The “loved ones” Mr. Stewart refers to in his letter are his three boys, who are now being educated at Haileybury School, and it may be stated that all three are promising youths. On reaching China in December 1893, he resumed his ministry at Ku-cheng, and the reports that came to England periodically spoke in eloquent terms of the favourable progress of his missionary labours, especially among the young. No fewer than 56 village day schools were situated in his district. Writing of these schools, he stated:—

My pleasantest, and I think most profitable, itinerations were spent in hunting up these little schools.

So brilliant was the record of Mr. Stewart that it was currently reported that he was nominated by the Church Missionary Society for the new bishopric in China.³⁸

HIS LAST LETTER TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

See The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, (Brooklyn, New York), 6 Aug 1895.

THE MURDERED LADIES.

The “Times” says:—Two of the ladies who have been murdered —Miss H. E. Saunders and Miss E. M. Saunders—were new to the mission, having joined it as recently as 1893. They were sent out and supported

37 McClelland, Rev. T. (ed), *For Christ in Fukien: The Story of the Fuh-Kien Mission of the Church Missionary Society*, (London, Church Missionary Society, 1904, p. 24.) Last edition of the original work written by Eugene Stock.

38 Source of this statement is unknown. There was discussion of creating an English Anglican diocese based on Foochow. Archdeacon Wolfe sought to gather Chinese support for his appointment but was unsuccessful.

by the Australian Association, and were stationed at Ku-cheng while studying the language.

The other ladies who have lost their lives in the outbreak belonged to the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, and one of them, Miss Hessie Newcombe, was home on furlough last year. She spoke on behalf of the society at the annual meeting in May, and greatly interested her hearers by the simplicity and gentleness of her manner. She spoke of the advance which had been made in missionary work, and mentioned several striking instances of it. She was evidently devoted to her work, and she pleaded assiduously with other ladies to go back to China with her. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society has a large staff of lady missionaries in the province of Fo-kien, which includes Ku-cheng, and at least three others have been accepted by the committee, and were proposing to sail in the coming autumn. How the news of the massacre will affect the action of the society in this matter must, however, remain to be seen. It may be added that Trinity College, Dublin, is greatly interested in missionary work in Fo-kien, and its missionary association supports three clergymen as well as some lady workers there.

The Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips, Mr. Stewart's near neighbour, who has apparently made good his escape, joined the mission in 1888, and was stationed at Kien-Yang. For a long time he was forbidden to reside in or near the city, but he at last succeeded in obtaining a house on an excellent site just outside the north gate of Kien Yang.

A Huntingdon correspondent telegraphs— Miss Flora Stewart was the eldest daughter of the Rev. James Stewart, the much respected rector of Little Stukeley, Huntingdonshire, and the little village has been deeply touched by the tidings of the massacre. Miss Stewart was of most kindly disposition and well known throughout the district as a very zealous missionary worker. In the autumn of 1892 she volunteered for Zenana mission work in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and went out to China under the care of the Rev. R. W. Stewart, to whom, however, she was not related. In her letters home she appeared to be quite cheerful, stating that she was readily acquiring the Chinese language, that she was well received wherever she went, and was getting well in touch with villagers among whom she laboured. She made no reference to signs of disturbance; on the contrary she had written that everything was apparently quiet. "I am happy in my work, and shall continue," was one of her last messages. The news of her death has come to Mr. and Mrs. Stewart under exceptionally trying circumstances, for it was only on Friday last that they had buried their eldest son.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE FO-KIEN PROVINCE.

The history of missionary work in the province of Fo-kien has been a remarkable one. It began in 1850, six years after the Treaty of Nanking, which close the first Chinese war, gave England the possession of Hong Kong and opened five leading ports to European residents. Fo-chau was the first city occupied by European missionaries, but the first eleven years passed without a single convert appearing. Two out of the five missionaries died during this interval and two retired. The fifth died soon after the baptism of the first convert in 1861, and Archdeacon Wolfe, who had been recently appointed to the mission, was left in charge. Up till 1864 the work was confined to Fu-chau, but in that and the following year other large cities were occupied by native evangelists. In 1866 the first two or three converts from these were baptized. Fu-ning was occupied by European missionaries in 1882 and Ku-cheng, the scene of the massacre, in 1887. The mission is in the diocese of Victoria, Hong-Kong, over which Bishop Burdon has presided for 21 years. His forthcoming resignation has, however, been already announced in "the Times."

The latest statistics of the Ku-cheng Mission were of an encouraging character. There were 30 native teachers and 8,212 native Christians, 505 of whom were communicants. There were 121 baptisms last year.

The Newcastle Weekly Courant, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), 10 August 1895.

MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES.

The "Vegetarians rebels" in China have by their atrocious outrage on British missionaries put the Armenian question and Mr. Gladstone's powerful speech quite in the shade. It is not to the Armenians, but to the survivors of the massacre at Ku-cheng, as well as the relatives of the deceased, that the sympathy of England primarily goes out. To us in the north the shocking intelligence has come home with more than ordinary force, for the late Rev. W. R. Stewart and his family have kith and kin in our midst. In the history of missionary enterprise, there have been few more painful and distressing tragedies than that which is being deplored. If one may judge from Mr. Stewart's last letter to the Church Missionary Society, already

published, the “Vegetarian rebels,” as they are described, had by their aggressive and menacing action created a feeling of apprehension that some such calamity as that which has happened might take place at any moment. Ten days before the 8th of April, the date on which the letter was written, the rebels, who had been recruited in large numbers, were expected to storm Ku-cheng, and the gateways of the city were blocked with timber and stone as far as possible. At that time the mission station appears to have contained one hundred persons, including women, girls and children. For three days the city wall was guarded by bands of citizens, posted at short intervals from one another and armed with the best weapons they could find. Those three days, when the city was stoutly shut up, were anxious ones, wrote Mr. Stewart. Then the gates were opened. What took place, he added, between the Mandarin and the Vegetarian leaders, we do not know, but one believes we have seen the end of the matter. Such a serious affair cannot be so easily patched up. Probably we have as yet only had the beginning. These are melancholy words in the light of events. It had evidently been thought that with the end of the war between China and Japan, soldiers might be spared from Foochow to protect the settlement and quell the rebels. That military protection had been sought is very clear, but these Chinese authorities, with their characteristic dilatoriness and thoughtlessness, do not appear to have paid any heed to the request. Had they done so, there can be no doubt that the massacre, perpetrated during the night, could have been prevented. To that extent China is culpable and an explanation of her conduct must in time be forthcoming. Meanwhile, it is satisfactory to know that the British Government has taken prompt action in the matter. In reply to demands that have already been made, the Chinese Government has assented without demur. A military escort has been granted to the British Consul at Foochow to enable him to visit the scene of the massacre and to hold an inquiry. At the same time an Imperial decree has been issued ordering capital punishment for the offenders. But what is of more importance, stringent orders have been issued for the protection of all British missionaries now in China. Cruel as the outrage has been, involving the loss of at least eleven lives, there is some reason to be thankful that the number, out of so many souls known to be at the station, is no greater. If, according to the necessarily brief telegrams to hand, the attack was preconcerted and made by as many as eighty rebels, the wonder is that the massacre was not more general. In all probability the onslaught was resisted. It may be imagined that Mr. Stewart and the lady missionaries who have shared his terrible fate heroically defended the hapless children from the ruthless hands of the fanatics, and they died like true soldiers of the Cross. Their martyrdom, deplored today throughout Christendom, may be a blessing in disguise, resulting in a greater interest being taken in missionary work both at home and abroad.

The Saturday Review (etc.), (London), 10 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE AT KUCHENG

THE massacre of English missionaries—men, women, and children—at Ku-cheng has been followed by the usual demands on the part of our Government and the usual apologies and explanations on the part of the Government of China. The massacre is not, as Sir Halliday Macartney represents it, a sudden outbreak without previous threatening or warning. As long ago as February last the Rev. Robert Stewart drew attention to the disturbed and dangerous state of Ku-cheng and the neighboring country, while on 8 April he wrote, going thoroughly into the situation and setting forth the danger with which the Christians were menaced at the hands of the Vegetarians. Nothing seems to have been done by the Church Missionary Society to bring pressure to bear upon the authorities at home in order that they might oblige the Chinese Government to provide proper protection for the English missionaries. If, as seems certain, the Church Missionary Society has been long aware of the danger of these missionaries, and especially of the English ladies and children, it is most deeply blameworthy for the neglect which has permitted the long-threatened catastrophe to take place without any adequate attempt to avert it. The explanation of the Church Missionary Society will be awaited with interest.

Meanwhile, the proceedings of our Government require to be examined and their demands criticised. The demands comprise the issuing of a decree by the Chinese to provide capital punishment for the offenders and stringent orders for the protection of British missionaries now in China. To these demands the Chinese Government has, of course, assented without demur. Furthermore, our Minister at Peking has ordered our Consul at Fu-chau to proceed to the scene of the outrage and institute an inquiry, and for this purpose he is to be provided with a Chinese escort. Now the Chinese Government will, of course, endeavour before all things

to prove the absence of complicity on the part of its officials, and it is much to be feared that an inquiry carried on under Chinese auspices will be neither searching nor satisfactory. Fortunately the enterprising United States Consul at Fu-chau has already proceeded to the scene of the massacre and collected evidence, not only as to the identity of the actual perpetrators of the crime and their leaders, but, what is far more important, as to the foreknowledge and complicity of the Chinese officials, who, it appears from the evidence that the Consul has collected among the villagers, were fully aware of the coming outbreak and massacre many days before it took place. The Mandarins are nearly always at the bottom of these attacks on foreigners, and we fully anticipate that the massacre at Ku-cheng will prove no exception to the rule, while the fact that the Viceroy's troops when sent to the scene of the massacre contented themselves with looting the mission-houses speaks for itself. There are rumours already of a general and deep-laid conspiracy, of which this massacre is an integral part, for driving Europeans out of the interior of China. The position of Europeans at Fu-chau and other stations in the neighbourhood is considered alarming, and no doubt, if the Chinese officials encourage tacitly, if not openly, such outrages as that at Ku-cheng, the danger is real enough. What is wanted is a great deal less red-tapeism and a great deal more determination on the part of our Government, and for the purpose of example they might do worse than bear in mind the firmness with which the French Government has forced through a searching inquiry into the sacking of the French mission-houses and churches last May, an inquiry which has brought home the guilt of instigating the outrages to the ex-Viceroy Liu-Ping-Chang. This is the line our inquiry should take, to discover and punish not only the ignorant instruments but also and chiefly the guilty instigators of the crime. The Chinese Government will readily do what it has done before: either it will decapitate a few prisoners who are under sentence of death, or, if obliged to find the actual murderers, it will decapitate them. But this is not the retribution we should require, and will certainly prove no deterrent. Guilty Chinese officials will be perfectly satisfied that their instruments should suffer if they can get off scot-free themselves. They might reply in the language of the absentee Irish landlord to the threats of his enraged tenantry: "If you think to frighten me by shooting my agent you are vastly mistaken." The guilt of the massacre at Ku-cheng must be brought home to those who instigated or fomented it, and who winked at this outrage as they have winked at others. And the complicity of the officials once proved must be visited by condign punishment. Further, a heavy indemnity, say one hundred thousand pounds, should be required, and a part at least should be levied upon the officials whose shameful apathy at any rate is certain, and is only less culpable than their complicity would be, could it be proved. The levying of a heavy indemnity in money has had an excellent effect of stopping outrages in other lands, and would have a specially healthy effect in China, where capital punishment is regarded with comparative indifference. ... We have little doubt that if the Chinese officials find the massacre at Ku-cheng traced home to them, and if the punishment of even the passive guilt of not protecting foreigners is seen to be heavy monetary loss, the Chinese Mandarin or other official will in future think twice before he winks at, much less instigates, attacks on British subjects.

As to the murdered missionaries we can be thankful that our country still produces men and women of such lofty self-devotion and such dauntless courage. The Rev. R. Stewart and his wife were persons of education, culture and position, who had for many years given their lives to the cause of establishing practical Christianity in China, a witness-bearing which has been completed by their deaths. In common with other workers, they had devoted their private means as well as their whole energies to this object. A great deal of nonsense is being talked about and written about forbidding women to take any further part in mission work in the interior of China. One would suppose that these ladies had been brought to China in ignorance of the risks of mission work. This is very far from being the case. They had for years, cheerfully and courageously, faced the risks they perfectly well understood. Portions of Mr. Stewart's reports give some idea of the nature of the good work these martyred ladies have been carrying on. Among this work was a Foundling Institution for baby girls exposed by their parents; a Girls' Boarding School, which was crowded, although the girls were required to pay, and the excellent rule that they should unbind their feet was a condition of entrance. In fact, these Englishwomen were carrying on in a quiet, unostentatious, and eminently sane and practical way a mission to the women of China, a mission which brought to women sunk in the slavery of centuries the liberty with the light of Christianity. We have no doubt that other English and Irish women (for the victims of the massacre have been mainly from Ireland) will fill the places of the martyrs of Ku-cheng, and prove, as they have done, that courage, constancy, and devotion to high ideals

belong to one sex equally with the other.

The Speaker, (London), 10 August 1895.

THE CIVILISING OF CHINA.

The terrible outrages, of which the first news reached London this day week, will almost certainly result in consequences very different from those designed by their promoters—consequences involving another breach in the wall of exclusion which they constitute a last despairing effort to secure. This time, at any rate, there is no hesitation on the part of our Government to act with promptitude. Lord Salisbury has telegraphed to Sir Nicholas O’Conor giving him a free hand. The fact that American citizens have also suffered—though not in the same way as the victims of the massacre last week—has furnished a legitimate outlet for that desire for a vigorous foreign policy which has hitherto been mis-spent on Hawaii and Cuba, and on the imaginary wrongs inflicted by England on Venezuela and Brazil. The Chinese Government is ready to promise anything. Repeat events have left it in an outwardly compliant mood. The British Consul at Fu-Chau has proceeded, guarded by disorderly Chinese soldiers, to hold an inquiry into the massacre. The American Consul is following his example. The Chinese authorities promise facilities, and compensation, and the execution of the guilty parties. It is the business of our diplomatic agent and of the Foreign Office to see that the compensation is exacted, this time at any rate, from the persons really responsible, and that the culprits punished are the real murderers or instigators of the murder; not, as has certainly been the case on previous occasions, criminals condemned for some other reason, and paying in their single persons a double debt by expiating the crimes of others as well as their own.

An outcry is raised in some quarters against the great missionary societies for exposing their emissaries, especially English ladies, to the risk of horrors such as those—it is best not to dwell on the details—which have befallen the mission at Whasang. It is perfectly true that English ladies working actively among a filthy and brutalised Oriental people do expose themselves to misapprehensions of the coarsest and most cruel kind. It is also true that missionary effort excites the same kind of suspicion as was excited among the populations of medieval Europe by the stories of the Jewish ritual.³⁹ The same stories of kidnapped infants and mysterious medicines made from their extracted eyes were the pretext for the Tientsin massacre in 1870 and for other outrages on missionaries previously. But it is utterly futile to expect either that the missionaries will permanently withdraw from the dangers which threaten them or that they are not perfectly aware of those dangers. Missionary intelligence is systematically diffused throughout the religious world in a way that may considerably surprise those absorbed in more secular interests.⁴⁰ The journalists who are now belittling the heroism of the victims by hinting that they were stirred up to volunteer, in a moment of enthusiasm, for a service of the risks of which they were entirely ignorant, forget that their enthusiasm has been severely tested during their training, and still more by their work in China. The victims in this case had been threatened with the same fate some months ago, and had left their posts only with the utmost reluctance. They returned to meet the fate of many earlier martyrs—whether of an undivided or of a divided Christendom—at the hands of a population more cruel than the executioners of the Roman arena, and more savage than its wild beasts. That successors will be found for them there is not the slightest doubt. To send only men, as is gravely suggested, is to give up the most important half of the work. Women, and especially women with some medical knowledge, are the only missionaries who can reach the most impressionable and most suffering part of the population. Much is made by critics of mission work in China of the fact that the visible results are extremely small—that the Christian teachers of all sects do not, on the average, convert one Chinaman apiece per annum, and that some among even these, like some earlier examples of missionary effort, are (and remain) the dregs of the population. The missionary replies that he is a mere instrument of Providence, a soldier at his post fulfilling a Divine command, reckless of personal consequences, and hopeful that his services may somehow be overruled for good. Such an attitude is undoubtedly difficult for diplomatists to deal with, but there is not the slightest possibility that it will be altered. Half the missionary effort of the world is spent on China, and that country is said to have a special attraction for the ablest and most educated

39 “The Prioress’s Tale” in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* recounts one medieval anti-Semitic story. Online 1 June 2010: <http://classclit.about.com/library/bl-etexts/gchaucer/bl-gchau-can-pri.htm>

40 “A canny manipulation of textual and media technologies.” Johnston, Anna, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

missionaries. It is not the business of the European Governments to thrust Christianity on China by force of arms. But as missionary ardour is not the least likely to be quenched by any number of massacres, it is their business to recognise it as a fact and ensure that the disasters it produces shall be as few as possible. The missionaries have gained the official recognition of China; their Governments must see that Chinese pledges are kept.

Now, it is doubtless quite true that the Chinese Government has very little control over the Mandarins of the provinces, and those of Fo-Kien had been attempting at an earlier date to suppress the sect of fanatical Buddhists to whom the commission of the murder is due. But Mr. Stewart's letter, written early last April, confirms the opinion expressed by the *Times* correspondent and published a day or two earlier. The local authorities, the correspondent pointed out, probably felt, in view of the result of the war, that the 'foreign devils' must be terrorised once for all. They adopted the means of coming to terms with the rebels and diverting their activities against the Christian missionaries. They hoped thus to keep foreigners out of the interior, or at least, to confine them to certain points. Mr. Stewart's letter points to some arrangement, and there can be no doubt what it was. If so, it is our business to show that any outrage against foreigners—missionary or not—must meet with swift punishment. Promptitude and firmness, all the authorities tell us, are the only kind of diplomacy to which the Chinese Government is likely to yield. And if that Government cannot control its provincial governors or suppress its 'Vegetarian' Buddhist rebels, we must do our best to render it assistance. Russia on the north, France on the south, will probably have this task set before them ere long. The course of events has set it before us in the south-east; and if the course of events leads to a partition of China in the near future, nobody need regret it save the Mandarins.

The New York Times, 10 August 1895.

DETAILS OF CHINESE OUTRAGES.

Viceroy Cheo Taoti and Other Officials Accused by Spencer Lenir.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9.—Acting Secretary Adee has received from United States Consul General Jernigan, at Shanghai, a dispatch, dated July 12, inclosing four letters received by him from missionaries giving in great detail accounts of the events in China leading up to the riots against the missionaries at Cheng-tu in the Province of Szechuen.⁴¹

One of them from Spencer Lenir, very comprehensive in scope, dated Chungking China, says that the West China Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church is the only American mission represented in Chengtu. The Americans there were the Rev. Olin Cady and wife, H. L. Canwright, M.D., and wife, and two children, and the Rev. J. F. Peat and wife and two children. This mission owned but one piece of property in Chengtu, on which was a Chinese building fitted for the residence of two families, a Chinese building used as a chapel, a dispensary, and minor structures. Mr. Lenir says that substantially all those are gone, even the paving stones having been carried out of the courts. The total loss, exclusive of personal losses, is about 6,000 taels.⁴²

The American Baptist Missionary Union had stations at Sui-Fu, Kiating, and Yacheo. The missions and personal property in Kiating and Yacheo are probably all lost, though particulars had not been received by Mr. Lenir when his letter was written. At Sui-Fu the Americans owned a great deal of property, but not much damage was done to it.

Mr. Lenir describes the various attacks made on the missions at Chengtu, the particulars of which have been printed in the American newspapers. In the attack on the premises of the Canadian Methodist Mission, the two physicians in charge of the hospital and chapel, which were afterward looted and burned, kept the mob at bay, but the officials would give no assistance, although several of them were quite near.

Late that evening, May 28, the members of the American Methodist Mission sought refuge in the district magistrate's yamen, but were refused and told they would be protected if they returned home. Relying on this promise, they were entirely unprepared for the mob which soon visited them, and had barely time to escape. Operations were renewed by the mob at daybreak next day, and before noon the attack was general on all the Catholic and Protestant mission places. The American Methodists from their hiding places in an

41 See Part Five: *The Times*, (London), 20 September 1895.

42 A tael of silver weighed one and half ounces.

attic only six feet away, watched the mob for twelve hours plundering their houses.

Some of the 10,000 soldiers of the province assisted in the looting and dug up a number of bones, which they took to the District Magistrate's yamen, representing them to be the bones of babies which the foreigners had eaten. The Viceroy, says Mr. Lenir, and consequently all lower officials, were simultaneously suffering from a severe attack of indisposition. He makes serious charges against the Viceroy, Cheo Taoti, claiming that as he had been degraded, he was bent on giving a parting hit, both at the foreigners, whom he hated, and at the Government.

When the flames burst forth from the Roman Catholic Bishop's residence, scarcely a stone's throw from the Viceroy's yamen, the Viceroy remarked, according to Mr. Lenir, that this was a matter for his successor to attend to, and he states that only after everything was quite destroyed did the Viceroy make an effort to restore order, in the meantime having sent out telegrams that a mutilated child had been found at a foreign place, with the result that nearly all the natives believed the story.

Mr. Lenir scores the Viceroy severely, and demands the punishment of hostile officials. He incloses copies of the inflammatory placards that were posted everywhere, charging that the foreigners were kidnapping children and using oil from the bodies. A letter from Dr. Harry L. Canwright confirms Mr. Lenir's statements.

George W. Hill of the American Baptist Missionary Union at Yachan tells of the flight of himself and party from that place, and of an attempt to mob them while proceeding down the river in a boat. He was unable to tell at the time the letter was written whether or not the Baptist Mission property at Yachan had been destroyed, but he learned before leaving there that all the stations on the Chengtu and Yachan roads, Catholic and Protestant, had been looted; and there had also been riots at Hang Ya Kiating, Sui-Fu, Li Chinang, and other places where the missions were attacked.

Mr. Hill praises the action of the Chinese officials in giving them every protection at Yachan.

The New York Tribune, 10 August 1895.

The first part of this report is close to that above.

THEY WILL HOLD THE FORT. OFFICIALS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETIES SAY THEIR MISSIONARIES WILL NOT BE WITHDRAWN

It has been reported that on account of the massacres in China several of the missionary societies in this country had determined to withdraw their representatives from the interior districts of the empire, at least until ample protection is guaranteed them. It seems probable, however, that there is little foundation for the rumor. The following statement was made at the office of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at the Bible House yesterday.

The American Board has not yet taken such action, because it has not been necessary. None of our missionaries have suffered from the outrages, or at least, we were not informed of any trouble before the massacres of Wednesday took place, and there is little possibility that any of our people were molested at that time. Our stations are near the coast and in Northern and Southern China, where our missionaries ought to have the best of protection. It would not be possible to move them to a part of the country that would be safer, and we have no intention of withdrawing them from the country.

Robert E. Speer, when seen by a Tribune reporter at the office of the Presbyterian Board of Missions at No. 53 Fifth-ave, said:

We have not recalled our missionaries and have no intention of doing so. The Methodists and Congregationalists, I think, are in greater danger than we are, for we have no missionaries within 300 miles of the scene of the massacres. During the war between China and Japan we thought it expedient to have our missionaries, whose stations were in the interior, move temporarily to safer quarters, but we have had no thought of advising them to do so now."

Dr. A.D. Leonard, of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society said:

I judge that the Americans in China think our Government is lax in demanding protection for our citizens in China. I notice that the English citizens in Hong Kong held an indignation meeting, at which severe things were said concerning England's apparent unconcern. It seems to me, England and America must do something more than simply demand indemnity for property destroyed. That policy has been pursued ever

since missions were established there. People have been killed, property has been destroyed time and time again, yet China has gotten off by paying indemnities and without giving any guarantee for the security of life. If the Chinese Government is not able to protect foreigners, it is time it is known and understood, and then foreign governments themselves should take a hand in the matter of protection.

We have treaty relations with China, and in the treaty a guarantee of protection. Our missionaries go to China with the assurance that they will not be left to the mercy of the mobs, and the failure of our Government to make good the pledge of protection simply lures our people to death. If the officials at Washington do not intend to enforce the requirements of the treaty it should be abrogated and notice given that whoever goes to China goes at his own peril.

1895, August 11.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 11, 1895, Telegram, Denby to Olney.

Peking, August 11, 1895. Have received your telegram 7. Yung-fu case was reported yesterday to Chinese Government. They promise protection, redress. Denby.

The New York Times, 11 August 1895.

ENGLAND AND CHINA'S MOB.

Popular Indignation at the Fate of the Missionaries.

GERMANY IS OUT OF THE ALLIANCE.

LONDON, Aug. 10.—(Copyright, 1895, by the New York Times.)—In ordinary times the popular English interest in missionary endeavor is largely confined to amused observation of the way some twenty rival organizations hate and fight with one another here at home. When something like this Chinese horror occurs, however, it is seen that England is at heart very keen about the whole missionary idea. Even scoffers, who in private talk may say plenty of rude things about the Zenana Mission and kindred devices for expending upon remote, thankless strangers energies and money which might be better employed among England's own heathen at home, venture no dissenting note. In the papers now many columns daily are devoted to telegrams, old letters, new interviews, extracts from books, to everything, in fact, at all bearing on the subject, and it is obvious that the entire nation is much moved by the tragedy. It is read here with some surprise that the Hongkong and Shanghai colonies are bitterly denouncing the inaction of the British Government, and it is taken for granted by all that these excited colonists do not know what they are talking about, and that the English Admirals and other officials on the Chinese station have received satisfactory instructions long before this. If the converse were credible, England would go wild with rage.

Not much is being said as to what England will do, but it has not escaped attention that, very likely, her action will involve a permanent increase of British responsibilities in the far East. Though the English are full of the mission spirit, they have, like the very missionaries they send out, a practical side to their sentimental ardor. England has played a rather curious part during the past eventful year in China. People here generally supposed it was all right, and had achieved what was aimed at, but, all the same, it is apparent that other con-combatants got a lot of spoils out of the thing, and England brought away nothing. This had produced an uneasy sense of unnaturalness, and one can note now everywhere here a latent, undefined notion that the massacre at Ku-Cheng, if it had to come, could not have come at a more opportune time for England to intervene and assume an active role at Peking.

SALISBURY AND KU-CHENG

Britain Cannot Protect Missionaries Beyond Her Authority Limits.

LONDON, Aug. 10.—While Lord Salisbury is determined to take action on the recent massacre of foreigners at Ku-Cheng and the other outrages committed by the Chinese mob at that place, he refuses to entertain the claims of the missionary societies that their agents be protected wherever they may go, and in this action the Premier is backed up by the Liberals.

The Daily News, in an article on the subject, says the missionaries can be, if necessary, and ought to be, prevented from going beyond the limits of British authorities.

The missionary societies, seeing that the sympathy of the public is confined to the victims of the outrages, personally have issued a long statement, signed by the Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, saying that the last thing they desire is that the Gospel shall be carried into China at the point of the bayonet, but, nevertheless, the British Government cannot in China pass lightly over the murder of British subjects who have a right to be there.

The statement is adversely commented upon by the lay press.

Lord Salisbury has found another difficulty in the way of general action, which is the same as was felt in 1891, when similar attacks were made upon the Chinese missions. The German Government at that time failed to support the other powers with any heartiness, and in consequence of this fact the Tsung-li Yamen successfully stimulated the powers against each other.

In the present instance the same spirit is being displayed by Germany. The North German Gazette yesterday printed a restrained article, concluding thus:

China's whole intellectual tendency is against reforms, but this fact will not keep Europeans from knocking harder and harder at the doors of the Chinese empire, which are as good as closed, but it is hardly to be expected that China will meet us half way."

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PROTEST FROM SHANGHAI.
American Colonists Demand a Special Representative.
ORDERS OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.
Exaggerated Impression of the Extent of the Massacre
Caused by Repetition of Places in Varied Spelling.

SHANGHAI, Aug. 10.—Americans here have sent a cable dispatch to President Cleveland protesting against the actions of Minister Denby in consenting that a British Consul should represent the United States at the Inquiry into the outrages on Christians at Ku-cheng. **(For a detailed report see *North China Herald Supplement*, (Shanghai), 9 August 1895. THE KUCHENG MASSACRE. GREAT PUBLIC MEETING.)**

The New York Tribune, 11 August 1895.

A CHINESE POINT OF VIEW.
THE CONSUL-GENERAL HAS NO OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE MASSACRE.
HE SAYS IT IS HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE ATTACKS WERE MADE,
AND REMINDS AMERICANS THAT THEY ARE NOT WHOLLY BLAMELESS
IN THE MATTER OF MURDERING FOREIGNERS.

With the purpose of endeavoring to obtain the views of the representative of the Chinese Government in this city upon the slaughter of missionaries in China and the reports of further outbreaks against Christians in that country. A Tribune reporter called at the Chinese Consulate at No. 26 West Ninth-st. the other afternoon. The house at this address is used both as an official and private residence. A ring at the bell was answered by an old colored woman, who invited the reporter to walk into the parlor, with the information that he would "find the Consul in there." The reporter found the Consul-General reclining in luxurious comfort in the depths of a capacious chair, smoking a long stick of opium through an intricate metal pipe, the fumes from which impregnated the whole room, and seemingly contented with his surroundings and in blissful ignorance of the trouble and cares of the world. Without the least disrespect to him it may be said that in appearance he might have stepped direct from the pages of an Oriental fashion book. Dressed in exquisite blue silk trousers, spotless white silk stockings and white flowing silken upper garments, he presented, as he reclined half oblivious in the chair, a spectacle of ideal coolness and peace. The reporter was lazily motioned to a chair, but repeated endeavors on his part to elicit a reply from the Consul met with no success, and eventually, aided by a gesture from the latter, it dawned upon the newspaper man that the Consul-General spoke no English, and as the reporter spoke no Chinese, and had neglected to bring along a vocabulary of that language, progress was at a deadlock, which the Consul-General made no attempt to break.

Ten minutes passed away, and no prospect of relief from an embarrassing position was in sight. As the reporter was rapidly approaching a condition of hysteria he rang the servant's bell. To have first asked permission would have been useless. It was answered by the same old woman as before, and not until then did she consider it necessary to volunteer the information that the Consul-General did not speak English, but she said she would try to find the interpreter. After another long delay that useful personage arrived and the interview proceeded. Through his interpreter Consul-General Hsu Nai Kwang said to the first inquiries: "I have no knowledge of the attacks on missionaries beyond what I learn from the newspapers. I have received no official intelligence of the matter up to the present.

"Foreigners are generally well treated in China, and at this distance from the spot it is impossible with any certainty to understand the reasons for the outbreak. I do not think the people implicated in the affair are strict Buddhists. They are of the Mahometan religion."

"Reports speak of them as a class of people known as Vegetarians. Can you speak of their characteristics?" asked the reporter.

“The term vegetarian is a kind of conventional description. They are really a fasting people. They have periods of long fasting, and at those times they are full of religious excitement. It was undoubtedly one of these fasts, added to the disturbed state of the country through the war with Japan, that was responsible for the outbreak. The district in which the occurrences took place is a comparatively new settlement and not so numerously inhabited that the authorities will not be able to check the disorder.”

It was suggested to the Consul-General by the reporter that the dispatches hardly agreed with his views, and that as the authorities were outnumbered by the Vegetarians, Christians in many parts of the country were likely to be subjected to further fanatical outrages.

The suggestion of fanaticism roused some feeling of indignation in the Consul, though he answered calmly enough. “The authorities will do the best they can. Every country is subject to these outbreaks, and we are not more fanatical than Americans. You have been making a great outcry in your papers about these murders, but you seem to forget the attack in 1885 upon the Chinese at Rock Springs, when my countrymen were cut and shot down like dogs. America is not wholly blameless in the matter of attacking and murdering foreigners. **See article in *The New York Tribune*, 10 August 1895.**

See also ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY above.

See *The New York Times*, 11 August 1895

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**AMERICANS DENOUNCE DENBY.
OBJECT TO A BRITISH CONSUL REPRESENTING THEM IN KU-CHENG.
THEY WANT A UNITED STATES OFFICIAL AND AN
ESCORT OF MARINES AT THE INVESTIGATION—
HOW THE COMPLAINT IS RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON.**

Shanghai, Aug. 10.—Americans here have sent a cable dispatch to President Cleveland, protesting against the action of Minister Denby in consenting that a British consul should represent the United States at the inquiry into the outrages on Christians at Ku-Cheng. They recommend in the dispatch that the commission of inquiry be re-formed, and that an American official of adequate rank be made a member of it, while Chinese officials who were in any way implicated in the massacres be excluded. The dispatch ends by urging that the commission be escorted to Ku-Cheng by an escort of marines.

Washington, Aug. 10.—The protest sent to President Cleveland by American citizens in Shanghai against the alleged inactivity and indifference to American interests by Minister Denby, particularly in allowing a British Consular officer to represent the United States in the inquiry into the Ku-Cheng massacre, was received by Acting Secretary Adee by telegraph this morning from Gray Gables. A conference followed between Mr. Adee and Acting Secretary McAdoo, of the Navy Department. As a result Mr. McAdoo sent a dispatch to Rear-Admiral Carpenter informing him of the complaints of inactivity and requesting him to do all in his power to allay apprehension through the distribution of United States naval vessels under his command. The Admiral was requested to answer as to the condition of affairs, and whether his force could be so placed as to give protection and calm the fears of Americans who may be in danger. After the conference, Mr. McAdoo gave out this statement:

The Navy Department presumes that Admiral Carpenter is in constant communication with Minister Denby regarding the protection of American citizens in China, and that he is doing everything in his power to that end. He has been communicated with by the Department, which expects to hear from him soon.

The departure of the cruiser Detroit to-day from Shanghai for Foo-Chow, of which a cabled report was received at the Navy Department, was one of the reasons why the dispatch was sent to Admiral Carpenter. It was thought that Shanghai Americans might be apprehensive because the protection of the Detroit was removed.

Minister Yang Yu will probably remain in Washington until some settlement of the troubles has been reached, when he will proceed to Spain and Peru, to which countries he is also accredited, and in each of which he will make a brief stay before returning to the United States.

**FOREIGN POPULATION OF SHANGHAI.
AMERICANS ARE NOT IN THE MAJORITY,
BUT THE LAST CENSUS SHOWS A GREAT INCREASE.**

Washington, Aug. 10.—An interesting statement, based on a census taken this year, has been furnished the

State Department concerning the foreign population in Shanghai, by Mr. Jernigan, the United States Consul at that place. Hankew, the American settlement⁴³, contains nearly two-thirds of the whole population of English and Americans. The total foreign population of Shanghai is 4,684, the British leading with 1,936, the Portuguese coming next with 731, and the Americans third, with 328. Next in order are the Germans, with 314; Eurasians, 260; Japanese 250; Spanish 154; French 138; and East Indians, 119. The figures of the American population have increased from 255 in 1879 to 328 in 1895.

Of the twenty-four foreigners who lived in opium hulks, two were Americans, a man and a boy. Nine, the greatest number of any foreign nationality, of the opium-hulk residents, were British subjects, all men, and five were Japanese adult males. Other nationalities had only one or two men apiece in these places.

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**AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE MASSACRE.
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES SPEAK FREELY
IN REGARD TO GOVERNMENT ACTION.**

A Tribune reporter yesterday talked with a man familiar with State affairs at Washington in reference to the Chinese massacre. He said that offences of this kind could not continue against the Christian and civilian interests of this country, which must be protected as thoroughly as the commercial and maritime interests. He said a missionary sent to China under State Department passports is entitled to protections. He added that a citizen is entitled to the respect that is shown to the Executive, and Congress will not hesitate to exact that respect.

There is no probability, it is said, that the home authorities here will abandon one inch of territory that has been acquired in the work of evangelization in China. It remains to be seen how far the authorities at Washington will sustain this proposition, but there is no doubt in the minds of honest laymen that the proposition will be sustained, Government or no Government. Said an officer of a missionary society yesterday:

“Of course, the missionary sent from this country in the work of evangelization are expected to be wise in their choice of fields, and the continuation of their work in those fields, so far as their usefulness may be of material value to the Church. But discretionary power is lodged with them so that they may retire from hostile communities when circumstances demand it. The home association has continued to work in its several fields without friction and without too much show of aggression.”

These views are similar to those expressed by the Rev. Dr. A. B. Leonard, corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Leonard added in an interview yesterday that he had sent a telegram to the Rev. Dr. G. B. Smyth, president of the Anglo-Chinese College in Foo-Chow, China, asking that he be kept fully advised so that the interposition of the Government might be demanded as soon as emergency required. He received his last telegram on Thursday morning, hence he believes that no news is good news, and that the absence of information from China of a more recent date indicates that the hostilities reported have not extended further. Dr. Leonard added: “There is no doubt that considerable indignation exists among officials of church missionary societies in this city which support posts in China because of the recent outrages there and also because of the failure of the Government at Washington to take decided action in the matter.”

Every one connected with the foreign missionary societies is surprised that Great Britain has remained silent, though English missionaries have been murdered in the last few weeks. It is the prevailing sentiment among officers of the societies here that England fears the influence of Russia with China, since Russia virtually made a friendly alliance when it furnished the latter Government the money with which to pay the indemnity extracted by Japan at the close of the Oriental war. From present indications it is asserted that Russia's interests in China are increasing rapidly, and this growing friendliness is a menace to English supremacy in the Orient. England has far greater interests in China at the present time than any other nation, on account of her important commercial relations, and it is agreed that she should be able to command enough influence from her own citizens in China to avert such outrages.

43 The American settlement grew up around the mission station established by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States at 'Hongkew' north of Soochow Creek. The distinct British and American settlements at Shanghai merged into what became known as the International Settlement administered by the Shanghai Municipal Council. The French occupied a separate area under separate administration.

The Rev. Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, one of the corresponding secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, scouts the idea that any American missionaries were killed by the rioters. He said to a reporter: "When any of our missionaries have been killed by a mob we are sure to be informed by cable at the earliest possible moment. Since no messages have arrived, we feel assured that no such disaster has befallen our missionaries. It is, of course, too soon to get any letters, and having no cable messages of our own, we, like everybody else, are dependent upon the press dispatches for our information. It seems to me that our Government, as well as Great Britain, should take hold of this matter in earnest, and secure treaty stipulations in which the punishment, not only of the actual murderers, but the officers also, who have conceived the attacks, and are in reality more responsible than those who have carried them out."

Minister Denby, who has been criticised by several prominent officials of missionary societies for not demanding satisfaction for the cruelties inflicted upon American missionaries, is defended by Dr. Ellinwood, who said: "I regard Minister Denby as one of the most efficient and satisfactory representatives that our Government has had. He has shown an intelligent appreciation of the influences of mission work,⁴⁴ and has repeatedly exerted himself to secure the rights of missionaries and of other residents, and to claim for them indemnity when they have suffered loss.

44 See Denby's report to Graham at **1895, MARCH 22**.

1895, August 12.

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

Cypher Despatched Foochow 12.30 p.m. August 12, 1895. Received Peking, 5.30 p.m. August 12. 1895.

Messengers arriving last night reported that on arrival of troops officials immediately began sending search parties, issued proclamations, offered rewards for arrest of leaders of secret society. People seeing strong official action are organising village police, 40 arrests have been made but no leader. Missionaries and foreigners in China generally strongly advocate my proceeding with foreign escort as likely produce excellent moral effect and deprecate native escort. I recommend despatch with me of 25 men and do not apprehend rising at present juncture. No difficulty about transport and accommodation but as local authorities would oppose, orders must come from central government. This procedure desirable as showing ignorant natives that British Govt. is insisting on avenging murder of its missionaries. Youngest child among survivors [baby Hilda Stewart] has died of wounds, making 11 victims: rest progressing favourably. Mansfield.

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

Cypher Despatched Foochow, 4.30 p.m. Aug 12, 1895. Received Peking 6.30 p.m. Aug 12, 1895.

I am informed that American Consul is proceeding Ku T'ien at once. Has my telegram of the 11th been received? Mansfield.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 7.10 p.m. Aug 12, 1895.

I cannot advise Admiral send escort as Chinese escort secure your personal safety. Journey being safe I think no time ought to be lost in proceeding scene outrage. O'Conor.

FRUS, Department of State, Washington. August 12, 1895. Telegram, Adee to Denby.

Consult with minister of Great Britain and cooperate as far as conducive to security and welfare of United States citizens. Otherwise you will act independently and carefully; abstain from joining in any course or policy which, however important to British interests, does not concern those of the United States. If not already done, make demands covering same points as British demand, especially as to punishment of delinquent high officials. Demand for pecuniary indemnity to be deferred. Appoint consul at Foochow and a naval officer as the only American members of the Kutien investigating committee. Request admiral to detail naval member. Most cordial cooperation between yourself, the admiral, and the members of the commission is indispensable. Adee, Acting.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 12, 1895. (Received Washington Sept. 26), No 2309, Denby to Olney.

SIR:— I have the honor to inclose a translation of an imperial decree which was published in the Peking Gazette the 9th instant, relating to antiforeign riots.

This decree was issued on the demand of Her Britannic Majesty's minister and myself. It is not as forcible as we demanded, but in its general terms is satisfactory. It recites the friendly treatment of foreigners by China, the occurrence of riots in Szechuan and Fuhkien, the atrocity of the circumstances, the arrest of some criminals, instructions to capture the guilty, protective measures to be taken, and provides that proclamations be issued warning the people against rioting and against circulating or crediting slanders.

The Yamen has agreed to send this decree by telegraph to all the viceroys and governors of China. I will see that it is circulated among the American missionaries. The Yamen has also agreed that Chu Taotai should be degraded and that publication of his degradation should be made at Chengtu. He was chief of police for the two Hsiens of Chengtu, and he is accused of having put up a placard containing this sentence: "At the present time we have obtained clear proof that foreigners deceive and kidnap small children." As this publication incited the populace to rioting, I have been very urgent in demanding the degradation of its author, and will, if possible, secure his banishment. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

(Inclosure No. 2305)

Decree published in Peking Gazette August 9 1895.

From the time of commercial relations with all western nations up to the present, foreigners have sojourned in the interior, and peace and quiet have prevailed among them and the Chinese. We have treated them with the same kindly feeling as our own subjects, and have repeatedly issued our commands to the high officers of the provinces to render to them special protection as occasion made it necessary; but recently riots have occurred in the capital Szechuan, resulting in the burning and destruction of missionary establishments. At the same time the flame of excitement in the minds of the people has spread to several districts—Chous and Hsiens.

Reports have now come to us from Foochow that several foreigners have been murdered at Kutien by outlaws; and, the worst of it is, women and children were massacred. The atrocious and wicked circumstances of the affair have caused us to cherish a bitter hatred toward the perpetrators of the crime. The criminals connected with the Szechuan riots have been apprehended and placed on trial. In the Foochow case the ringleaders have still to be arrested. Let Ching Yu (Tartar general) and Pien Pao-ti (governor-general) issue instructions to the officers of the military and civil districts with the utmost expedition to surround and capture the outlaws and not to allow them to escape punishment.

This class of worthless and reckless fellows fabricate rumors for the purpose of leading astray the people and instilling suspicions into their minds. They are to be found in most places. The main thing is for the local officers to be on the lookout and take protective measures and prevent this evil from taking hold on the minds of the people.

How is it? If officials perform their duties in a perfunctory manner the result will be that trouble will arise of a serious nature. Let the Tartar generals, governors-general, and governors of the provinces give instructions to all the officials in whose districts there are missionary establishments that they must energetically protect the missionaries and to proclaim for the information and guidance of the people that they must not give ear to false rumors, which are calculated to create doubts and misgivings in the minds of the people and thus lead to trouble. Anyone who dare create disturbances in the future will surely be severely punished according to law. Any local officers who are remiss in the discharge of their official duties will also have meted out to them severe punishment, and no leniency whatever will be shown.

Let this decree be promulgated throughout all the provinces for general information.

The Times, (London), 12 August 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

A BERKSHIRE INCUMBENT.

Sir,—Mr. Eugene Stock's letter in your issue of to-day varies widely in its estimate of the quantity and value of the missionary work done in China from that given by Mr. G. A. (sic) Morrison in his recently-published book—"An Australian in China." Mr. Morrison claims to have given special attention to the missionary stations through which he passed, and to be generally in sympathy with their efforts, yet this is his deliberate report upon their success:—

I met large numbers of missionaries of all classes, and they unanimously expressed satisfaction at the progress they are making. Expressed succinctly, their harvest may be described as amounting to a fraction more than two Chinamen per missionary per annum. If, however, the paid ordained and unordained native missionaries be added you find that the aggregate body converts nine-tenths of a Chinaman per worker per annum. But the missionaries deprecate their work being judged by statistics.

This is only one, and by no means the most startling of his conclusions. The subject is continually discussed at length, and with apparently reliable statistics throughout the book.

Few Christians would, I suppose, dispute the validity of Mr. Stock's major premiss that Christ's emphatic command makes it obligatory on his followers to preach the Gospel to every creature; but in carrying out that emphatic command do our great missionary societies give sufficient weight to the conditions attached to it? "Take nothing for your journey, neither slaves nor scrip, neither bread nor money, neither have two coats apiece, and whatsoever house ye enter into, thee abide, and thence depart." How different is the paraphernalia of a modern missionary! Yet those who have read Mr. Huc's "China" are aware that always it was not so, and that the Jesuits did their great work in China almost literally on the terms prescribed by our Lord.

There is a growing feeling among educated laymen, in which, if I mistake not, a considerable number of the clergy are beginning to sympathize, that work among the heathen has now been organized into a kind of profession and that many of the persons engaged in it lead easy lives under necessarily somewhat slack supervision, and are sometimes placed in positions of influence for which they are not fitted, and in which they act indiscreetly under the cloak of religion.

Mr. Stock says rightly, "Great Britain cannot in China pass lightly over the murder of British subjects who have a right to be there." No, but missionaries themselves might cut the knot as the Jesuits did (and as our Lord enjoins) by divesting themselves of their nationality and growing pigtails. Such a self-denial might thin the number of those who now seek the salaries and the pensions of the Church Missionary Society, but what it lost in quantity it would probably gain in quality, and, at all events, it would dispense with the "inevitable gunboat."

Aug 9., I am, Sir, yours obediently, A Berkshire Incumbent.

The Times, (London), 12 August 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

TIEN-TSIN, AUG. 11. A public meeting of the foreign residents here has expressed its opinion that the massacre near Ku-cheng is the natural outcome of the mistaken leniency with regard to Chinese outrages during the past 30 years. The meeting also declared its distrust of the platonic remedies attributed to the British Government, which had hitherto proved futile. The commissions of inquiry were pronounced essentially illusory, culpable officials themselves being appointed without a British officer of rank competent to collect evidence. The meeting was distinctly of opinion that drastic local reprisals should be taken in every case of outrage and that provincial officials, from the governor downwards, should be made absolutely responsible, all those in whose jurisdiction foreigners were attacked being dismissed. Such a measure would certainly be effectual, being in accordance with Chinese principles of government; it would strengthen the Peking Government and would meet with the approval of the people.

My own opinion is that the Fu-chau massacre is a symptom of incipient anarchy, and that it will be followed by worse scenes unless the foreign Governments deal strongly with China. Such outbreaks have been constantly predicted as the logical result of past supineness. *Our Special Correspondent.*

AMOY, AUG. 11. The community of Swatow in public meeting assembled has resolved to beg your assistance in influencing public opinion with regard to the Ku-cheng massacre and in procuring energetic measures of redress and a material guarantee for the future safety of European residents in China.—*A Correspondent.*

PEKING, AUG. 11. The baby of the Stewart family has succumbed to the injuries inflicted by the mob at Whasang and has been buried at Fu-chau. This brings the number of victims of the Whasang massacre up to 11.

The British cruiser Rainbow and the American cruiser Detroit are proceeding to Fu-chau.—*Reuter.*

SHANGHAI, AUG. 10. The American residents here have telegraphed to President Cleveland protesting against the action of Mr. Denby, the United States Minister in Peking, in consenting that the British Consul should represent the United States at the Szu-chuan inquiry. They recommend that the commission should be reconstructed, and that an American official of adequate rank should be sent, while the Chinese officials in any way implicated in the massacres should be excluded. In conclusion the residents urge that the commission should be accompanied by a marine escort.—*Reuter.* (The above appeared in our Second Edition of Saturday.)

WASHINGTON, AUG. 11. The Navy Department has received a telegram announcing the sailing of the

cruiser Detroit from Shanghai for Fu-chau. Mr. M'Adoo, acting Secretary of the Navy Department, has telegraphed to Admiral Carpenter to use every possible effort to protect American subjects.—*Reuter*.

The Times, (London), 12 August 1895.

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.
THE MISSIONARY QUESTION IN CHINA.**

To the Editor of The Times:—Sir, In addition to other excuses and pleas the Peking Government will always take advantage of that complicated subject, the missionary question, and use it as a most powerful lever with which to force European Powers to recede from their treaty rights as to residence in the interior provinces of the Celestial Empire.

This access to the interior by missionaries and traders must be ruinous to the tyrannical and corrupt official system by which China is closed to civilization and progress, and its people ground down for the benefit of the *literati* and Mandarins. The missionaries introduce ideas which, if accepted by the common people, must render them ore accustomed to liberty of spirit, and make them dissatisfied with the present state of things political. Merchants and traders visiting the interior under treaty rights must also interfere with the squeezes and illegitimate taxes by which the officials exist and grow rich. I would begin by saying that I sincerely believe that Christianity is not merely one of the best religions of the world, but that it is the only true religion, and that as taught by Jesus Christ and His Apostles is the sole panacea for the evils of this world. I cordially sympathise with missionary work, and honour the true missionary above all the preachers of the Gospel. At the same time I cannot find that Christian missionaries have any sanction from their Divine Lord and Master, or from His Word, the Holy Scriptures, while forcing themselves on the Chinese because of treaties which were made under the pressure of armies and fleets, and which can only be enforced in China by continued local punishments a the hand of our Government or by the conquest of the Empire.

Our Lord gives the most explicit instructions to His disciples that if any city or people refuse to receive these disciples, or his Gospel which they preach as a testimony, then they are to depart, shaking off the dust from their feet as a testimony against such a city or people. He also directs that if His disciples should be persecuted in one place they must flee to another. I suppose they are always allowed the alternative to abide persecution, and, if necessary, death, quietly, trusting that the blood of the martyrs will prove the seed of the Church. But this is just what the numerous missionary societies are not doing. They send out numbers of married me, their wives and families, and many young ladies to dwell in the interior of China far from the possibility of protection from their own Government, and when troubles come they appeal to the civil and military power of the secular Government to protect them, or to demand redress by means of the same armies and fleets which many of the missionary societies have declared to have ruined China by forcing its people to receive opium.

I cannot conceive that the case of the Apostles first preaching the Gospel throughout the Roman Empire is at all parallel to the present state of things. In the first place, there Apostles were all either conquered subjects or free citizens of the empire in which they were working. Moreover, as far as I can learn from the study of history, Christianity was not, in the Apostolic Age, an illicit religion. Certainly the impartial Gallio did not consider it as such.

According the “Sacred Edict” of the Chinese Emperors, which ought to be read officially to the common people monthly, I must suppose that, in spite of all forced treaties, Christianity is an illicit religion in China.

St Paul rightly used his privilege of Roman citizenship in order to receive due protection while exercising his mission and complying with the ordinances of “the powers that be,” but there is no reason to believe, supposing he had entered the Persian Empire and suffered persecution, he would have looked to Caesar and his legions for protection and redress. Likewise, so long as our missionaries are preaching to the heathen and others within the limits of the British Empire, they have a legal and moral right to call on the civil magistrate for protection under the pleas, *Civis Britannicus sum*. Our Government certainly is bound to demand for its missionary subjects, as well as for its merchants and others, the exercise of rights which we have gained through treaties signed by the Chinese under the pressure of victories gained by our armies and diplomatists. The Government, however, is not at all bound to propagate Christianity by force, and the question is, Can it be right or expedient of the ministers of Him who has said, “My kingdom is not of this work” to require the enforcement of their rights in order to enable them to preach Christianity, even at the expense of the

bombarding of towns and the slaughter of many ignorant heathens> Our not the missionary societies to act as follows? :—(1) Let the missionaries withdraw their establishments from the interior to the treaty ports under the immediate power and protection of their respective Consuls and vessels of war; (2) if the decline to do this let them continue to preach the Gospel and suffer persecution even to death; (3) or shake off the dust from their feet and leave China until it please God to place and open and safe door open for their admission to the provinces of the empire.

Although I am sure the agitation against foreigners, missionaries, and others is chiefly official, yet I am equally sure that the Chinese have no more longing for a spiritual religion that have the masses of any other part of the world. The whole Empire is most wonderfully and perfectly organized as to local government, civil and military, from the capital to the smallest hamlet, and if the common people have decided to act with the “powers that be” in refusing the Gospel, though our Government as a secular Government must protect all its citizens in their just rights, yet members of spiritual societies and citizens of a spiritual and heavenly State have no right or authority from their King to endanger peace and bring on the horrors of war by insisting on civil rights for the propagation of a religion which is purely spiritual. But this does not apply to the case of merchants, and our Government can in no way act as it is the bounden duty of missionaries to act. The governor’s kingdom is of this world, and the rights of traders must, if necessary, be enforced by carnal means. To retreat before Eastern monarchs or Eastern mobs means temporary ruin and destruction, followed by a catastrophe to the ignorant Oriental.

There is no doubt that the Chinese Government, weak as it is, can and will keep order amongst its people towards foreigners, if it only be forced to do so by motives of fear or advantage to be gained. Both these motives have been removed by the interference of Russia and Japan, and now the officials have resumed their old game of forcing the hands of foreigners to quit the country because residence will never be safe. The farce of a Central Government is held out to Europe, while really there is no Central Government, and the Emperor advocates (as mentioned in a letter from Hankow in your Monday’s issue) are fascinating Englishmen by benevolent platitudes unknown and unintelligible to their Chinese employers. The only way to keep China quiet and enforce the fulfilment of treaties until the inevitable partition of the empire arrives is to revert to the old gunboat system, and to make the Viceroy, Tao-tuis, and Prefects responsible for the peace and good order of their respective provinces, etc., and in case of riots to enforce good order and redress without reference to Peking. This may be considered retrograde policy, but it is quite advanced enough for the present condition of the Chinese Government, which has only improved since 1860 in the knowledge of fooling the European.

I regret that my opinions on religious subjects will cause hurt and offence to many old friends, but, as I base my opinions on the only safe guide (the words of our Lord and His Apostles). I am quite ready to stand “contra mundum,” if that ‘mundus’ even be the whole religious world. Yours faithfully, W. A. Pickering.⁴⁵

The Times, (London), 12 August 1895.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To the Editor of The Times:—Sir, Mr. Pickering is, unintentionally I am sure, most unfair to the missionaries. He says:—“When troubles come they appeal to the civil and military power of the secular Government to protect them.” This is only true to a very limited extent. The China Inland Mission, the largest missionary body in China, have again and again declared, and acted on, a contrary policy. I believe that practically the whole of missionary opinion and action is in the same direction.

Then how about the “gunboat” of which we hear so much, your readers naturally ask. Missionaries are massacred; gunboats avenge them. Is not this “appealing to Caesar?”

No, it is not. The missionaries do not appeal for gunboats. It is their fellow-countrymen, who most rightly insist on the exercise of force to maintain the prestige of our nation.

The missionaries (I have travelled in the interior of China and seen both Protestants and Catholics at work) preach their gospel as well as poor average humanity can do anything in this world. Nobody is perfect, Everybody is indiscreet at times. But really the missionaries act up to their gospel quite as well as the

45 This may be the same Pickering who held the position of Protector of the Chinese in the British Colony of Singapore in the 1870s. He was previously the Government Interpreter for the Colony.

average business and professional man acts up to his codes of honour and standards of honesty.

The missionary problem is a most complicate one, as Mr. Pickering truly says. But even he has failed to grasp its most awkward point. Most missionaries are now actually following the course No. 2. Which he recommends, viz.—“Continue to preach the Gospel and suffer persecution, even to death.: That is all right for them, but Mr. Pickering and Lord Salisbury, and you, Sir, and every patriotic Englishman who thinks on this subject have still got to deal with this point. How to maintain English prestige in spite of burnt missionaries.

I am not a missionary, and never shall be. But I have travelled in China and may want to do so again. I do not want to be burnt, but my chances of being so disposed of would be considerably increased if burnt missionaries are not avenged. The Chinese cannot distinguish.

Besides, how feeble the ‘great English country’ (as the Chinese phrase it) would appear to Chinese eyes if it attempted to classify its subjects into the burnable and the unburnable—those who may be burnt with impunity and those whose involuntary martyrdom would be followed by a visit from a gunboat.

The “Berkshire Incumbent” should study the subject on which he writes and he would learn that there are many quiet, self-sacrificing heroes and heroines in China, who could not perhaps write such amusing books as Huc’s, but who should not be sneered at. I have myself seen several missionaries with magnificent pigtailed and shall be happy to send him a photograph.

August 12. Yours, X.

The Argus, Melbourne, 12 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

MEMORIAL SERVICES.

REMARKS BY ARCHBISHOP CARR.

-Speaking last night at St. Patrick’s Cathedral on the subject of “The Church and the Bible,” Archbishop Carr prefaced his remarks by a few words on the recent massacre of missionaries in China. He said:—Your Christian sympathies will be moved if, before beginning my lecture, I say something regarding the sufferings and death of heroic men and noble women endured in the cause of the Gospel. They were not of our faith, but that does not prevent us recognizing in their lives and labours the principles of Christian sacrifice and the proof of greatest love. “Greater love than this no man hath, that he lay down his life for his friends.” They were not ours, but consciously or unconsciously, they were imitating the example set by Catholic missionaries in the same continent since the days of Francis Xavier. On that same battle-field of the faith hundreds of devoted priests and heroic nuns of whom the world knows or hears but little had won the martyr’s crown. To everyone that has left home and father and mother, sister or brother, for Christ, the promise is made of hundredfold and life everlasting. May we not in all confidence hope, even on the evidence of the touching simplicity of their own letters recently published, that they were labouring in sincerity in the Master’s cause, and that therefore they have not been deprived of the promised reward. To the surviving friends, and principally to the bereaved mother of the late missionaries, we beg to send a message of sincere and sorrowful sympathy.

THE MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS.

SIR,—Is it not time that the law stepped in to prevent the sending out as missionaries of young and attractive ladies to convert the Chinese. I knew some of the young ladies lately foully murdered at Ku Cheng, and knew also for five or six years the Chinese who have been deported from Ku Cheng and such districts to California and the islands, and I am of opinion that the presence of these unfortunate young ladies among such a bestial crowd as I know this class of Chinese to be was of itself enough to bring on destruction, let alone their going about independently, a proceeding which the Chinese themselves regard with marked disfavour. Only the lowest class of their women were allowed out unattended. What is the sense, Sir, of sending ladies out at all; if only for pity’s sake, and in the cause of humanity, this system of luring inexperienced girls to die in agony and horror amid the yellow savages of China ought to be at once put an end to. Men only should be sent, and those men Chinese. Mr. Cheong⁴⁶ could do no better than to go back to

46 Cheok Hong CHEONG was Australia’s leading Chinese Christian in the 19th century and Superintendent

China with a few converts of his own race to preach to these people. There is no necessity for any but men to go at all—none for ladies, least of all young ladies, and I would like to tell these irresponsible enthusiasts at whose instance these unfortunate young martyrs in Christ went that they could do a great deal more good by devoting their energies to our own heathen, who are numerous, though not savage.

At the very least there should be a substantial guarantee that our missionaries should receive adequate protection, and not to be placed in districts beyond the possibility of escape from death and outrage in case of a native uprising. If some intending missionaries would seek for positions as overseers among the Chinese, as on plantations, they would acquire a far more practical insight into the Chinese temperament than they at present appear to possess. Those who aspire to use the helm should first serve at the oar. Yours etc.,
Aug. 6. A. J.

SIR,— Would it not be a practical and loving way of showing sympathy for the mother of our late martyrs if a public subscription collected in small sums were to be raised by some of the gentlemen connected with the mission, to erect a monument to their memory in the Kew Cemetery? If this were done I would give 1, hoping many shillings and pence would follow. Yours, etc.,
Aug 10. FAITH.

The Age, Melbourne, 12 August 1895.

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.
PROTECTING THE MISSIONARIES.
ARMED INTERVENTION BY AMERICA.
LORD SALISBURY URGED TO ACTION.
CHINESE SOLDIERS ORDERED TO KUCHENG.**

LONDON, 9TH AUGUST.—It is officially reported by the authorities at Peking that 1500 Chinese soldiers have been despatched to Kucheng, with stringent orders to most fully protect the surviving missionaries, and to punish with the utmost rigor all persons guilty of participating in the late massacre.

**SHARP PROTEST FROM SHANGHAI.
APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE.
LORD SALISBURY'S DEMANDS INADEQUATE.**

The European residents of Shanghai, who have held indignation meetings denouncing the Chinese authorities for permitting the Ku Cheng massacres, and demanding that the Powers should be called upon by their consuls to practically intervene for the protection of foreigners in China, have cabled a message, addressed to “the people of Great Britain,” through the London press, declaring that the demands which Lord Salisbury has made upon China for redress for the Ku Cheng massacres are utterly inadequate, and that to delay sharp and decisive action will be highly dangerous to the missionaries and to all foreigners in China.

**AMERICA TAKES ACTION.
A NAVAL FORCE TO PROTECT MISSIONS.
STEAM LAUNCHES MOUNTED WITH GATLINGS.**

LONDON, 10TH AUGUST.— Telegrams from Washington report that the United States Government has cabled to Admiral Carpenter, in command of the American fleet in Chinese waters, an order directing him to transport a strong naval force, equipped with Gatling guns in steam launches, to Ping-Yang, for the protection of the American and other mission stations.

Admiral Carpenter is now selecting the men designed for mission protection from the several war ships under his command in the China seas.

**THE BRITISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES
JOINT DEPUTATION TO LORD SALISBURY**

LONDON 11TH AUGUST.—The horrible massacre of the English and Australian missionaries at Ku Cheng has excited strong and widespread indignation, and all the missionary societies of Great Britain have arranged for a joint deputation to the Premier, Lord Salisbury, to demand that prompt action shall be taken

Missionary of the Anglican Chinese Mission in Melbourne. Welch, Ian, (2003), Alien Son: The life and times of Cheok Hong Cheong, (Zhang Zhuoxiong) 1851-1928. PhD Australian National University. Online 1 May 2010 at: <http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/>

for the protection of the missions in China and for reparation of the Ku Cheng outrages.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 12 August 1895.

MEMORIAL SERVICES WERE REPORTED FROM THE FOLLOWING SYDNEY CHURCHES.

St Andrew's Cathedral. Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 and 14 August 1895
St Phillip's Church
St Thomas's Anglican Church, Balmain
St Luke's Anglican Church Burwood and Concord
Christ Church, Lavender Bay
St Matthew's Anglican Church Manly Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1895
Christ Church, North Sydney
St Matthias Anglican Church, Paddington
All Saints Anglican Church Petersham
St Jude's Anglican Church, Randwick
St Paul's Anglican Church Redfern
All Saints Anglican Church, Woollahra
St Paul's Anglican Church Deniliquin
St Nicholas' Anglican Church Goulburn
Anglican Church, Mittagong
St Michael's Church, Wollongong
Bathurst Street Baptist Church
Balmain Congregational Church
Burwood Congregational Church
Centenary Congregational Church, Ultimo Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August, 1895
Milson's Point Congregational Church
Petersham Congregational Church
Pitt Street Congregational Church
Waverley Congregational Church
Ocean Street Congregational Church, Woollahra
St Stephen's Presbyterian Church
Balmain Presbyterian Church
Chalmers Presbyterian Church
St David's Presbyterian Church, Dobroyde
Waverley Presbyterian Church
Woollahra Presbyterian Church
Bourke Street Wesleyan Church
Central Wesleyan Mission, Balmain
Cleveland Street Wesleyan Church. Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1895
Lewisham Wesleyan Church
Paddington Wesleyan Church
St Leonard's Wesleyan Church
Waverley Wesleyan Church

**MEMORIAL SERVICES WERE REPORTED FROM
THE FOLLOWING MELBOURNE CHURCHES.**

St Paul's Cathedral
St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral (Archbishop Carr)
MELBOURNE, Sunday

The massacre of the missionaries in China was the keynote of many sermons delivered today in the city and suburban churches of all denominations. At St Patrick's Cathedral tonight, Archbishop Carr expressed his sincere and sorrowful sympathy with the near and dear ones in the sufferings and death, which the heroic men and noble women had endured in the cause of the Gospel.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 12 August 1895.

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.**

Sir,—Referring to the late massacre of the missionaries in China and the punishment of the murderers, with your permission I will relate a circumstance which bears on the subject, showing how improbable it is that the real offenders will be brought to justice. In 1852 I was an officer of the barque *Royal Saxon* (Captain R. Towns owner) lying in Amoy Harbour, waiting for a cargo of coolies consigned to Melbourne and Sydney. The second mate of a merchantman went ashore on liberty one Sunday afternoon. Some hours afterwards, his body was found in a lane beheaded. Next morning the English gunboat stationed there ranged abreast of the town, and the captain sent a message to the Chinese governor that if the murderers were not given up in 48 hours he would fire on the town. In a few hours half-a-dozen Chinamen were sent on board the man-of-war, heavily ironed and denounced as the culprits. The captain obtained a Chinese interpreter from one of the vessels in port, when it was discovered that all the prisoners had been in gaol for some months. They were sent ashore again with more threats to the Governor, but the real murderers were never discovered. Amoy is, I believe, in the same province where the later murders were committed. The natives, in my time, were regarded as the most brutal and bloodthirsty in the Empire. We were never allowed to go ashore except in company, and then only in the daytime. I am, etc., August 9 S. T. Bishop

The Sydney Morning Herald, 12 August 1895.

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.
TROOPS DESPATCHED TO KU-CHENG.
AMERICAN MARINES ORDERED TO PINGYANG.**

LONDON, Aug 9.—The British Cabinet and the Chinese Minister in London, KungTa-jen, are in consultation with reference to the question of the massacres in China.

Aug 10.— In obedience to stringent orders from the Peking Government, 1500 Chinese troops have proceeded to Ku-Cheng in order to protect the mission station from further attack.

The United States Admiral on the China station, with Gatlings and 1000 marines, has been ordered to Pingyang, wither the force will proceed in the American gunboat Petrel.

**ANTI-MISSIONARY RIOTS IN SZEWCHEM.⁴⁷
PROTECTION WITHHELD FROM MISSIONARIES.
THEIR COMPOUNDS BURNED.
HUNTED BY THE SOLDIERY.**

THURSDAY ISLAND, Saturday.—By the steamer *Menmuir* from Hongkong the following extracts from a letter referring to the antimissionary riots in Szewchen have been received:—

During the afternoon Dr. Stevenson and I received a letter from Mr. Canright telling us that placards had been posted. These placards stated that a girl had been boiled by foreigners for her oil; and warned people against allowing their children to go upon the street. Small stones began to be thrown against our front gate, and considerable yelling was heard. A messenger was despatched immediately with our cards to the Yaamen, calling the street officials on the way. The stone throwing increased, but not until the large and strong compound gates fell in with a crash did we show ourselves. Mr. Jackson empty-handed, Dr. Stevenson and I each with a loaded gun under our arms, appeared in sight, and the crowd banished from the gate. On the way we fired shots quickly in succession, and ran out upon the street. The crowd divided and ran both ways, while we held them at a respectful distance. About 10 or 12 men in ordinary dress stepped out from the crowd, saying they came to protect us, and a few minutes later three soldiers appeared in their red coats. Some time after we stepped inside our gate, while they scattered the mob; but the moment we were out of sight the mob closed in and the stone throwing and yelling began with increased vigour. After 10 or 15 minutes of this we made another sally, firing a shot or two from our guns. The mob parted and ran as before. Dusk coming on, the rioters had gained such courage that they fairly rained stones upon us, and our ground became untenable. We beat an orderly but hasty retreat to our hospital compound, and there rejoined our wives and children. Almost

47 See Part Five: *The Times*, (London), 20 September 1895.

immediately our dwellings were filled with a howling mob, while the smashing of glass and the crashing of timbers, no less than the demoniacal yells of the furious rioters, told us that the work of destruction was in full progress. Covered by the darkness we crawled one by one through one of the holes broken by stones in the hospital gates. The two ladies and we three men, carrying four children amongst us, ran along the now comparatively quiet street. At the street barracks, which quartered 150 or 200 soldiers, we ran in, thinking to obtain protection, but on first sight of us the soldiers drove us out with the most hideous yells and curses. One of them kicked Mrs. Stevenson inside the buildings as we passed out at the door, and Mr. Stevenson promptly threatened this man with his rifle, which he still carried. To this we believe, at least partly, is due the fact that we were not followed. We now ran across the open parade ground to the city wall, and, once on the wall, we took our way at a more easy pace past north gate to the north-west angle of the city. When we were a mile or so from our late homes a bright reflection in the sky told us that the rioters were finishing with fire what they began with stones. The fire did not die away till midnight. A while after midnight we left the city wall and reached the China Inland Mission compound. There we learnt the fate of Dr. Stevenson's little girl, who, in the care of a nurse, became separated from us soon after leaving the hospital gate. Some rioters discovered that she was carrying a foreign child, and they caught her by the hair and began beating her. She dropped the child, and managed to escape from them. A few minutes later the hospital gateman discovered the child sitting alone in a dark street crying, and he picked her up and carried her to one of the other compounds, which was still intact. No protection was given us from the yamen, except those doubtful 12 runners and three soldiers, notwithstanding more than 20 hours had elapsed from the time our cards were first sent to the Yamen until we abandoned the gateway. Nearly next morning word was brought that Mr. Hartwell's house and compound were being looted and burned, and before 9 o'clock Mrs. Hartwell, with two little ones, the Misses Brackbill and Ford, joined us at the China Inland Mission compound. They climbed the back wall of their compound as the mob came in at the front. We were now 11 adults and seven children, gathered in one place. Between 9 and 10 a.m. a crowd rapidly gathered in the street, and grew so turbulent that we determined to start for the Yamen as rapidly as chairs could be obtained. About 10.5 a.m. only six of the 11 adults had started for the Yamen. After the exit of each of the chairs the mob grew more fierce, and the uproar increased. As the gate closed behind the sixth chair it became evident to us who remained that the crisis had come, so we ran for the back wall of the compound, climbed the ladder, and dropped down on the other side. It was not a moment too soon, for before the last one was over the mob had burst through the front gates. We found ourselves in a narrow court. The only exit from this court was by a long alley, which opened on the street right in the midst of the mob. Our only hope, therefore, lay in concealment. In a moment we darted through an open door into the back room of little two-roomed mat house, and the three ladies, Mrs. Kilbourne, Mr. Yale and myself, besides three children, including two belonging to those who had got off safely to the Yamen in chairs, in all eight persons, packed ourselves into a small Chinese bed and drew the dirty blue curtains close about us. The owner of the hut began protesting immediately in a loud voice, but 30 taels of good silver effectually shut his mouth, and liberal promises to the other seven families in the court, afterwards redeemed by about 15 taels, brought them over to our side also. About 8 p.m., when it was properly dark, chairs were called, and we went quietly one by one to the Yaamen, where we joined those who had reached safely in the morning. From trustworthy reports, and what we saw ourselves, there will not be much debris for us to clear away when it comes to rebuilding. Every stick of timber has been carried away, not so much as piece the size of a shingle remaining. Bricks, and tiles, even the foundation stone, were dug up and carried off, and paving stones shared the same fate. Trees, shrubs, bamboos, and in fact, everything enclosed by the four walls, were considered their lawful booty. On 30th May squads of soldiers encamped on the sites of each ruined compound, carefully guarding the broken tiles and mother earth.

***The Missionary, At Home and Abroad,
Vol XXII, No 21, October 1895, pp 368-369.***

LETTER FROM MRS BATHGATE, Wife of Merchant, TO MRS. SAUNDERS.

FOOCHOW, AUGUST 12, 1895

This is a very sad letter for me to write, and for you to read. May God give you strength to bear it. Our telegram and the newspapers will have told you all about the *terrible*, terrible massacre at Hua-Sang, the hill where the missionaries go for their summer holiday. A few months ago, all the missionaries left Ku Cheng, as danger was apprehended, and it was then that I met dear Nellie and Lizzie [Topsy}, and wrote you such a glowing account of them. Lizzie [Topsy] died from the one blow through her brain. Nellie was trying to get to the Stewart children, and had reached the door, when she met one of the murderers. She warded him off, however, but was caught from behind by another. We know nothing more, except that the house was burnt to the ground, and that her beloved remains and those of the faithful nurse are buried together. On every coffin the name, age and text is printed. That on Nellie's is: "*They counted not their lives dear unto them;*" and on Lizzie's is, "*Jesus only;*" this was her motto in life, and one which she faithfully adhered to. I am told that they were enthusiastic, and that their one longing was to preach Christ in villages where no other missionaries had been. Even during their holidays they would beg Mr. Stewart to let them go and visit places that were without a preacher. Dear, dear girls! They have certainly won the Martyrs' Crown, and we dare not grudge it to them. They were counted "worthy to suffer;" we must not forget that. It is almost, if not quite impossible, with our hearts so full of pain, to think calmly of these Blessed Dead; but we shall know one day that even the sufferings of that awful, holy hour were not worthy to be compared with the glory which awaited them. When I went to the cemetery on Wednesday, August 7, and saw those eight new graves, I could hardly realise it. It simply *stuns* one. Nothing else is thought of or spoken of. Yesterday (Sunday) morning at 6.30 a.m., we buried the eleventh victim of that fearful day—the sweetest baby girl—Mrs. Stewart's youngest, aged 13 months. The little darling had been cut through the eye, and also received a serious wound on the forehead. I never shall forget the sight of that little dead form. It brought before me more clearly than anything else the brutality of the rebels—a sweet, innocent babe to be so treated! There was just room for her to lie in the same grave with her father and mother. We are sending you a photograph of the spot. I often go there and look at them, and always think of you. Our Chaplain preached a beautiful sermon on Sunday; his voice quivered almost all the time. He said that Nellie and Lizzie had left home and friends to obey the Master's call—the first from the Melbourne Branch.

Brisbane Courier, 12 August 1895.

**AFFAIRS IN CHINA.
PROTECTING THE MISSIONARIES.
AMERICAN NAVAL DEMONSTRATION.**

(BY CABLE MESSAGE.)

LONDON, August 10,—Latest news from China states that, in obedience to stringent orders issued at Peking, a force of 1500 soldiers has been sent to protect the mission station at Kucheng, the scene of the recent massacres.

The American Admiral on the China station has received orders to send the gunboat Petrel, with 100 marines and a number of gatling guns, to Pingyang.

**LATE EASTERN NEWS.
ANTI-MISSIONARY RIOTS IN CHINA.
GRAPHIC DETAILS.**

(BY REUTER TELEGRAPH.)
(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

THURSDAY ISLAND, August 10,—From files of Hongkong papers to 18th July, just to hand by the steamer Menmuir⁴⁸, the following items of Eastern news are extracted.

Chinese politics are by no means free from complications. The recent extensive anti-missionary riots, judging from the temper of the missionary societies interested, seems likely to have an important bearing upon china's international relations in the near future. Strong representations are being made by the foreign Ministers at Pekin...

48 The SS Menmuir was a regular ship on the China-Australia sea-route, via the Australian East Coast. It was the vessel on which Nellie and Topsy Saunders travelled from Sydney to Hongkong. Thursday Island is an Australian island in the Torres Strait north of Cape York in Queensland. It was a coaling port for ships travelling to the north from Eastern Australia.

The Mercury, (Hobart), 12 August 1895.

CHINA.

The United States Consul at Foochow reports that he has obtained the names of the leaders of the band of assassins who perpetrated the horrible massacre at the Kucheng mission station, and that they will probably be identified.

Telegrams from Shanghai state that it has been discovered that the Secret Society of Vegetarians, a band whose members perpetrated the Kucheng missionary massacres, has appointed 12,000 men to accomplish the destruction of all the missionary stations in the Kwang Tung province, and eject all missionaries from that part of China.

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

LONDON, Aug. 10.—It has been officially announced that stringent orders have been issued by the Chinese Government to prevent further outrages, and 1500 soldiers have been despatched to protect missionaries in Kucheng and to punish the murderers.

Reports from Washington state that Rear-Admiral C. C. Carpenter, of the American warship Baltimore, the flagship on the Asiatic station, has ordered the gunboat Petrel, with 1000 marines, picked from the United States warships stationed in Chinese waters, taking Gatling guns, to proceed to Ping Yang to protect the missionaries and European residents in Shanghai.

A message from British people declares that Lord Salisbury's demands are utterly inadequate, and delay is dangerous.

The Mission Societies combined and waited as a deputation on the Premier, demanding that prompt action be taken to prevent a repetition of the massacres in China.

The Poverty Bay Herald (New Zealand) 12 August 1895.

THE CHINESE OUTRAGE.

SHANGHAI, Aug. 11.—One of the murderers confesses to cutting off the head and the thumbs of Mrs. Stewart, who, in a frenzy, fought until literally hacked to pieces.

LONDON, Aug. 12.—Foreign residents in Tientsin declare that the Kucheng massacre was naturally the outcome of 30 years' mistaken leniency. Platonic measures will be futile.

The Times' correspondent at Tientsin says there will be worse to follow unless the Powers take a determined stand with the Chinese Government.

The Belfast News-Letter, (Ireland), 12 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

At morning service yesterday at St. John's, Blackheath, the vicar of which is the father of Miss Elsie Marshall, one of the victims of the massacre of missionaries in China, a letter from the vicar was read, saying—

I am trying to fix my mind steadily on the fact that will be our joy throughout eternity that Elsie has been admitted into the noble army of martyrs. That crown is only worn through suffering, and we must realise as far as we can our privilege in bearing our share of the cross that leads to it, and the cross is bitter—God only knows how bitter—to me.

“I know that my Redeemer liveth” was played on the organ, and there was an appropriate sermon.

Miss Mabel C. Hartford, the only American in Hwa-Sang at the time of the massacre, has made and signed the following statement. See *North China Herald Supplement, (Shanghai), August 9, p v.*

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 12 August 1895.

MORE EFFICIENT MISSIONARY METHODS.

The recent massacre of Europeans in China and the destruction of mission property brings up anew the question as to whether mistakes are not made in the methods of evangelization pursued by the various mission boards of the Christian churches. The missionaries go among a people utterly foreign to them, not only in religious ideas but in manners, customs and language. Many years must be spent in gaining the language and in securing an understanding of the customs and national spirit, and although the missionary

may be blessed with wonderful powers of adaptability, he can seldom overcome the prejudice that is held, in China at all events, against foreigners, especially those who come to teach them a religion that they regard as inferior to their own. The missionary often finds the moral status of the masses among whom he goes as superior to that of the Christian nations, if we measure it by the standard of the Decalogue. The risk to life and property must ever be great.

China abounds in secret organizations sworn to keep out the foreigner at all hazards and the government is powerless to stamp out these societies. The central government is a jellyfish affair without anatomy or autonomy and offences committed in another quarter of the empire are unheard of at Peking until some foreign power brings the affair forcibly to attention.

The best results that have been produced in the way of introducing Christianity in China and Japan, and those which have cost the least in lives and money, have come through the education of the natives in this country. Hundreds of bright boys can be enlisted at any of the ports, and it costs relatively little to bring them here and educate them at the secular and religious institutions of this country, from which they can go equipped to propagate Christianity among their own people. Japanese and Chinese young men have proved to be apt students, and the disinterestedness of such an effort to give their boys the best that our land can afford is an object lesson to the people that is appreciated in every Mongolian town where the native college graduate makes his home.

The Daily News, (London), 12 August 1895.

The Glasgow Herald, 12 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

ANOTHER DEATH.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

PEKIN, August 11.—The baby of the Stewart family has succumbed to the injuries inflicted by the mob at Whasang, and has been buried in Foo-Chow. This brings the number of victims of the Whasang massacre up to eleven.

The British cruiser Rainbow and the American cruiser Detroit are proceeding to Foo-Chow.

SHANGHAI, August 10.—The American residents here have telegraphed to President Cleveland, protesting against the action of Mr. Denby, the United States Minister at Peking, in consenting that the British Consul should represent the United States at the Szechuan inquiry. They recommended that the Commission should be reconstructed, and that an American official of adequate rank should be sent, while the Chinese officials in any way implicated in the massacres should be excluded. In conclusion, the residents urge that the Commission should be accompanied by a marine escort.

WASHINGTON, August 10.—The protest of the American residents at Shanghai against the composition of the Szechuan Commission has been referred to Mr. Adee, Acting Secretary of State. Doubt is felt here as to which Commission is meant by the Shanghai residents. If it is that of Cheng-Tu, it is considered natural that Mr. Denby, United States Minister at Peking, should consent to allow the British officials to conduct an investigation. At the State Department to-day it was declared that the officials were satisfied that no American was injured in the rioting at Cheng-Tu, whereas the British were directly concerned. There was no valid reason why Mr. Denby should doubt impartial British officials, or should not accept their findings as facts on which to base his own action. As the scene of the inquiry was remote from the seaboard, it would be difficult for an American official to reach the place.

On the other hand, if the American residents of Shanghai are referring to the Commission which will soon be appointed to investigate the rioting at Kucheng the State Department are unaware of Mr. Denby's action, but believe there is no reason to question his judgment, or his desire to do everything possible for the protection of the missionaries. With reference to the marine guard which the protest urges should accompany the commission, Mr. Denby would undoubtedly ask Admiral Carpenter for an escort selected from the United States warships, and the Admiral had ample authority to comply with the request.

The Glasgow Herald, 12 August 1895.

STATEMENT BY A MEDICAL MAN.

A representative of the *Glasgow Herald* having waited on Dr. W. Murray Cairns⁴⁹, who has just returned from China, and is now residing near this city, the Doctor said:—

When I went to China several years ago, all that I had read of the people amounted in the mass to an indictment against them. I confess that I had thus a feeling of strong antipathy to the Chinese as a race. I believed that they regarded all aliens as their natural enemies, and thirsted for the blood of the “foreign devil.” As it happened, when I got to China I became at once intimately associated with the people. I learned their language, and saw them at all times and under all circumstances. This is not always the experience of the foreigner. His life may be otherwise ordered, and he may learn less of the Chinese in twenty years than another, situated as I was, may know in six months. What I saw of the great mass of the people—of the middle class, the artisan class, the labouring class, led to my opinion with respect to them being very considerably modified. This change of judgment was not immediate, but after being in the country for a considerable time, I came to see that my prejudices were unjust, and that the Chinese as a race are extremely approachable and kindly, not at all disposed to quarrel with the foreigner, and peaceful and law-abiding amongst themselves. The art of war has no fascination for them.

“Holding such revised opinions about the Chinese people, Doctor, what do you think of the governing classes?”

I think it would be hardly possible to exaggerate the evils of the Chinese rule or misrule. I had recently a conversation with a high official who had had the opportunities denied to myself of ascertaining the feeling with regard to foreigners which is entertained in influential quarters, and he described it as unquestionably hostile to the extent at least of desiring that all aliens should be sent adrift.

“Have you been at Ku-cheng, Doctor?”

No, I have not; but I have travelled up and down the Fohkien Province, in which Ku-Cheng is situated, and know it fairly well. In South China the people are more peaceful than those in the North, although even in the latter their prevailing disposition is pretty much as I have described. If allowed to have intercourse with the foreigner they will not seek to molest him, unless incited to do so.

“Then by whom do you suppose them to be incited?”

You may take it as beyond dispute that in 99 cases out of 100 in which the common people are stirred up to take action against the foreigners, either the *literati* or some military authority is at the bottom of the trouble. I should perhaps say that the *literati* are not all disaffected. There are exceptions, and they are probably more numerous than generally supposed. I have myself had experience of this, and I desire to say that those of the *literati* who are friendly to us are very charming in manner and feeling. But they must, especially if they belong to the Mandarinate, be chary of extending too signal marks of favour to their foreign friends lest they should ‘lose face’ with their superiors, a result which might involve them in degradation from office, and probably financial ruin. In the main, the *literati* are against us, and the people are misled by representations with regard to the religion and worship of the foreigner, which are unspeakably base. Here, for example, is a pamphlet published in Shanghai dealing with the anti-Christian riots of 1891, and attributing to missionaries and others practices in the name of religion which cannot be put into print.

“May I ask when you left China?”

I left China in June, coming from the Fohkien district. At that time things were quiet. The war was not quite at an end, and I no reason to anticipate any trouble.

“You have spoken of military influence as being partly responsible for the antipathy to the foreigner in China; how is this to be explained?”

It is not easy to explain, but it is well known that an antipathy exists amongst soldiers from certain districts, and especially the Cantonese and Hunanese districts. Now, as the soldiers all over the Empire

49 Dr. William Murray Cairns, M.B. C.M. Ordinary Fellow of the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society. Practised in Liverpool, England.

are largely chosen from these provinces, it follows that in many places only the common people are peaceably disposed towards the foreigner.

“What course do you think ought to be taken by our Government with a view to prevent these massacres in China?”

I am satisfied that indemnities in the past have been quite unsatisfactory, and I know that in this way a great deal of disquietude has been created amongst all foreigners in China. A money indemnity is worse than useless. This means that the money is wrung from the people who have not been to blame, and that it forms, indeed, the Mandarin's opportunity to enrich himself. A certain amount of money is ordered into the Exchequer, and how much more, never destined to reach the Imperial coffers, is exacted to satisfy official 'squeeze' no one with any knowledge of the official nature would be rash enough to estimate. I desire to say with all earnestness that so long as the Western Powers are contented to take money for outrage and murder so long will murder and outrage continue. Judging by precedent the Chinese Government might reasonable be excused for supposing (as some, indeed, believe it does suppose) that the life of every foreigner has a certain monetary value which represents, as on a sliding scale, the amount demandable in cases of outrage or murder. Nor can the promises of the Chinese authorities be regarded as worth the air into which they are spoken. Promises are made only to be broken sooner or later. An official is degraded according to order, but the chances are that after a time he will be reinstated, and further honours bestowed. In all such cases, therefore, it ought to be clearly ascertained that degradation is not temporary but permanent. Any investigation following on the massacres of to-day should be made in person by representatives of our own Government, who not be put off with promises or blandishments. As to demanding the sacrifice of a life for a life, the question does not admit of discussion, so very unlikely is it that the morally guilty would be delivered up to justice. As at present conducted in China, capital punishment would not act as a deterrent. The human head in China is not more highly valued than the head of a thistle at home. And I repeat, the heads which would be sacrificed would in all likelihood not be the right ones, but those which had already been forfeited for other offences.

“Then, Doctor, I again ask, what should our Government do?”

The only way of meeting the case is by prompt and decisive action in the direction of degrading officials in all districts in which outrages occur. It must not be a sham degradation, but one followed by expatriation. I do not know that even this would effect what is wished. The only real way of brining the official Chinaman to his senses would be for the Western Powers to follow up these outrages by annexing a certain amount of territory. A Chinaman values nothing so much as the land in which his ancestors' bones are buried.

“Do you think the official mind of China was distressed by the thrashings of the Japanese?”

Not a bit of it. The annexation of Formosa humiliated them more than all their losses in battle. Even if the Government of China is not responsible for these outrages, I believe that if the course I have indicated were followed the whole people would rise against annexation, and compel the Government to interfere. In the meantime there can be no doubt that the Chinese Government could do a very great deal more than it has done, for, in spite of its specious promises, it has done so little that it is but little wonder if many foreigners in the East believe that it views the murder of a foreigner with, to put it in the least culpable light, a certain measure of complacency. The reigning dynasty, it must be remembered, is Manchu, not pure Chinese, and secret societies are in existence for its overthrow. Even if we allow that in a certain percentage of cases the heads of the Government are powerless, this only makes it more desirable that they should communicate their difficulties to foreign authorities, inviting free co-operation and affording fullest facilities for the same, which they have never yet done. And just for this reason also, the most influential of our men in China are of opinion that the whole of the Yangtse Valley, which is the centre from which all these outrages radiate, ought to be under a Western protectorate.

“In these outrages, Doctor, missionaries and their families are the chief victims. Is there any special antipathy to them.”

As to that, it is of course obvious that the Gospel which the missionaries carry to them is a disturbing element. To that extent there may be antipathy, but it does not go further. Naturally, also, as you

pointed out yesterday in your columns, the missionaries are unwilling to prosecute in a Court of law, a fact well known to the instigators of riot. Missionaries are the chief victims, because they go where the merchant has no occasion to go. The latter is empowered to travel into the interior of China and live there, as the missionary does, but he very rarely has occasion to do so, and therefore does not come within the ordinary sphere of outrage and murder. The missionary alone is beyond the protection of the treaty ports. Before the Japanese got there, the cry went up from the Chinese, 'Let the Japanese come, for our own Government is greedy at heart, and grinds the lives out of us.' That is the cry directed against the Government which goes up from the whole of China to-day. In the name of the Chinese I must protest against the injustice done to them as a people when it is hastily concluded that these too frequent outbursts of fanaticism represent their truest relations to us as foreigners. In times of weariness and loneliness and sickness I have received too many proofs of their genuine attachment to—nay, love for—the foreigner who tries to treat them with equity and kindness to allow this opportunity to pass without testifying to the same. It is one of my sincerest regrets that owing to constitutional incompatibility with the climate I am debarred from returning to live and work amongst a people for whom, as the result of intimate relationship, I have come to entertain a very high regard and a very true affection.

The Leeds Mercury, (England), 12 August 1895.

**MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES.
AMERICA AND THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.**

(REUTER'S TELEGRAM.)

Washington, Saturday.— The protest of the American residents at Shanghai against the composition of the Szechuen Commission has been referred to Mr. Adee, Acting Secretary of State. Doubt is felt here as to which Commission is meant by the Shanghai residents. If it is that of Ching-Tu, it is considered natural that Mr. Denby, United States Minister at Peking, should consent to allow the British officials to conduct an investigation. At the State Department to-day it was declared that the officials were satisfied that no American was injured in the rioting at Cheng-Tu, whereas the British were directly concerned. There was no valid reason why Mr. Denby should doubt impartial British officials, or should not accept their findings as facts on which to base his own action. As the scene of the inquiry was remote from the seaboard, it would be difficult for an American official to reach the place. On the other hand, if the American residents of Shanghai are referring to the Commission which will soon be appointed to investigate the rioting at Kucheng the State Department are unaware of Mr. Denby's action, but believe there is no reason to question his judgment, or his desire to do everything possible for the protection of the missionaries. With reference to the marine guard which the protest urges should accompany the commission, Mr. Denby would undoubtedly ask Admiral Carpenter for an escort selected from the United States warships, and the Admiral had ample authority to comply with the request.

It is announced that the United States war-ship Detroit has left Shanghai for Chefoo, further away from the scene of the riots. The navy officials interpret this as indicating that the American officials in China do not fear any further outrages. Nevertheless Admiral Carpenter has been ordered to cable the facts.

Peking, Sunday.—The baby of the Stewart family has succumbed to the injuries inflicted by the mob at Wha-sang, and has been buried at Lu-Chaf (Fuzhou). This brings the number of victims of the Wha-sang massacre up to eleven.

The British cruiser Rainbow and the American cruiser Detroit are proceeding to Fu-Chau. [see above.]

New York, Sunday.—The "World's" correspondent at Fu-Chau telegraphs—Baby Stewart is dead. One of the murderers confesses that he cut off the head and limbs of Mr. Stewart's wife, who was frenzied, and fought until she was hacked to pieces. The Chinese say the telegraph lines are blocked north of Yangtse-Kiang.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

Sir,—Having lived in Canton and Foochow for upwards of fourteen years, and being personally acquainted with many of the missionaries stationed in those parts, I naturally take a deep and painful interest in everything which appears in the papers bearing upon the terrible outrages which have recently taken place in Kwang Tung and Fukhien.

During my seven years residence in Foochow, I travelled over the greater portion of the Fuhkien Province, and I invariably found the people friendly and courteous, and very favourably disposed towards the missionaries, especially those of them who were connected with the medical missions. Unless, therefore, a sweeping change has come over them meanwhile, I can unhesitatingly endorse Mr. Consul Waters' [*The Leeds Mercury, (England), 9 August 1895.*] assertions, as reported in your issue of this date, "that the massacre at Kucheng was certainly not due to the people themselves." I further agree with Mr. Waters that the Tsai-li, or vegetarian movement, was until recently unknown as a political organisation in the province of Fuhkien. To get at the real cause of these cold-blooded murders and outrages, we must, I am convinced, look beyond the industrious peace-loving citizens and country folk. Doubtless many of them may have been induced by intimidations, lies, bribes, and the prospect of plunder, to participate in the attacks upon the mission societies, but they are certainly not primarily responsible for what has occurred.

The manner in which the literati and other anti-foreign agitators work upon the feelings and fears of the people is illustrated by what occurred in Foochow during my sojourn in that city. Flaring placards were posted all over the town, offering a handsome reward for the heads of foreigners. I think the figure was fifty dollars a head, which, to an ordinary Chinaman, would mean a small fortune. The document then went on to bring a series of blood-curdling accusations against the European residents, most of which were so foul and horrible that they cannot be repeated. One example of the milder sort will suffice. It was to the effect that "these Fan Kwai (foreign devils) were continually prowling about kidnapping little children, whom they first torture, then kill, and finally cut out their hearts, from which they manufacture a medicine which they sell in their own country at a very high figure. This is really what they came to China for, although they pretend to come for other purposes. Let us kill every one of these monsters, and thus put an end to these atrocities."

Thousands of open-mouthed Chinamen might be seen daily sucking in all this fearful rubbish, and, no doubt, if the matter had not been taken up with energy by the British Consul, serious consequences might have resulted. As it was, the Viceroy had the objectionable placards removed, and substituted others, which proclaimed the former to be false and quite unworthy of the notice of sensible men, and thus the matter ended, having been nipped in the bud.

If the British and American Governments take up this present matter with energy and determination to sift it to the bottom—and I sincerely trust they may—they will, I am convinced, discover the ringleaders of the anti-foreign movement not among the hard-working, patient, frugal peasantry, but in the ranks of the literati and gentry.

When guilt is brought home to the real instigators of these cruel outrages, personal, public punishments ought to be inflicted, and a heavy indemnity demanded from the Chinese Government. The one without the other would be a farce, which has been too often played by John Chinaman already.—Yours, etc. 16, Grange-view, 9th August, 1895. W. O. Morrison.

Omaha Daily Bee, (Nebraska), 12 August 1895.

VICTIMS OF SUPERSTITION.

Chinese Believe All Sorts of Stories Told of the Missionaries.

TROUBLE WAS BREWING FOR SOME TIME.

Schools at Ku-cheng Had Been Closed Previous to the Massacre to Ally the Hostility to the Foreigners.

BOSTON, Aug. 11.—The Standard will tomorrow print an exhaustive interview with Miss Clara M. Cushman of Deadham, concerning the missionary situation in China. Miss Cushman was for many years a missionary in Peking, having been sent by the same society as that under whose auspices Miss Hartford has been working at Ku-Cheng. In this interview, Miss Cushman asserts a belief that these latest massacres are one of the results of the recent war between China and Japan, Ku-Cheng is many hundreds of miles from the central government at Peking and it is probable that the people had only rumors of the trouble and so got all sorts of stories, some of which may have started the trouble.

"The uninformed Chinese," Miss Cushman continued, "believe that the foreign missionaries cut out the eyes and hearts of the natives to use for medicine. They are quick to accept any story that they hear, so that the foreigners there can never tell when a mob will come upon them."

Miss Cushman thus describes Ku-Cheng: "Ku-Cheng is quite a distance from Foo-Chow up the Min

river. It is a walled city of about 220,000 inhabitants and has a reputation of being a very neat and clean city. Long-Bing is still further inland. Miss Hartford had an assistant, Miss Wilma M. Rouse, of Minnesota, who was probably not in the massacre as her name was not mentioned. The missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church has two other missionaries at Ku-Cheng, Rev. M. C. Wilcox, presiding elder of Ku-Cheng district, and Dr. J. J. Gregory, in charge of Wiley hospital. The only building owned by the Methodists is a chapel, valued at \$2,500, in which the average attendance of Sunday worship last year was 250. The homes, schools and hospitals are in hired houses, which fact saved the buildings and inmates from the fate of the English missionaries and their buildings.'

PREPARING TO RETURN HOME.

Miss Cushman, being in a position to speak of Miss Hartford, who so narrowly escaped death at the hands of the vegetarians, through personal acquaintance, says of her: "Miss Hartford was sent to Ku-Cheng in 1888 by the Woman's Foreign Missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church. She was at that time a very popular teacher in the public schools of Dover, N.H. She had no father, mother, brother or sister living, but is entirely devoted to her work. Although the five year term for which she went has expired she has steadily refused to accept the vacation, with the privilege of visiting America, saying she preferred to stay in China with the work and finally die there. But because of ill health and need of rest she had almost made up her mind to take the needed vacation when the troubles came on. Mrs. Alderman of Hyde Park, the corresponding secretary of the New England branch of the society, has written to her advising her to take this opportunity while the country is settling down again, to come to America. Miss Hartford is in charge of the Ku-Cheng and Long-Bing districts of the Foo-Chow Woman's conference. Her report to the last conference showed in the Ku-Cheng district one boarding school with an enrollment of forty-four; fourteen day schools with an enrollment of 200; one bible training school [biblewomen] with an enrollment of twenty."

Mrs. Althea M. Todd of this city is now under appointment to join Miss Hartford at Ku-Cheng, and was expected to leave in about a month. That the trouble has been long brewing seems proven by part of a letter received by Mrs. Alderman from Miss Hartford. It is dated Foo-Chow, May 2, and says:

I was obliged to close the women's and girls' schools April 9 on account of fears of local insurrections. The English mission closed their schools two weeks earlier, but I had hoped matters might clear up and so held on. At last I found I could not stand out any longer. Every one thought the schools ought to be closed, so I yielded. Then I was sick, so when Dr. Gregory urged me to come to Foo-Chow and have a rest I came.

Miss Cushman thinks the criticisms made of United States Minister Denby are unjust, as, during her residence in Peking, he had been very careful to protect the missionaries' rights, was on friendly terms with him and they esteemed him very highly.

The San Francisco Call, 12 August 1895.

ATTACKED BY FANATICS.

Experiences of a Girl Medical Missionary in the Riots at Hankow.

Pelted with Mud and Stones While Returning From A Visit to a Patient.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. Aug. 11.—A letter has been received here from Miss Sigrid Helgeson, a Norwegian girl who went as a medical missionary to China a year ago. The letter is dated June 14, at Hankow, on the Yang-tse-Kiang. She writes:

Riots and unlawful acts occur daily. Six provinces not far from here have been devastated; that is, property belonging to foreigners destroyed by fire and other means. Many lives have been lost and innumerable arrests have followed. We are apprehensive just now, even here. Telegraph wires are down, and we have not had any communication with other settlements for some time.

Possibly this is my last as well as my first letter home. But you must not think that I am weakening or fear death. God is with me, if I live or die. Yesterday I visited one of my patients, and when on my way home was attacked by a mob throwing stones and mud. I was struck on the head. It made me feel pretty bad for the time, but to-day I am all right. One of my former patients happened to come along and by telling them that I was a harmless doctor, saved my life, which I would surely otherwise have lost.

NEED A SALUTARY LESSON.

More Outrages Will Follow Unless Quick Action Is Taken.

LONDON, ENG., Aug. 11.—The Times will to-morrow print a despatch from its Tientsin correspondent, saying the recent massacre of foreign missionaries is regarded there as a symptom of incipient anarchy, and that the belief is expressed unless the foreign powers deal strongly with China.

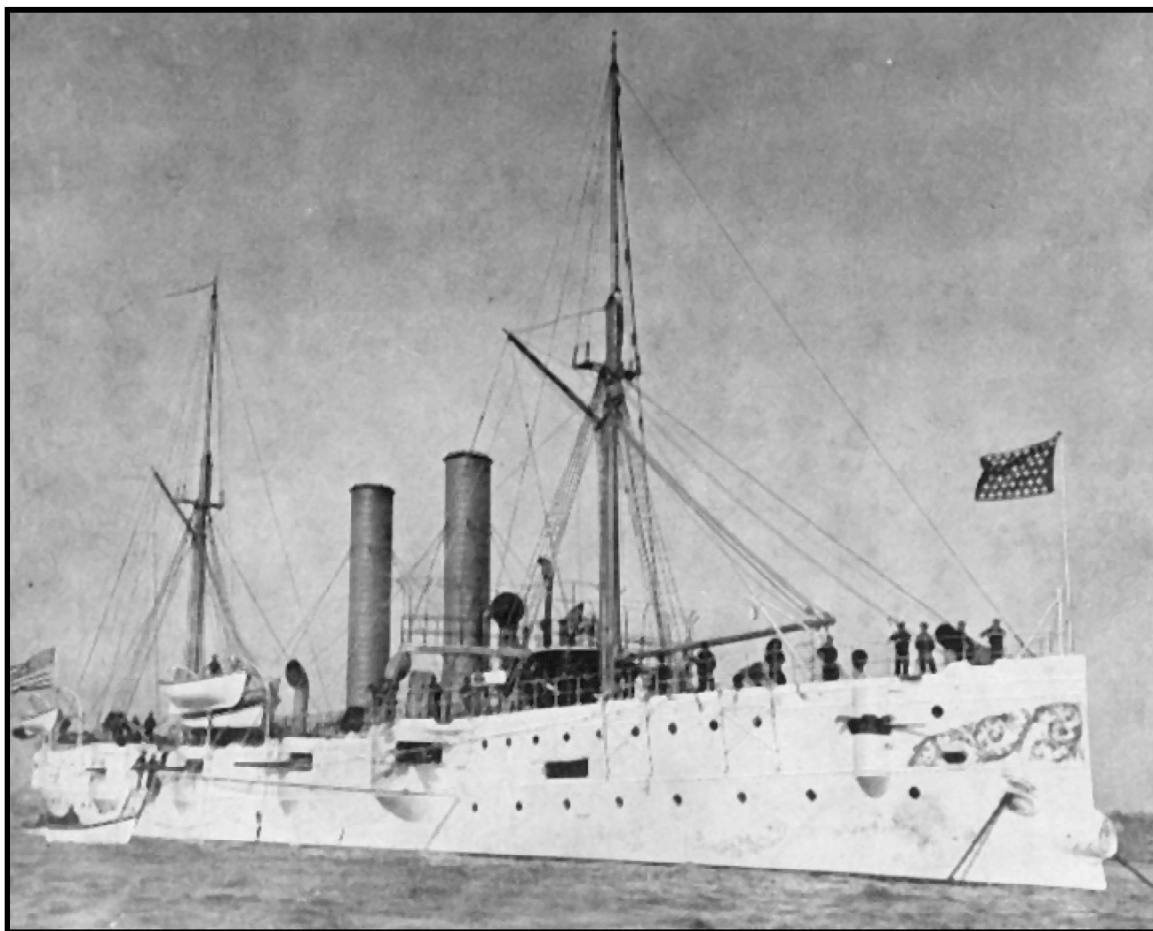
It will also say that at a meeting of foreign citizens of Tientsin the declaration was made that the massacre was the natural outcome of leniency shown toward the Chinese upon the occasion of outrages committed by them in the past thirty years. The meeting also expressed distrust in platonic remedies. The British Government was urged to make local reprisals in every case of outrages, and it was demanded that the provisional [provincial] authorities should be made responsible for all these outrages and be dismissed. This, it is asserted, would certainly be effectual and is in accordance with the Chinese principles of government.

Reports death of baby Hilda Stewart.

NEWELL SAILS FOR FOO CHOW.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 11.—The Navy Department this afternoon received a cable announcing tht Commodore [Commander] Newell has sailed from Shanghai with the Detroit for Foo Chow. Foo Chow is about 400 miles south of Shanghai, and is the nearest seaport to the scene of the rioting of Hwasang and Ingbok. Hsawang is about 175 [75] miles from Foo Chow and Ingbok about fifty miles.

U.S.S. DETROIT



Columbia Class Protected Cruiser (C11), U.S. Naval Historical Center Photograph.

1895, August 13.

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

Cypher Despatched Peking, 4.05 p.m. Aug 13, 1895.

Do not incur personal danger. Report when you consider it safe visit scene of outrage and cooperate with your American colleague.

Yamen do not refer to insurrectionary movement say they have captured five persons.

Did officials attend funerals? O'Conor.

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

Cypher Despatched Foochow, 1.00 p.m. Aug 13, 1895. Received Peking 10.45 a.m. Aug 14, 1895.

There was no time to notify local authorities of funeral.⁵⁰ I leave this afternoon with American Consul and escort of 50 Chinese. I am taking Allen and two missionaries leaving senior assistant in charge. Mansfield.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 13, 1895. Telegram, Denby to Olney.

Will you appoint a commission of Americans exclusively to investigate Szechuan riots as asked by Americans in China or create international commission? Denby.

FRUS, Department of State, Washington. August 13, 1895. Telegram, Adee to Denby.

Yesterday's instruction referred only to Kutien investigation by two American members concurrently with British. Szechuan investigation may go on as reported in your dispatch 2278, unless you have ground to distrust the result. Adee, *Acting*.

CHINESE LEGATION, WASHINGTON, Yang Yu to Olney.

CHINESE LEGATION, WASHINGTON, August 13, 1895.

SIR:— I have the honor to inform you of the receipt by me of a cable from the Tsung-li Yamen, dated yesterday (the 12th instant), which is to the following effect:

In the recent riot at Kutien, in the prefecture of Foochow, in which British subjects, of both sexes, ten in number, lost their lives, no American suffered any injury. Five of those implicated in the riot have been arrested by the local authorities. In an imperial decree stringent orders have been issued to all officials concerned, and the people in general, that strenuous efforts are to be made to afford protection to all Christian missions within the Empire.

Notwithstanding this, the British minister at Peking is endeavoring to secure the cooperation of Minister Denby in pressing his demands upon the Chinese Government. **The Yamen is informed that the United States consul at Foochow has made representations, in rather emphatic terms, to the local authorities regarding the recent disturbance. In view of the very cordial relations existing between China and the United States, and the fact that the said riot involved no injury to any American citizen;** inasmuch as His Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Government have taken prompt measures and will spare no effort to secure protection to all Christian missions in all parts of the Empire, to arrest and punish all disturbers of the peace, with a view to restoring tranquility to the Christian missionaries and their converts, and in order that further trouble may be thus averted; and inasmuch as there is likely to be no difficulty or obstacle to hinder a

50 The bodies arrived in the afternoon of Monday 5 August and were interred in the now lost British (Protestant or International Cemetery) on Nantai Island, Foochow at 5.30 a.m. on Tuesday 6 August.)

prompt investigation of the Kutien incident and its satisfactory settlement at an early date, the Yamen expresses the hope that the honorable Secretary of State may be prevailed upon to issue instructions to Minister Denby not to unite with the British minister in causing difficulties to the Chinese Government, and thus hamper its actions and seriously hinder the execution of its good intentions.

Having today telegraphed you the news of the safety of the Americans, I now have the honor to communicate the details of the cablegram, as above cited, for your information, and to request that you will be good enough to give it your careful and early attention.

Please accept, etc., YANG FU.

Hixson Report, Department of State, Washington. August 13, 1895. Telegram, Adeo to Hixson.

Hixson, Foochow. Unless instructed by Minister, await his orders. Instructions cabled Denby yesterday, Adeo Acting.

NOTE. In acknowledging on August 27, Vice-Consul Churchill that when sending telegram below Hixson had already received instructions from Minister Denby to proceed to Kutien.

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

1.48 p.m. Denby Peking. Acknowledge coded messages from Denby.

Going with me today have escort assure you my movements will be prudent deliberate will make telegraphic communication basis at Shuikou before advancing Evans of Detroit with me. Hixson.

Hixson Report, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, August 13, 1895. Telegram. Consul Hixson to Consul General Jernigan, Shanghai.

6.45 p.m. Jernigan, Shanghai. Starting Kutien. Hixson.

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

6.50 p.m. Denby, Peking. Starting Kutien. Hixson.

Hixson Report, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 13, 1895. (Received Washington Aug 17), Telegram. Consul Hixson, Foochow, to Secretary Olney, Washington.

6.50 p.m Starting Kutien. Hixson.

Church Missionary Society, East Asia Mission. Resolutions of the General Committee, August 13th 1895

RE KUCHENG (GUTIAN).

15 Aug 1895. To all missionaries connected with CEZMS and CMS in Fukien, etc.

The Committee in the midst of this sorrow desire to place on record their unfaltering belief that no disasters, however great, should be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of that purpose for which the Society exists—viz., the Evangelization of the World, which in its Divine origin is without conditions. They deprecate any suggestion that evangelistic enterprise in China or in any other part of the world is to be necessarily dependent upon the possibility of protection being accorded to the missionaries, either by the Government of the country in which they labour or by Great Britain. At the same time the Committee recognize the responsibility resting upon them to carry on their missionary work with due prudence and discretion, and to take all steps in their power for the safety of their missionaries, and particularly of the Christian women whom God is at this time calling forth in such large numbers. The Committee, while they would deplore any action on the part of the British nation savouring of the spirit of retaliation, are confident

that His Majesty's Government will take such steps as are necessary to induce the Government of China to act effectively in the interests of order and justice, and to secure the protection pledged by treaty rights for the foreign residents and liberty of conscience for the native Christians. B Baring-Gould, Secretary, CMS.

The Times, (London), 13 August 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

WASHINGTON, AUG. 12. A telegram has been received at the State Department here from Mr. Denby, United States Minister to China, stating that he made urgent representations to the Tsung-li-Yamen regarding the looting of American missionary property at Yungfu, near Fu-chau. On Saturday, immediately after his representations, he obtained a promise of protection and redress. The despatch further indicated Mr. Denby's opinion that reprisals ought not to be made for the outrages.

The Navy Department has been advised of the arrival of the United States cruiser Detroit at the Pagoda Anchorage near Fu-chau, and has also received information that Admiral Carpenter is on his way to Chifu [Chefoo-Yantai]. At that place the admiral will be in easy communication [by cable] with Mr. Denby in Peking.—*Reuter.*

PARIS, AUG 12. Fathr Cottin, who was formerly a missionary in China, and is now superintendent of Chinese missions at the Paris headquarters, expressed a belief that the French Catholic establishments in Szu-chuan have not suffered more serious attacks than those already reported. He attributes the troubles to the late Viceroy, whose motive was revenge for his dismissal. Father Cottin speaks of the Russians and the French as alone possessing any influence in China, the former in the north, and the latter in the south. The English and the Germans, he says, possess none. The French missionaries alone can adapt themselves to the costume and usages of the country. From the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century they have gradually penetrated China, and Christian communities have been formed, greatly to the advantage of France. When Father Cottin left China in 1877 there were 15 vicariates and about 150 European and 100 native priests. There are now 30 vicariates and nearly 500 European missionaries. Education difficulties have prevented a proportionate increase of native priests, who number about 300. In 1877 there were 700,000 or 800,000 Catholics in the empire, whereas there are now 1,200,000. The mission resources are very limited, and in Szu-chuan the missionaries receive only 720f [francs] a year. The Paris establishment sends out 60 missionaries a year, and they never return unless they fall victims to a disease which cannot be cured in that country.—*Our Own Correspondent.*

The Times, (London), 13 August 1895.

EDITORIAL.

We cannot refrain from expressing our sympathy with the European community in China, who are protesting with increasing warmth against the inadequacy of the demands for redress made by the British and other Governments since the recent outrages. It is, of course, undesirable to stimulate what is called the "jingo" spirit, and foreign residents in the Chinese ports are often inclined to press for violent measures without any serious feeling of responsibility. They are also, perhaps, imperfectly informed as to the steps the European Governments have actually taken, and as to the effect produced on the Chinese officials. But, making all due allowance for these considerations, the indignation of the Europeans settled in China at the failure of the Powers to perceive the gravity of the situation is at once intelligible and justifiable. It must be remembered, in the first place, that to discuss the question as it concerned missionaries and mission work only is to evade the real issue. There is much to be said in criticism of the wisdom with which missionary operations are conducted, and there is much also to be put forward in their defence. But when HER MAJESTY'S Government has to consider how such outrages as that at Ku-cheng are to be dealt with it is unnecessary to enter into the controversy about missions at all. The persons who have been murdered or plundered are European or American subjects residing in China in accordance with the provisions of treaties concluded with the Chinese Government, violating no Chinese law, and entitled to the protection which, if China is to be regarded as a civilized State, she is bound to afford to every peaceable stranger within her gates. There is no reason to believe that the Chinese masses are specially swayed by religious fanaticism. It is certain that the official classes profess a philosophic indifferentism. The attacks on the missionaries are directed against them not as religious teachers but as foreigners. If those outrages are successful in their manifest purpose, if

they produce the belief that no foreigner's life is safe outside the ports where they have a defensive organization of their own, and where the naval forces of the Powers are at hand, the whole policy of opening up China, which has been pursued by the European and American Governments for many years past, which is embodied in treaties and which has been extended, in principle, by the terms of peace imposed by Japan, will be defeated.

This is clearly seen by the European and American communities in the treaty ports, though are not usually very favourable to missionaries and their work. The meetings at Shanghai, Swatau, and Tientsin as well as that at Hong-kong show that in the Far East the danger of submitting to what is regarded as a deeply laid scheme for the extrusion of foreigners is looked upon as grave and urgent. It is contended by the Europeans and Americans in China that the negotiations of the British Government with the TSUNG-LI-YAMEN at Peking cannot lead to any effective result. The central authority at Peking has always been weak in distant provinces, and has been naturally enfeebled still further by the disasters of the Japanese war. It is said that to demand an "inquiry" at Peking is only to set in motion an elaborate plan for throwing dust in the eyes of the foreigners. The process is generally rendered a farce by the appointment of the most culpable officials to investigate the origin of crimes for which they are themselves responsible. While the real authors of the outrages are never brought to justice, innocent and obscure persons are often substituted for the guilty, and subjected to cruel punishment in their stead.⁵¹ Mandarins conspicuous for their malevolent activity against foreign influences escape with impunity, but indemnities are squeezed out of the already hard-pressed cultivators of a province where the campaign against foreigners has resulted in murder and rapine. We believe there is much truth in these statements. If that be so the British Government must make a new start, or rather return to its old line of conduct. Since the Ministers at Peking appear to be incapable of enforcing their commands upon the provincial authorities, we must deal with the latter directly. When the lives of British subjects are sacrificed or endangered, we must use force to insist upon exacting the most severe and uncompromising penalties from the officials responsible for the maintenance of order from the highest to the lowest. In this way only, unless the Peking Government display an energy and an honesty of which they have of late shown no sign, it is possible to give reality to the treaty obligations securing the rights of foreigners in China.

If the Peking Government mete out condign punishment to the officials who connived at, encouraged, or possibly instigated, the atrocities at Ku-cheng, it may be unnecessary for this country to take the matter into its own hands. But no evasive and dilatory promises of inquiry conducted on the ordinary Chinese system can be accepted by HER MAJESTY'S Government. We do not believe that the Foreign Office is at all likely to be imposed upon in this way. The protests of the European and American residents cannot be passed over, nor is it possible to elude responsibility by raising a discussion about the management of missions and the point at which the ideal of missionary duty should be limited by considerations of practical expediency. The missionary in China is a foreigner, residing there under precisely the same conditions which secure the trading community in their rights, and, unless it is shown that he has defied the law, he is as much entitled to protection against brutal violence and rapine as if he dealt in silk or tea. The reason why missionaries are more exposed than others to the attacks of mobs and the plots of mandarins is that they are the most defenceless of foreigners and the least inclined to appeal for aid to the arm of the flesh. But, as is pointed out bluntly and forcibly by a correspondent signing himself "X." it is not so much for the sake of the missionaries who have been the victims of outrage as of other foreigners that it is necessary to exact severe penalties for the crimes committed at Ku-cheng. If the Chinese are allowed to run away with the notion that they can carry out their policy of terrorizing foreigners and driving them out of the country by slaughtering the weak and the defenceless, far worse will follow. No foreigner's life or property will be safe in any part of China if the British Government falters in the determination to show that it will not allow the provisions of treaties, accepted by the Chinese when far harsher terms might have been imposed upon them, to be reduced to a dead letter. We cannot doubt that when the time comes for the PRIME MINISTER to speak in the House of Lords, he will be able to declare that the rights of British subjects, the interests of British commerce, and the dignity of the British name in the Far East have been fully safeguarded by the Foreign Office. ZZZ

51 See Part Five: The Trial of Chinese Murders and the Huashan Commission of Inquiry.

The Hongkong Weekly Press, 15 August 1895.
(Originally written 13 August 1895.)

CONSULAR APATHY AND THE KUCHENG MASSACRE.

(13th August.)

The apathy reported to have been displayed by the British Consul at Foochow in connection with the Kucheng massacre, extraordinary as it appears, is perhaps not much in excess of that displayed by other officials in previous cases of emergency. The new Parliament meets today and in the natural course of things early opportunity will be taken by various members to ask for information on the subject of the recent massacre and the previous outrages in Szechuan. The Ministry will be in receipt of the official statements telegraphed from Peking by Sir NICHOLAS O'CONOR and no doubt the conduct of the Minister himself and of the Consuls will appear according to those statements to have been irreproachable, whereas the truth is that very culpable negligence has been shown. ...

When Sir NICHOLAS O'CONOR was appointed to the Legation at Peking the general impression was that Great Britain was at last to be represented by a strong Minister. As time has gone by without any evidence of strength having been afforded, while there has been much evidence of weakness, this conclusion has been reluctantly forced on his nationals that thought the present incumbent of the office may not follow the example of his predecessor in pigeon-holing all complaints the practical outcome shews little if any improvement. Anything more imbecile than the treatment of the Szechuan case could not be imagined. There was an opportunity of sending a strong commission to the spot to bring to trial the Viceroy alleged to be responsible for the outrages, who had been ordered to remain in the province until the matter was settled. Instead of taking advantage of the opportunity a junior consular officer is sent to make inquiries, in conjunction with one of the accused native officials, and to "report to Peking." The Chinese must laugh at such a farce. One of our Shanghai contemporaries, the *China Gazette*, referring to the Kucheng massacre, very pertinently remarks:—

We do not lay all of the blame upon the Chinese mandarins. We do not lay one half of the blame upon the hired mobs who carry out their behests, but we do lay upon the heads of such men as Sir NICHOLAS O'CONOR, Sir THOMAS WADE, Sir JOHN WALHAM, Sir HALLIDAY MACARTNEY, Sir ROBERT HART, Sir NICHOLAS HANNEN, and many of the junior American and British consular and diplomatic representatives in China, nine-tenths of the responsibility for this culminating massacre of English and American women in that distant Chinese city...

Our contemporary goes on to refer to the treatment the Szechuen refugees received at the hands of their representative officials on their arrival in Shanghai.

Mr. JERNIGAN, the American Consul-General, to his honour be it eternally remembered, took a most active part in directing the action of the American missionaries into such channels as would be likely to procure the readiest ear to their grave position and sufferings. But when the Canadian missionaries approached the British Consulate in Shanghai, we have it from their own lips that they were frozen off and put into the official refrigerator with the desire of cooling their indignation and preventing them from making trouble.

And following that we have the case of the British Consul at Foochow, who, it is alleged, thought the murder of a few English ladies a matter of too little consequence to be allowed to interrupt a few days' recreation in the hills; so that British subjects had to appeal to the American Consul for protection. We should be sorry to do any injustice to Mr. MANSFIELD, but there is a *prima facie* case against him which he should be called upon to meet. While denouncing the neglect of Chinese officials the public whose indignation has been so deeply stirred by the recent lamentable occurrences cannot be expected to tolerate equal neglect on the part of British officials.

The Argus, (Melbourne), 13 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARGUS.

Sir,—In reply to your correspondent, "A.J.", [*The Argus, Melbourne, 12 August 1895.*] I beg to assure your readers that missionary ladies do not go about among the Chinese unattended. The rule of the Church Missionary, Zenana Missionary, and China Inland Missionary societies is that the ladies shall always be accompanied in

their visits by a native Bible woman, who must be a person of at least 40 years of age, and also by a Christian man of approved character to act as escort.

With respect to other remarks in his letter, let me mention just three facts gathered from letters of the Misses Saunders. Not many months since Miss Lizzie [Topsy] Saunders was invited by a Chinese gentleman of some position—the head of a ‘county family,’ as we should call it—to visit his house and explain Christianity to the ladies of his household, who number about forty. The splendour of the mansion, the richness of the dresses, and the personal beauty of some of these Chinese ladies filled her with astonishment.

On arriving she was served refreshments by the hands of the master of the house itself as a mark of honour, and then spent fully two hours in instructing them, with the assistance of the Bible woman. At the conclusion another gentleman courteously thanked her, and at the same time congratulated her on having adopted the native dress, which he said would be taken as a compliment to this country.

On another occasion Miss Lizzie Saunders saved a poor woman from bleeding to death from a wound in the head, and that woman is now an earnest Christian.

Miss Nellie Saunders has made much more progress in the language than her sister, and used to have long arguments with her tutor, an educated heathen, who, while teaching her to read the New Testament, used to combat its doctrines chapter by chapter. Last February the great annual baptism took place at Ku Cheng, when 80 converts received baptism.

The tutor was seen sitting behind the benches, in which the candidates were seated, and giving the deepest attention to everything. Afterwards when Miss Saunders expressed her pleasure at seeing him there, he replied, “Yes, Kuniong, and next year you will see me in the front benches.”⁵²

When Melbourne girls can do work like that within their first two years in China, shall any Christian dare to say that they have no business to be there. By all means let us have more men, but for every one man that offers there are five or six women at least.

My heart goes out to “A. J.” We are both mourning for the same friends. I only beg him to have patience and look at facts. I am, etc., Aug. 12. D. M. Berry.⁵³

Sir,—Your correspondent “A. J.” in speaking of the massacre of missionaries at Ku Cheng, after deprecating the sending forth of missionaries to China, and especially of lady missionaries, did me the honour to mention my name, and to recommend me “with a few converts of my own race to preach to these people.”

I may say on behalf of myself and my Chinese brethren that there is no higher honour we covet than that of filling the places of those who have promoted to glory—even the glory of a martyr’s crown.

The needs—the terrible needs of Ku Cheng—have already been voiced to us in tones of earnestness and pathos by the devoted ten who have just sealed their testimony with their blood; lest will your correspondent, who has for this occasion so eloquently pleaded the cause of the home heathen, and others who share his views, come and fill the places we must vacate.

And, while there is no question of the expediency of leaving alone those who have any fears about their personal safety, can we—dare we—as members of the church militant, to debar anyone, be he male or female, from the honour and privilege of obeying the Lord’s marching orders “to go and disciple all nations.”

The devoted ten, we know, had no such fears. And, to the lasting honour of the young lady missionaries, be it said that when danger was threatening, and they were urged and repeatedly by the faithful and devoted Stewart, to leave, for a while, the scene of their labours, they chose otherwise; nay, they entreated him to be allowed the privilege of remaining at their post, though they knew full well by the many premonitory signs that it was a post of danger.

And it is a matter of remark that all the adverse criticisms that have appeared about the waste of precious lives, and the craven fears that have been expressed, have come from the commonly called stronger sex, while from the other sex we have neither seen nor heard anything else than that of heroism and Christian

52 “Kuniong” is a Chinese term for an unmarried foreign woman. In the context it is being used in a respectful manner.

53 The Rev. D M Berry was an Anglican clergyman who helped in ‘training’ the Saunders sisters before they went to China. He was involved in the original missionary training program in South Australia. He edited a book of the girls’ letters to their mother. Berry, op cit.

devotion. Yours etc.,

Aug. 12. Cheok Hong CHEONG.

— — —

Sir,—We are having a great deal about the sympathy of the people of Victoria for those who have so nobly laid down their lives for Christ in China in the late massacre. It is good that this sympathy is expressed, but if it ends there it is not real sympathy as I understand the word. I would suggest, therefore, that it should take a practical form, and that some steps should be taken, while everyone is thinking on the matter, to raise a memorial to the two Victorian martyrs in the shape of a fund for the endowment of a school at Ku Cheng to perpetuate the work of the Misses Saunders. It might be known as the Saunders Memorial School. I feel sure a large number of Victorians, especially young men and women, would gladly give practical expression to their sympathy in this way. While the money should be handed over to the society to which they belonged, I feel it would be better, if it can be done, that it should not be organized by the society. A committee of all denominations of Christians should act, I think, to raise the fund for the memorial. I for one shall be pleased to give my mite to such a memorial. Yours, etc.,

The Vicarage, St Arnaud, Aug. 12. Edwin Allanson.

The Age, (Melbourne), 13 August 1895

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS]

THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.

PROTEST FROM TIEN-TSIN.

LONDON, 12TH AUGUST.—The European residents of Tien-Tsin, the port of Peking, who during the late war were frequently menaced with outbreaks of anti-foreigner rioting, have held a public meeting to consider the situation with respect to the Ku Cheng missionary massacres, and the duty of the Powers in the circumstances. Resolutions were passed strongly denouncing the policy of mistaken leniency which for the last 30 years Great Britain has followed in her relations with China, and the perfect futility of the “platonic” measures which have been used by the British Government in dealing with Chinese outrages and duplicities. Such outrages as had occurred at Ku-Cheng, it was declared, were the natural outcome amongst such a people as the Chinese of the long suffering and much enduring policy of the British Government towards China—a policy which was misconstrued by the Chinese as indicating fear to sharply resent and promptly punish offences against British subjects.

The correspondent of the *Times* at Tien-Tsin states that much sores outrages on missionaries and foreigners than those perpetrated at Ku-Cheng will probably follow unless the European powers press for prompt redress by China and thorough protection for foreign residents in the country.

CONFESSION BY ONE OF THE MURDERERS.

MRS. STEWART HACKED TO PIECES.

STRUGGLING TO SAVE HER INFANT.

LONDON 12TH AUGUST, 12.45 P.M.—Telegrams from Shanghai report that one of the Chinese who have been arrested at Ku-Cheng for the murder of the missionaries has confessed that he cut off the head and dismembered the limbs of Mrs. Stewart, the wife of the Rev. R. W. Stewart, two of the victims of the massacre.

The murderer states that Mrs. Stewart made a desperate attempt to save her infant, and fought with the assassins in its protection until she was literally hacked to pieces.

MISS MARSHALL'S MURDER.

SYDNEY, MONDAY.—Miss Marshall, one of the victims of the Ku Cheng massacre, had relatives at Nowra, in New South Wales, and it is reported from there that her tragic death will probably be fatal to her mother, who is 82 years old, and very weak,

THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.

THE MURDER OF MRS STEWART.

CONFESSION BY THE MURDERER.

[BY CABLE]

(FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT)

LONDON, Aug 11.—One the murderers concerned in the massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng has been arrested. He has confessed to having cut off the head and limbs of Mrs. Stewart, wife of the Rev. R. W.

Stewart. He states that the lady, who was in a state of frenzy, fought with him until she was hacked to pieces.

This statement is not confirmed by any other report.

The West Australian, (Perth), 13 August 1895.

Brisbane Courier, 13 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

A TERRIBLE CONFESSION.

AWFUL DEATH OF MRS. STEWART.

London, August 11.—One of the vegetarians who shared in the Kucheng massacre has confessed that he cut off the head and limbs of Mrs. Stewart. In her frenzied efforts to escape from him she was hacked to pieces. [Yesterday, remarks the Sydney correspondent of the *Adelaide Advertiser* under date August 6th, just as the news of the horrible massacre of missionaries in China reached Sydney, Mr. C. R. Walsh, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society [CMA of NSW] received letters from some of the victims, written a few weeks ago, in which there are grime forebodings of the recent tragedy.

See letters from the Australian woman missionary, Annie Gordon, and the Rev. Robert Stewart in *The New Zealand Herald, (Auckland), Wednesday, August 7, 1895.*

A private letter has been received in Sydney from Mrs. Stewart, one of the victims, dated July 8. In it she seems to take a very hopeful view of the future, expressing the opinion that the vegetarian mutinies had been now suppressed. Mrs. Stewart deplors the want of workers to bring to Christ the great numbers of heathens. In a private letter from the Rev. R. Stewart to a Sydney friend is a translation of a manifesto published on the walls of Kucheng, alleged to have come from the Emperor, in which he states that he has abdicated, and enjoins his people to appoint his successor. It was believed that this manifesto was a trick of the rebels to help the ring.]

Bay of Plenty Times, (New Zealand), 13 August 1895

CABLE NEWS

HOME AND FOREIGN.

The Massacres in China.

LONDON, August 9.—The Chinese Minister and the British Cabinet are consulting with regard to the Christian massacre in Kucheng.

LONDON, August 9.—Mabel Hartiford, an American missionary, states that the mob at Kucheng attacked the mission station at seven in the morning. She herself was nearly speared but got off with a severe beating.

Topsy Saunders escaped to Dr. Stewart's house but was killed outside.

Miss Gordon's head was almost severed from her body.

LONDON, August 11.—It is officially announced that stringent orders have been issued by the Chinese Government to prevent further outrages and 1500 soldiers have been dispatched to protect the missionaries in Kucheng and punish the murderers.

Reports from Wellington state that Rear Admiral Carpenter, of the American warship *Baltimore*, flagship on the Asiatic station, has ordered the gunboat *Petrel* with a thousand marines picked from the United States warships stationed in Chinese waters, with gatling guns, to proceed to Ping Yang to protect the missionaries and European residents in Shanghai.

A message from the British residents declares that Lord Salisbury's demands are utterly inadequate and that delay is dangerous. The mission societies combine and wait as a deputation on the Premier demanding prompt action be taken to prevent a repetition of the massacres in China.

The Daily News, (London), 13 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

NEW YORK, August 12.—A telegram from Tientsin of to-day's date announced that a meeting of the foreign residents held to-day, it was decided to communicate by cable the necessity for immediate intervention in China on the part of the United States and British Governments. The following telegram was

dispatched to the Associated press, as an appeal to the people of the United States for assistance.

The foreign community of Tientsin express sympathy with the friends of the Ku-Cheng victims. They consider that the Chinese officials are guilty, and British and Americans alike blame the continued apathy of their Governments in view of the situation. They regard England's demand for an inquiry in the Ku-Cheng massacre as useless, for, as heretofore, the officials will buy innocent heads as substitutes for the actual criminals. They protest that the Szechuen commission is in league with the officials of that province, and on this point Great Britain and the United States much send an ultimatum threatening reprisals. Diplomacy is useless and the foreign residents implore attention to the matter.

The telegram bears the signature of Mr. Dickinson, the chairman of the meeting. He is believed to be Mr. W. W. Dickinson, chairman of the Municipal Council of Tientsin, and a partner in the firm of Collins and co., the well-known merchants.

WASHINGTON, August 12.—A cablegram has been received at the State Department here from Mr. Denby, United States Minister to China, stating that he made urgent representations to the Tsung-li-Yamen regarding the looting of American mission property at Yungfuh, near Foo Chow. On Saturday, immediately after his representations, he obtained a promise of protection and redress. The despatch further indicates Mr. Denby's opinion that reprisals ought not to be made for the outrages.

The Navy Department has been advised of the arrival of the United States warship, *Detroit* at the Pagoda anchorage near Foo-Chow, and has also received information that Admiral Carpenter is on his way to Chefoo. At that place the Admiral will be in easy communication with Mr. Denby at Peking.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, Monday Night.—Father Getting, the head of the Catholic Missions, an organization somewhat the counterpart of the Bible Society, says: "I, who know China well, having lived there from 1881 to 1877, am persuaded all will soon be quiet. M. Hanotaux assumed at the outset the proper attitude of firmness. People do not know China, and are unaware that it is of all countries the one where public opinion is most influential. When I was in Szechuen, an edict of the Emperor was published prohibiting the cultivation and sale of opium under penalty of confiscation of the land. The Elders of the place published another edict, in which they said, "The Elders of the place respected his Majesty, but he was too far off to know the needs of the country," and in conclusion they said, "Henceforth any one may plant and sell opium." The Mandarins wield absolute authority somewhat like the Roman paterfamilias, but it is on condition they do not behave like unnatural parents, otherwise the mob some morning breaks into their house, and with the utmost respect conducts them in a chair to the Viceroy, and says to the latter, he was a bad Mandarin; he did not understand our interests; we bring him back to you."

The Rev. Mr. Banister, of the Church Missionary Society, and secretary to the Zenana Mission at Foochow, telegraphs that the ladies connected with the missions are safe at Foochow. A further telegram states that the ladies at Hang Hwa Mission are safe. The telegram confirms the intelligence of the death of the Rev. Mr. Stewart's baby, and states that Miss Codrington is recovering.

Reuter's Agency is informed that there is absolutely no foundation for the report published in a Shanghai telegram that France had initially offered to co-operate with England in taking effective steps for the protection of British and French subjects in China, but the British Government had declined to move in the matter.

The Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 13 August 1895.

LETTER FROM DR. P.W. MEARS⁵⁴

Knowing intimately, as I did, the late Rev. R. Stewart, I am fully persuaded that he would be the last man to do anything to excite the animosity of any of the natives. When I reached China he had been for some time invalided at home. Yet every where the people not one or two, but scores spoke of him with a loving respect, and a most genuine desire for his return. In Kucheng, round him he had upwards of two thousand native Christians and over 500 regular communicants, all these last being men who had been well tested by at least two years probation. The Vegetarians dared not attack him there. They waited till he had left the city,

54 cited in Watson, Mary E, *Robert and Louisa Stewart In Life and in Death*, (London, Marshall Brothers, 1896), pp 57-58.

as he would do at the beginning of August on account of the heat, and had gone with the majority of the Europeans to the little sanatorium of the Kuchen missionaries, four hours journey off, among the hills.

Hardly had he taken possession of one of the two or three small bungalows there, where he and the others were far remote from any assistance except that of a few terrified villagers, when the assassins crept up in the darkness, just before dawn, fired the house, prodded their victims as they rushed out, and promptly scattered, not waiting to complete their devilish work, or to attack the other bungalows a few hundred yards farther off, where the few foreigners were already aroused. Mr. Stewart was in every way a thorough man, whom to meet was to respect and love a man without fear, and without fanaticism. Such men like Livingstone, Mackay of Uganda, and others are the pioneers who clear the way for British influence, civilization, and religion, whose lives are examples to every man, whose deaths are losses to the nation.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, (Brooklyn, New York), 13 August 1895

FIRST OFFICIAL STATEMENT

Every Effort Being Made to Bring the Offenders Against the Missionaries to Justice— Indifference on the Part of the Authorities Denied— Minister Denby Also Active in Watching Over American Interests.

Washington, C.C., August 13—The following telegram signed by the Chinese foreign office, the Tsung Li Yamen, was received at the Chinese Legation today:

No Americans were injured in the recent riots, though several English were. Five of the rioters have been arrested.

This is the first official information which has been received by the legation concerning the recent riots, and the fact that nothing was sent until information of the arrest of some of the rioters would be reported is taken at the legation to mean that the Chinese government is anxious to have the outside world understand that China is exerting her utmost endeavors to punish those who participated in the assaults upon the missionaries.

The officials of the legation maintain strenuously that the Chinese government will exhaust every effort to bring the guilty to justice. They controvert in strong terms the assertion that the matter will be left to a partial commission.

While admitting freely that prejudice exists among some of the lower classes of the Chinese against foreigners they contend that the wealthier and better educated do not share this feeling. The legation officials also refuse to accept the statement that the officials of the provinces in which the rioting occurred were implicated in the disturbances. They admit the possibility of negligence, but not of culpability on the part of the officials. They also direct attention to the recent decree of the emperor for the protection and liberal treatment of missionaries from foreign countries as proof of the absence of antagonistic feeling to this class of foreigners.

Additional advices have been received at the state department that Minister Denby is consulting with the Grand Chinese authorities relative to the full and complete investigation of the riots at Ku-Cheng. The commission has not yet been appointed, but it is being formed. There is no doubt expressed at the state department that United States interests will be carefully looked after when this commission is formed. It is also stated that Minister Denby has done all that was possible for a representative of the government to do to bring about reparation and redress. The state department has given such instructions as will cause the minister to neglect nothing to insure better protection of Americans at Ku-Cheng. He will also, with the cooperation of Admiral Carpenter, take steps to prevent further riots and to protect American interests should any new cases of outrage arise. Telegrams have been received at the White House regarding these riots, but they have been sent to the state department and not to the President at Gray Gables.

Shanghai, August 13—Mr. Mansfield, acting British consul at Foo Chow; Mr. Allen, the British vice consul at Pagoda Island; Colonel J. Courtney Hixson, the United States consul at Foo Chow; Messrs. Banister and Gregory and one of the lieutenants of the United States cruiser Detroit, will start from Foo Chow for Ku-Cheng, the scene of the recent massacre, as soon as possible, in order to make a complete inquiry into the matter. The consular party will be escorted by a detachment of the Chinese braves, the viceroy having refused to allow an escort of foreign soldiers or marines to accompany them.

The New York Times, 13 August 1895.

CHINA MISSIONS SECURE.

Vessels of the Asiatic Station at the Perilous Districts.

DENBY APPEALS TO TSUNG-LI-YAMEN

**Assurances of Protection in the Future and Redress for the
Past Obtained—Errors in Telegrams.**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.—Apprehension at the State and Navy Departments over the safety of American missionaries in China has been greatly allayed through the receipt of several official dispatches containing reassuring information, leading to the belief among those officially concerned that native outbreaks against foreigners have ceased for the present at least. Minister Denby has secured a promise of redress for outrages in the past, and future protection of American missionaries; and Rear Admiral Carpenter, commanding the United States naval forces in China, has taken action looking to the relief of the anxiety of Americans in the Chinese sea-ports by providing adequate means of suppressing any future outbreaks.

Several cablegrams relative to the situation were received to-day by Acting Secretary Adee of the State Department and Acting Secretary McAdoo of the Navy Department. Commander Newell of the Detroit cabled that his vessel arrived at the Pagoda anchorage, nine miles from Foo Choo, to-day, on its way to the latter place, the nearest port to the scene of the late outrages at Ku-Cheng and its vicinity.

Admiral Carpenter also cabled today that he sailed from Nagasaki for Chee Foo. The gunboat Machias, one of the smallest vessels in the navy, which by reason of her lesser draft, can do better service in these waters than the greater Baltimore, is now at Chee Foo, and will probably go elsewhere on the Baltimore's arrival. The other vessels of the Asiatic station are distributed in this way.

The Yorktown at Shanghai, the Concord at Chemulpo, the Petrel at Yokohama and the Monocacy at Port Arthur.

The State Department has received a reply from Minister Denby to the instructions cabled him on the 7th inst. relative to the reported looting of American missionary property at Yungfun, near Foo Choo. Mr. Denby says he urgently represented the facts to the Tsung-li-Yamen or the Board of Foreign Affairs July 10, and obtained an instant promise of protection and redress.

Yungfun is believed by the officers of the State Department to be the same as Sung-fun, Fuypak, and Inghok, mentioned in the press telegrams, the variation in the name being doubtless due to erroneous transmission over the trans siberian cable, in the course of which many transcriptions and repetitions are necessary.

The substance of the information received at the Navy Department is detailed in the following memorandum, dictated by Acting Secretary McAdoo.

The Navy Department received this morning, from Admiral Carpenter, a cablegram announcing that he had dispatched the Detroit to Foo-Choo, which is the nearest point he can reach to the scene of the recent disturbances.

A cable was received this morning from Capt. Newall (sic) commanding the Detroit (picture), announcing his arrival to-day at Pagoda.

Another cable was received from Admiral Carpenter announcing his departure from Nagasaki, for Chee-Foo, China. Chee-Foo is the nearest and best port for communication with the Americans at Pekin.

The department has again to-day cable Admiral Carpenter regarding matters in China, and advising him to keep in close and constant communication with Minister Denby.

1895, August 14.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 14, 1895. Telegram, Denby to Olney.

I refused to have anything to do with the Szechuan commission three weeks ago. Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 14, 1895. (Received Washington Sept. 26), No 2308, Denby to Olney.

SIR:— I have the honor to inclose a translation of a communication from the Tsung-li Yamen, in answer to my communication which I forwarded to you in dispatch No. 2295, of August 3, relating to the Szechuan riots.

The Yamen makes a weak defense of the local officials. I have, etc., Charles Denby

(Inclosure in No. 2308)

The Tsung-li Yamen to Mr. Denby.)

August 10, 1895.

Upon the 3d instant the prince and ministers had the honor to receive a communication from the minister of the United States wherein he called attention to facts connected with the recent riots in Szechuan, which are established by proof, etc. This communication has received due perusal by the Yamen. It is pointed out that there can be no doubt that the local officials are responsible for these disturbances. This appears from a proclamation issued by Li Taotai, general manager of foreign affairs, which repudiates the Berthemey convention⁵⁵, a proclamation issued by Chou Taotai, chief of police, wherein he states that foreigners deceive and kidnap small children.

With regard to Berthemey convention, it may be stated that not only in Szechuan alone, but in other provinces the proclamation issued were not in conformity with the spirit of said convention. The French minister, Mr. Gerard, thereupon addressed the Yamen on the subject, and instructions were issued to the authorities of all the provinces to act accordingly in the issuance of proclamations, which is a matter of record. As to the proclamation by Chou, chief of police, in regard to foreigners deceiving and kidnapping small children, the Yamen some time ago telegraphed the viceroy of Szechuan to carefully investigate the matter. A report has been received by wire that the chief of police had not issued a proclamation in regard to foreigners deceiving and kidnapping small children, but that it was a false report circulated by the people.

It is further stated that placards were put up, and not removed by the police, to the effect that foreign barbarians are hiring evil characters to kidnap small children. Such placards, it may be stated, are abominable and detestable in the extreme. A telegram from the viceroy of Szechuan states that a long time ago these had been rigorously suppressed.

It is again stated that when the missionaries fled to the parade round for protection from the soldiers they were driven out, and one lady was brutally kicked by a soldier; that the Roman Catholic mission, only a stone's throw from the viceregal Yamen, was boldly looted and demolished; that there were thousands of soldiers in and about the city, and they did not attempt to protect the foreigners. It may be pointed out that during the riots the people were crowded together, raging with fury, and the local authorities found that they could not afford proper protection under the existing state of affairs. As to the case of the soldier brutally kicking a woman, the offender, as a matter of course, should be severely punished according to law.

Again, it is further stated that it is apparent, from the immediate occurrence of riots at many other places

55 The "Berthemey Convention" refers to an agreement between France and China, initially in 1865 and reaffirmed in 1895, about the purchase of property in China by French (more broadly Catholic) missionaries. The text of the original agreement varied between the French version and the Chinese in which the property right was stated. The British and Americans adopted the "Berthemey Convention" under the principle that a privilege granted to one nation by treaty was accessible to all. See Welch, Ian, "Missionaries, Murder and Diplomacy in Late 19th Century China: A Case Study. Online 1 May 2010 at anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_ANU2006.pdf See also, Padelford, Norman J., "Alien Religious Property in China," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 26 No. 2, April 1932, pp 296-314. See also, Richards, L. N., "The Rights of Foreigners to Reside and Hold Land in China," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 15 No. 3, November 1901, pp 191-207.

in Szechuan, that there was concerted action between the capital and outlying towns, and with the knowledge of the officials a general plan was organized to drive out of the provinces all foreigners; that missionaries had been in Szechuan for many years, and that twenty-four adult Americans were made homeless, etc.

In regard to the destruction of missionary property, it may be stated that it was caused by outlaws suddenly and unexpectedly. How could it be right for the Szechuan people, for no reason, to drive foreigners out of the province. If the officials had knowledge of this beforehand they would certainly have adopted preventive measures to protect the missionaries. How could they allow people at their pleasure to cause trouble.

As to the points in the communication under acknowledgement that adequate punishment is demanded of the Government of China of the guilty officials, whatever their rank or station may be, and that the missionaries be permitted immediately to return to Szechuan to take and occupy their property; and that until they can rebuilt their homes they be furnished by the local officials with suitable abiding places; and that the viceroy of Szechuan be ordered to issue a proclamation that the foreigners have the right to reside and prosecute their work in that province, etc. In the present instance the local authorities who failed to exert themselves in giving adequate protection to the missionaries are deserving of blame and open to censure, and punishment will be necessarily meted out to them.

As to the missionaries returning to Szechuan to rebuild their homes, and the issuance of proclamations by the viceroy that they have the right to reside and prosecute their work in that province, these are question which the Yamen will bring to the notice of the viceroy of Szechuan so that he may examine into them and take action accordingly. In the matter of the payment for damages sustained, alluded to in the communication under review, and that they be paid out of the local treasuries or by the local authorities themselves, when the amount has been agreed upon, no matter in what way, China will necessarily pay the same, and it does not seem necessary to inquire who is to furnish the funds. As to the statement that Mr. Chou has been promoted to be acting Taotai of Yachou, this, it may be stated, is not the case.

Again, in the matter of a suitable military force being kept at Chungking and that Li Taotai be kept at Chungking to protect foreigners, it may be stated that some time since the viceroy of Szechuan telegraphed orders to the Chungking brigade general to select able bodied men, who were to be kept under drill, to the end that due protection may be given to foreigners and to preserve order.

Li Taotai, of Chungking, had been summoned some time ago by the Emperor to come to Peking for audience, but a decree was issued and sent by wire ordering him to remain at his post for the present and look after the missionary cases; hence will not be transferred. It may be remarked that the wrong character was used in designating Li Taotai's name, the one used being the same sound as the proper one. The Yamen will, in accordance with the request made, present the foregoing representations to the Emperor, and on receiving His Majesty's edict will duly notify the minister of the United States.

In a word, the protection of missionaries and their establishments China regards a matter of extreme importance; but as to the means to be devised in giving protection, the responsibility still lies with the Chinese Government.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, August 14, 1895. Received Washington Sept. 26), No 2309, Denby to Olney.

Sir:— I have the honor to inclose a translation of a communication received from the Tsung-li Yamen relating to the riots in Fuhkien.

The Yamen consents that our consul at Foochow may go to Kutien to investigate the horrible massacre at that place. I have wired him that if he thought it desirable and necessary he could go, and he could exercise his judgment whether to go alone or with the British consul. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

(Inclosure to No. 2309)

The Tsung-li Yamen to Mr. Denby.

Your Excellency: We have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's note wherein you inquired if you should depute the United States consul at Foochow to proceed to Kutien to investigate the question of the riots there, whether the Chinese Government would render him all due aid and protection. Your Excellency asked for an early answer with regard to the riots at Kutien caused by revolutionists. We may state that it was entirely unexpected. Your Excellency proposes to depute the United States consul to proceed thither, and we

may say, How can China refuse to protect him? The British consul proposes to go there for the purpose of holding an investigation, and the Yamen telegraphed the Foochow authorities ordering that a military escort be furnished him; but as the rioters are in a state of wrath and fury it would not be right for the consul to expose himself to danger. We have written Sir Nicholas O'Connor to telegraph the British consul at Foochow to confer with the military officers appointed, and to consider the situation before proceeding there. The circumstances surrounding the United States consul going to Kutien are the same. The Yamen has telegraphed the Foochow authorities to select a proper military escort to protect the United States consul in going to Kutien, and beg Your Excellency to telegraph that officer to confer with the military officers appointed as to the condition of affairs, and to be careful in proceeding there and not run any risk of danger.

HIXSON REPORT, Consulate of the United States. Foochow, August 14, 1895. (Received Washington Sept. 26), No 25, Vice-Consul Churchill to Hon. Edwin F. Uhl, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.

Sir;—I have the honor to confirm by despatch the sad news already gone forward concerning the horrible diabolical massacre of missionaries in Kutien District, this Province, and to now briefly outline the present situation, leaving the details to be obtained from the inclosures I am forwarding herewith.

The place of the massacre was Hua-Sang, a summer resort in the mountains about ten miles west of Kutien City.

At the time of the attack, about 6.30 a.m. on August 1st, there were seventeen missionaries at Hua-Sang. Nine of these were killed on the spot, one died from wounds on the way to this port and one died after arriving in Foochow—making eleven dead in all—and there are three wounded lying here in the Foochow Hospital; one of the latter, a girl aged 12, is in a very serious condition with a knee-joint wound; and a young lady who will be very much disfigured, provided her recovery is probable.

Miss Mabel C. Hartford, of Portsmouth, N.H., connected with the Methodist Episcopal Mission here since 1887, is the only citizen of the United States who suffered in the tragedy. Her actual wounds are in no sense serious; but she is prostrated with the effects ... Her enclosed statement [at August 4] of the massacre is not complete as she broke down from nervous exhaustion under the efforts to give the facts. She will perhaps never entirely get over the effects, but her proximate recovery is certain unless brain fever sets in.

All the other victims are British subjects, and all were ladies and children except Mr. Stewart.

The origin and nature of the riotous movement: Planned by a secret society called "Vegetarians", who seem to be organizing for a rebellion, and are determined to drive foreigners out of this country.

Consul Hixson, Ensign Waldo Evans of the U.S.S. Detroit, and Dr. Gregory, an American missionary, accompanied by the British Consul and Vice-Consul and two British missionaries, left here on the 13th inst. for the scene of massacre to thoroughly investigate such high-handed murder; Consul Hixson had instructions from Minister Denby. The party had an escort of Chinese soldiers; Chinese officials had gone before and will form part of the investigation committee. News reached this office today that the party had arrived safely at Shui-kow and were then leaving for Kutien—30 miles further north.

A complete statement will be furnished the State Department at the very earliest possible time.

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

CMS East Asia Archives. Rev. H. S. Phillips to Mr. Phillips (his father) dated August 14, 1895.

The English Consul who has behaved like five feet of red tape without a heart throughout was at last stirred up to start through the energy of the indefatigable American Consul, to whom we are greatly indebted, Colonel Hixson. Mr. Mansfield acted as British Consuls generally do. Whether our British Government will do anything or act like their Consul I don't know, but I sincerely hope a question will be asked in the House. "Why, when the British Consul heard that 5 of his countrymen were massacred and others severely wounded, did he continue his journey to Ku-hang [Kuliang] a summer resort, for his own pleasure, so that he was not in Foochow when our telegram arrived saying we were bringing the wounded, and if it had not been for the energy of the American Consul serious damage and perhaps further loss of life would have occurred

as no steam launch would have been sent.” If this question has not yet been asked would you get it asked as soon as possible.

The Times, (London), 14 March 1895.

**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.
THE MISSIONARY QUESTION IN CHINA.**

To the Editor of The Times, Sir— Without at all entering into the controversy whether it is right to send missionaries, as well as of traders, to claim for themselves the benefits of the concessions made by China in the treaties made with their respective countries, may I ask you to allow me space to correct an extraordinary perversion in the letter of one of your correspondents to-day of the injunctions of the missionaries’ Divine Master?

Your correspondent says:—

Our Lord gives the most explicit directions to His disciples that if any city or *people* refuse to receive these disciples or His Gospel which they preach as a testimony, then they are to depart, shaking off the dust from their feet as testimony against such a city or *people*. He also directs that if his disciples should be persecuted in *one place* they must flee to another.

Had your correspondent quoted the words as recorded in Matthew’s Gospel they would not have suited his purpose. He has had to supplement them by the addition or substitution of the words which I have put in italics. He shows what he understands by “people” and “place” in another part of his letter—viz., a whole country or empire.

Ought not the missionary societies to act as follows? ... (3) or shake off the dust from their feet and leave China until it please God to open and safe door open for the admission to the provinces of the empire.”

Is that the meaning of our Lord’s words,

And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city shake off the dust of your feet”?

Admitting that the general principle of this injunction is applicable to all time, is it to be construed to mean that, although His closing command was

Go ye therefore and teach (make disciples of) all nations, and, lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,

China was to be excluded because, to use your correspondent’s words,

I am sure that the Chinese have no more longing for a spiritual religion that have the masses of any other part of the world.

If so, I wonder where your correspondent would have them begin.

Whether missionaries are “forcing themselves on the Chinese;” whether they do wrong “in appealing to the civil and military power” for protection after the Imperial proclamation, in which the beneficent character of their religion was openly recognized; whether, if they were able to take the advice to withdraw from the interior to the treaty ports under the immediate power and protection of their respective consuls and vessels of war, their conduct would be consistent with what your correspondent inculcates for their guidance, I leave to others to discuss.

He says he is unable to learn from the study of history that Christianity was an “illicit religion in the Apostolic Age” and refers to “the impartial Gallio” in proof. There were many persecutions of Christianity after Gallio’s day, beginning if not in the Apostolic Age, immediately after. Pliny’s famous letter should surely be enough to prove that, perhaps even before the death of the last of the Apostles, Christianity was an illicit religion. The confession that those brought before him were Christians was enough to insure capital punishment. His well known words are worthy being quoted—

Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus; perseveranter duci juesi.

August 12, Yours respectfully, David M’Laren.

The Times, (London), 14 March 1895.

THE MASSACRES IN CHINA.

At a meeting of the committee of the Church Missionary Society held yesterday afternoon the following resolutions were adopted:—

- (1) The committee, while bowing in humble resignation before God under the appalling disaster which in His mysterious providence has been permitted to all upon the work of the Church of Christ in the Fo-kien Province, desire to express, on the one hand, profound sorrow for the loss of valued and much-loved fellow-labourers, and, on the other, their assurance that God in His own time and way will, in this portion of the mission field, cause “the blood of the martyrs: to become “the seed of the Church.”
- (2) The committee desire to express their deep and heartfelt sympathy with the families who have been so terribly bereaved in the Ku-cheng massacre. They rejoice to know that the Master, into whose immediate presence these His servants, several of them in early life, have thus so suddenly entered, will Himself sustain, comfort, and strengthen by His Spirit those who have now been brought for His sake into the bitter waters of affliction.
- (3) The committee desire to place on record their devout thankfulness to Almighty God for the grace which was vouchsafed to their dear brother, the Rev. R. W. Stewart, his wife, and all the devoted lady missionaries, whether connected with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, or the Church Missionary Society, who by life and lip preached among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ, and have been counted worthy to seal their testimony with their life-blood, being “faithful unto death.”
- (4) That the secretaries be instructed to forward an official letter of condolence to the bereaved families connected with the C.M.S. or the C.Z.M.S., to the committees of the C.E.Z.M.S., the Victoria C.M Association, the Australian branch of the C.E.Z.M.S., to Bishop Burdon, and to the members of the Fo-kien Mission.
- (5) That the secretaries be instructed gratefully to acknowledge letters of sympathy received from various missionary societies and others.

POLICY.—

- (1) The committee feel it would be premature to attempt to sketch out any policy with regard to the conduct of the mission in the immediate future, but they cherish the hope that ere long God will graciously make their way plain to resume and extend the work throughout the district, in conjunction with the C.E.Z.M.S., meanwhile they entertain the full confidence that the brethren at Fu-chau will act with wisdom and discretion in dealing with all matters requiring prompt attention.
- (2) That under the special circumstances the committee deeply regret that they have no option but to direct that the ladies who were about to go forth to commence work in Fo-kien be for the present retained in England, until satisfactory assurances be received from Fu-chau, that they may be safely sent.
- (3) The committee in the midst of this sorrow desire to place on record their unfaltering belief that no disasters, however great, should be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of that purpose for which the society exists—viz., the evangelization of the world, which in its Divine origin is without conditions. They deprecate any suggestion that evangelistic enterprise in China or in any other part of the world is to be necessarily dependent upon the possibility of protection being accorded to the missionaries, either by the Government of the country in which they labour or by Great Britain. At the same time the committee recognize the responsibility resting upon them to carry on their missionary work with due prudence and discretion, and to take all steps in their power for the safety of their missionaries, and particularly of the Christian women whom God is at this time calling forth in such large numbers. The committee, while they would deplore any action on the part of the British nation savouring of the spirit of retaliation, are confident that her Majesty’s Government will take such steps as are necessary to induce the government of China to act effectively in the interests of order and justice, and to secure the protection pledged by treaty rights for the foreign residents, and liberty of conscience for the native Christians.

Last evening a public meeting was held in Exeter-hall under the auspices of the Church Missionary

Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in reference to the recent massacre in China. Sir John H. Kennaway, M.P., who presided, said they had gathered together for a clear purpose, not to protest against any supposed shortcomings of the Government, or anything which might or might not have been done, but to express deep sympathy with the relatives and friends of those who had been so cruelly taken from them, to ask for comfort for the mourners, and help and support for those who were in peril. In answer to those who argued that they ought not to sacrifice the lives of these missionaries, they said they were determined to go on with their work. The Rev. Baring Gould reported favourably as to the condition of Miss Codrington and the eldest daughter of the late Mr. Stewart. Addresses were delivered by, among others, the Rev. W. Cassels, Bishop Designate of Central China, and the Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, missionary at Fu-chau, and a colleague of the late Mr. Stewart.

The committee of the London Missionary Society specially charged with the responsibility of the society's missions in China has held a meeting, at which, after carefully considering recent correspondence from China, and in view of the reassuring nature of the telegraphic replies received from the society's missionaries since the massacre and the verbal statements made by representatives of North China, Mid China, and South China present at the meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

That while fully recognizing the need for great caution in the present position of missions in China and the possibly necessity for the temporary recall of ladies and children from country stations to the protection of treaty ports, the committee, having perfect confidence in the prudence and judgment of the society's district committees in China, resolves to give those committees discretionary power to act in their several districts as circumstances and local feeling may necessitate, but leaves with them on the spot the responsibility of deciding whether such action is required or not.

That, for the present, the committee resolves to make no changes respecting the prospective departure of Chinese missionaries this autumn beyond arranging that the two or three newly-appointed missionaries shall in the first instance be located in the treaty ports and only be moved into the country when, in the judgment of the district committees, this shall be perfectly safe.

The Times, (London), 14 August 1895.

THE OUTRAGES IN CHINA.

SHANGHAI, AUG 13. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, British Consul at Fu-chau, Mr. E. L. Allen, British Vice-Consul at Pagoda Island, the Rev. W. Banister, the Rev. L. H. F. Star, Mr. J. C. Hixson, United States Consul at Fu-chau, a lieutenant of the United States cruiser Detroit, and Dr. Gregory leave Fu-chau for Ku-cheng to-day with a Chinese escort.—*Our Correspondent.*

TIENTSIN, AUG. 7. The Chinese Government is in a state of helpless confusion and is incapable of taking any decisive action or of exercising any effective authority. The results will probably be serious unless the foreign Powers take precautions.—*Our Special Correspondent.*

NEW YORK, AUG. 13. Despatches from Washington intimate that the United States Government may cooperate with Great Britain for the protection of the citizens of both countries in China, but for that object alone. England is supposed, while acting in good faith on behalf of her missionaries, to have large ulterior objects which may lead her to take steps against China in which the United States, which also has interests there, might not care to join. Meanwhile, fresh and more specific instructions are on their way to Mr. Denby, American Minister to China, and the Navy Department has sent orders to Admiral Carpenter ...

The Sydney Morning Herald, 14 August 1895.

EDITORIAL

It is long since so deep a feeling has been stirred as by the recent massacre of missionaries in China, respecting which further information of a more detailed character continues to reach us. The subject has received wide attention in the churches, and the occurrence of a melancholy disaster nearer home has not been sufficient to eclipse its interest. We have a close concern with the massacre in question, because some of our own people were involved in it. The circumstance that the Australian victims were young women naturally intensifies our interest; and it is not to be wondered at or complained of if, in the widespread agitation of public sympathy, the fact that these young Australian women were led by exalted motives out of the ordinary path of duty to make this sacrifice of their lives has given rise to certain questioning comment.

It will be admitted that there was exceptional danger for these missionaries in the present disturbed state of China. In view of the alarm to which the little establishment at Ku-Cheng had already been subjected, there seems fair ground for the comment that the ordinary motives of prudence would have been better followed, had exceptional measures been taken for the safety of at least the female workers in this particular mission.

But to view the matter from the prudential point of view is to raise the whole question of foreign missions and the aims and motives in which they have their origin. That being the case, it is right to remember what these aims and motives are. Setting Christianity aside for the moment, they will be seen to be based on the most abstract and altruistic of motives, with which the ordinary prudential considerations that govern life have admittedly little or nothing to do. But inasmuch as the subject is inseparable from Christianity, it is impossible to forget those that disregard of these considerations is a leading counsel of the Christian ideal when there is Christian work to do.

There is thus a standpoint suggested, regarded from which the sacrifice of these poor girls is seen to possess all the high marks of Christian heroism. They have not hesitated to incur risks which, knowingly or not, exposed them to the possibility of laying down their lives for the cause they have followed. In their case that possibility has proved itself a melancholy certainty; and no one who can appreciate altruistic self-sacrifice carried to the highest point, whether from the motivations of philanthropy or religion, need doubt that their fate presents a noble and pulse-stirring example. Motives like these have done all the great work of the world, and they are least selfish and most single-minded of which human nature is capable.

It is the fashion to say that in our times the altruistic idea is exploded and that selfishness is supreme. Not less strongly is it urged, and more especially of new societies like our own in these Australian colonies, that heroism is an archaism and impossible. The utilitarian spirit is held to have extinguished it, the *Cui bono?* Of up-to-date experience having exposed it as illogical and unreasonable. By way of answer to all that comes the tale of the fate of these young Australian women at Ku-Cheng, and in the face of such a practical instance, doubt as to the impossibilities of heroism is silenced. We have here the same stuff that martyrs and missionaries have always been made of, and it is not conceivable that the tribute of appreciation can be withheld when we find the original actuating motive which has done so much to civilise and Christianise the world once carried out to its extreme issue by noble-minded women who have grown up and lived their lives among us. Whether the potency of the motive be understood or not, and whether that motive be approved of or not, hardly enters into the consideration of the subject when regarded from this particular standpoint. The only course open is to admit the exalted motive animating these missionaries, and to admire the heroism and devotion which they attested at the price of their lives.

The public mind naturally demands to be satisfied that when Australian missionaries, and more particularly Australian women, are found to place themselves in situations which exact these sacrifices from them, certain conditions will be complied with. It is here that the prudential standpoint discovers itself. The heroes and heroines of missionary effort are not expected to adopt it, nor is the moral value of their heroic example in any way discounted because they not choose to do so. It is rather for the satisfaction of the public mind which is invited to accept and admire such examples. These conditions are simple enough in themselves. They merely suppose that the volunteers who take up missionary work in dangerous fields shall, in the first place, be made exactly acquainted, so far as is possible, with the risks they accept in offering themselves for these particular duties. In the second place, it is not unreasonable to postulate that the managers and directors of missionary effort, and more especially of female missionary effort, should be expected to supply that reasonable regard for prudential motives which the martyr-spirit may be assumed to overlook. There is nothing in connection with recent massacre to suggest that these conditions were wanting as a matter of actual fact, and so long as the public mind is positively assured on these points there is no ground for adversely criticizing the employment of Australian girls as missionaries in China, even though some of them should lose their lives from time to time at the hands of a fanatical mob. It is not even clear, perhaps, that the public mind has any right to be satisfied on these two points. All that can be said is that it might do away with any feelings of uneasiness as regards the recruiting of volunteers in the future if the public were so satisfied. It may be submitted too, that we should not be left to the chances of a massacre to realise the possibilities of missionary life in China. Those who know the country are aware that there are daily and hourly trials to confront such as aspire to labour among the Chinese, even under favourable

circumstances, and it need scarcely be repeated that what is an occasion for heroism, when it is the result of a clear knowledge of the facts, becomes a cruel disaster when it takes its victim by surprise. That there are good men and good women labouring in China is well known, as well as that the services of women reach the female portion of the people to be evangelized and civilized in a way that ordinary missionary effort never can. Hence the advisableness of neglecting no precaution ...

The Sydney Morning Herald, 14 August 1895.

THE PROPOSED MEETING OF CHINESE.

A mass meeting of Chinese residents favourable to erecting memorials in honour of the Christian missionaries massacred at Ku-Cheng, and sending letters of sympathy to the parents and relatives of the victims, and also to the missionary society with which they were connected, will be held in the New Masonic Hall, Castlereagh-street, at 7.30 this evening. The Chinese residents here keenly feel the brutal action of their countrymen in slaughtering innocent men and women whose only aim in life was to do good. The movement is the outcome of the efforts of Mr. Quong Tart and several other prominent Chinese citizens, and the secretaries are—Rev. [George] Soo Hoo Ten (Church of England missionary), Rev. J. [John] Young Wai, (Presbyterian missionary), and Rev. David Shing, (Wesleyan missionary). The gathering will be a Chinese one, but as some Europeans may be present the proceedings will be conducted both in the Chinese and English language.⁵⁶

Bay of Plenty Times, (New Zealand), 14 August 1895.

CABLE NEWS

HOME AND FOREIGN

The massacres in China

LONDON, August 12.—Foreign residents in Tientsin declare that the Kucheng massacre was the natural outcome of thirty year's mistaken leniency and that platonic measures will be futile. The Times correspondent at Tientsin says that there will be worse to follow unless the Powers take a determined stand with the Chinese Government.

SHANGHAI, August 12.—One of the murders confesses to cutting off the head and thumbs [limbs] of Mrs. Stewart who in a frenzy fought until literally hacked to pieces.

The Sydney Morning Herald, 14 August 1895.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

Sir,—The letter of Mr. J. C. Neild, M.L.A., opens up a very fair subject for sales discussion. I admire the pluck that dares face false sentiment, even if it leads to question the writer's Christianity. Did these poor sufferers die because they were teaching Christian principles, or are they martyrs only because they were foreigners, and not for Christ's sake. Will it be for a moment assumed that the many Christian ladies who met with such horrid outrages and deaths during the Indian mutiny were massacre for the cause of Christ? Certainly not; but because they belonged to the hated Farringhee; and many a one has been butchered in China for the simple reason that he was a "Mo Pin Fanqui"—a "no-tail foreign devil," for that is the true meaning—but not being enrolled among the list of missionaries cannot be numbered in the "glorious army of martyrs." That great host who suffered under Pagan persecutions shed their blood for not sacrificing to the gods—or not offering incense to the deified Emperor, or for not cursing Christ at the bidding of a magistrate; and the hundreds of thousands who endured the cruel tortures and agonizing deaths of the gentle Inquisition bore their horrible sufferings for opposing Anti-Christ enthroned at Rome. Can these poor creatures who have been killed in China be ranked in the same category, especially these young ladies?

In the early days of the Primitive Church the "advanced woman" had not put in her appearance. We do

56 Soo Hoo Ten was converted to Christianity in a Baptist mission in California. He came to Australia and worked briefly as a catechist with the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He joined the Anglican Church and became, if measured by baptisms, the most successful missionary to the Chinese in Australia. Young Wai was converted to Christianity in Victoria and worked with the Victorian Presbyterian Chinese Mission before moving to New South Wales. His Crown Street [Chinese] Presbyterian Church continues as the largest ethnic Chinese Christian congregation in Australia.

not read of delicate ladies going forth among barbarians to preach Christ; and I think, with Mr. Neild, that God never intended such to be the case. Surely we have men enough to fill these posts of honour and danger. I know it will be answered that in India the Zenana effort to reach the female seclusion is being blessed. All praise to the ladies so engaged. They are under the protection of British law, and are not among a lot of uncivilised barbarians, and are reaching those that men could not meet. Blood will now be demanded for the bloodshed—righteous retribution will be demanded, not for Christ’s sake, but because the national honour has been ruthlessly violated. I am, etc. CROMWELLIAN

The Pall Mall Gazette, (London), 14 August 1895.

**THE MISSIONARY MASSACRE IN CHINA.
SUGGESTED INTERNATIONAL ACTION.**

ST. PETERSBURG, Wednesday.—In an article upon the massacres in China the *Novosti* to-day recommends the Russian, French, and German Governments to take united action with Great Britain and the United States, with a view to obtaining satisfaction for the horrible outrages committed by Chinese upon British and American missions, as well as substantial guarantees against the repetition of similar atrocities. All the States of Europe, adds the journal, should manifest their solidarity in the protection of their respective subjects wherever they may be threatened by a common danger.—*Reuter*.

The Glasgow Herald, (Scotland), 14 August 1895.

The Leeds Mercury, (England), 14 August 1895.

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA

The announcement of the formation at Shanghai⁵⁷ of a joint British and American commission of inquiry into the massacre at Ku-Cheng entirely vindicates the conduct of our Government. It also has the effect of making the critics of the Government, who have been insisting that it should “do something,” without having the slightest notion what it should do, appear very foolish. The commission, it seems, is composed of two British Consuls, two missionaries, one American Consul and an officer of the United States Navy. Everybody will agree that joint action is likely to have far more effect on the Chinese Government than separate action. Everybody who is in possession of his senses will agree that inquiry must precede action. We are fully represented in the inquiry, as fully as we are likely to be in the action, comparing the American and British strength in Chinese waters. The Chinese Government has offered every facility for the commission to prosecute its inquiries, and has provided it with an escort, naturally objecting to the presence in China of an armed party of foreigners. But we may be quite sure in this instance the Chinese Government will show itself efficient, and that the commission of inquiry will not be molested in its work.

**THE ANTI-FOREIGN CRUSADE IN CHINA.
DEPARTURE OF INQUIRY COMMISSION.**

(REUTER’S TELEGRAM)

Shanghai, August 13.—Mr. Mansfield, the acting British Consul at Fu Chau; Mr. Allen, the British Vice-Consul for the Pagoda Island; Mr. Hixson, the United States Consul at Fu Chau; the Rev. Messrs. Banister and Gregory, and a lieutenant from the United States warship *Detroit*, are leaving to-day with an escort for Ku-Cheng. The escort is stated to consist of a hundred Chinese “braves,” owing to the Viceroy having disallowed a foreign escort.

Fu-Cahu, August 13.—The Commission appointed to inquire into the Ku-Cheng massacres left here to-day under a strong Chinese escort. The Commission consists of the British Consul, the British Vice-Consul, the United States Consul, an officer of the United States cruiser *Detroit*, three missionaries, the Rev. Messrs Bannister (sic), Gregory, and Stair (sic), and a number of Chinese officials of high rank.

The Central News says:—An official telegram has been received in London stating that with a view to preventing any possible extension of the missionary troubles in Fukien an Imperial edict has been issued at the suggestion of the British Minister at Peking, calling upon governors-general and governors of all the

57 The Commission comprised the British and American Consuls at Foochow, an American naval officer, two British CMS missionaries and one American Methodist Episcopal missionary. See Part Three.

provinces of the empire to take precautions against the people being misled by idle rumours calculated to excite missionary disturbances in their respective jurisdictions. From the explicit and peremptory terms of the edict the most salutary effect may be confidently expected from its issue. Five persons accused of being concerned in the deplorable atrocities at Ku-Cheng have already been arrested, and will be immediately brought to trial.

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MEETING OF LONDON (CMS & CEZMS) MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The massacre of missionaries in China was light night the subject of prayer and discussion at a crowded meeting of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, held in Exeter Hall. Sir John Kennaway, M.P., presided...

The CHAIRMAN said that, in view of the terrible news which came from the Far East a few days ago, it was thought desirable to call a public meeting, and he rejoiced at the splendid response to that hasty summons, because they so felt that they had the sympathy of other societies in their great sorrow. They had met not to protest against any tactics of the Government, not to call for measures either of punishment for the wrong that had been done or for the prevention of similar occurrences in the future. They left these matters in the hands of the Government, who had shown great sympathy with the societies, assured that Ministers would do what was necessary and right to maintain the privileges secured to missionaries no less than to other foreign inhabitants in China. They had met in the first place to express their deep sympathy with the relatives and friends whose lives had been so cruelly taken. They wished to ask for comfort for the mourners, and help and support for those who were in peril, because the situation of all foreigners in China at that moment was a perilous one. The Government of China, very weak originally, had been further weakened by the events of the past few months and the Japanese War. The country was very much at the mercy of disbanded soldiers, who were roaming about without any strong force to restrain their evil desires. They would pray, therefore, for their missionaries, for all European inhabitants in China, and for guidance for themselves, that they might know what was the right course to take under these difficult circumstances. These events would prove not to have hindered the missionary cause, but to have helped it forward; and they would pray for a large outpouring of God's Holy spirit upon the Chinese people, that their hearts might be opened to receive the truth. While the disaster had been a great one, they must rejoice that so many missionaries of their own and other societies had been kept safe. The situation was somewhat analogous to what happened many years ago when the news burst upon Europe of the outbreak of the mutiny in India, the terrible sufferings of our fellow-countrymen there culminating in the massacre of Cawnpore. There had been some who were inclined to regard the possession of India as a doubtful advantage, but when the news came there was but one mind amongst the people of this country, and they said—"At all hazards and at any case we must hold India." So now, was there one man or one woman interested in missionary work who would not say that this news was a call and a summons for them to go forward with redoubled energy in order that the cause might prosper in China and throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) There were those who said they had no business to sacrifice these precious lives. Their answer was that the command given to the disciples in the early days had never been withdrawn. Therefore they went forward, fully believing that they were justified, and that God's blessing would rest upon them. They were ready to ask themselves wherein they had fallen short, and whether their methods had been the right ones; but they unhesitatingly said they must and would go forward. They had entrusted to them the lives of missionaries, and they would do everything consistent with their protection and care, but they trusted them to God, and would go forward. The days had been and were very dark, but as they saw that afternoon in the rainbow the sign and hope of better things, as they saw in the clear shining rain the promise in God's good providence of a safe and abundant harvest, so they saw in their day of trouble and sorrow a gleam of brightness and joy and an earnest and hope of future victories to come. They had that day accepted they knew had been long impending—viz., the resignation of their dear friend, Frederick Wigram; and they had passed a resolution expressing their deep sense of their obligations to him for the services he had rendered to their society, and their earnest hope that he would still be spared to help and encourage them. He was privileged also to tell them that they had elected as Mr. Wigram's successor the Rev. Henry Elliott Fox. God had given them, he believed, the right man and the right time, and he was sure they would extend to him a most hearty welcome. (Hear, hear.) The chairman then announced that the following resolution among others had been passed that afternoon by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society—"the committee feel that it would be premature to attempt to sketch out

any policy with regard to the conduct of the mission in the immediate future, but they cherished the hope that ere long God will graciously make their way plain to resume and extend the work throughout the district in conjunction with the C.E.Z.M.S. Meanwhile they entertained the full confidence that the brethren at Foochow will act with wisdom and discretion in dealing with all matters requiring prompt attention, that under the special circumstances the committee deeply regret that they have no option but to direct that the ladies' who were about to go forth to commence work in Fuh-Kien be for the present retained in England until assurances be received from Foochow that they may be safely sent. The committee in the midst of this sorrow desire to place on record their unfaltering belief that no disasters, however great, should be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of that purpose for which the society exists, namely—the evangelisation of the world, which in its divine origin is without conditions. They deprecate any suggestion that evangelistic enterprise in China or in any other part of the world is to be necessarily dependent upon the possibility of protection being seconded to the missionaries, either by the Government of the country in which they labour or by Great Britain. At the same time the committee recognise the responsibility resting upon them to carry on their missionary work with due prudence and discretion, and to take all steps in their power for the safety of their missionaries, and particularly of the Christian women whom God is at this time calling forth in such large numbers. The committee, while they would deplore any action on the part of the British nation savouring of the spirit of retaliation, are confident that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as are necessary to induce the Government of China to act effectively in the interests of order and justice, and to secure the protection pledged by treaty rights for the foreign residents and liberty of conscience for the native Christian."

The Rev. Mr. [Llewellyn] LLOYD, who had been for 18 years with Mr. Robert Stewart in his missions, said he could not trust himself to speak of the dear ones now gone, but amidst the gloom and sorrow there was one topic for thanksgiving, and that was the beautiful letters he had received from the near relatives of those who had been murdered. These letters were simply marvellous, and showed how the world-wide prayers of the Church had been answered. The sister of one of the murdered ones on hearing of her sister's fate remarked—"Nothing is too precious for Jesus." The letter he had received a few hours since from the mother of Mrs. Stewart, breathed a spirit of resignation and chastened joy, which, to his mind, was little short of miraculous. He thought they must not be too much scared or taken aback by occurrences like that of the massacre at Ku-Cheng. On behalf of himself, and his fellow missionaries in China, he would say that they were all prepared for events of this kind, and he would earnestly deprecate any great lamentation being made here in England if he were called upon to lay down his life for Christ among the heathen. The committee of the societies most intimately connected with these terrible disasters might rest assured that everyone of their missionaries was quite as ready to lay down his life for the sake of those to whom he had been sent as the noble band of martyrs who would be known to posterity as the martyrs of Ku-Cheng. He would like to say one word as to their attitude in the face of catastrophes of this nature. He was afraid there might be in the hearts of some Christian people thoughts of revenge or reprisals, but such thoughts ought not to occupy their minds for a moment. They must pray earnestly that they might possess the spirit and love of their Master, who had cried as He hung upon the cross—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." With regard to Ku-Cheng, it had always been considered the safest part of our mission for the European missionaries to live in, and when casual visitors wanted to see their mission work it was generally to Ku-Cheng they were taken. The Vegetarians, by whom this dastardly crime was perpetrated, had always been considered both morally and intellectually superior to the great mass of the Chinese people. He had looked upon the Vegetarians as people who had taken at least one step towards the light. At present he did not think they had sufficient data to say how far the local magistrates were to be held responsible for the massacre. It seemed almost impossible to believe that people who a few months ago were in violent collision with the authorities were now in actual collusion with them. They must suspend their judgment upon this point.

Western Mail, (Cardiff, Wales), 14 August 1895.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POWERLESS.

A Dalziel's telegram from Shanghai on Tuesday says:—The Chinese authorities state that 40 Vegetarians and other natives implicated in the murder of missionaries have been arrested. Li Hung Cheong, in the course of an interview, professed the belief that the foreign missions were not altogether free from blame for

what had happened. They did not, his Excellency is reported to have said, confine themselves to Christian propaganda, but were in a great measure actuated by more worldly motives. As to the stories of foreigners killing Chinese children, he was not prepared to discredit them. All the reports reaching Shanghai from the capital concur in describing the Central Government as having lost every vestige of authority in the provinces. But the foreign representatives are, nevertheless, compelled by their official position to save appearances, and go on negotiating for a reparation of wrongs, to which they well know all the Imperial councils and boards

The New York Times, 14 August 1895.

COMMISSION TO KUCHENG
British and American Consuls and Several Missionaries.
AN IMPERIAL EDICT TO GOVERNORS.
Five of the Men Concerned in the Massacre Have Been Arrested
And Will Be Tried Immediately.

LONDON, Aug. 13.—A dispatch from Shanghai says that the commission appointed to inquire into the massacre of Christians will leave Foo-Choo this afternoon for Ku-Cheng.

The commission is comprised of Mr. Mansfield, the Acting British Consul at Foo Choo; Mr. J. C. Hixson, United States Consul at that place; Mr. E. L. B. Allen, British Vice-Consul at Pagoda Island; the Rev. Messrs. Banister, Gregory, and Starr, a Lieutenant from the United States warship Detroit, and a number of Chinese officials of high rank. The escort will consist of 100 Chinese braves, the Viceroy having refused to allow a foreign escort to accompany the commission. An official telegram has been received in this city saying that an imperial edict has been issued at Peking, at the instance of Mr. N. R. O'Connor, the British Minister, calling on the Governors to take precautions that the people are not misled by rumors exciting them against the missionaries. The dispatch adds that five of the men concerned in the massacre of the missionaries at Kucheng have already been arrested and will be tried immediately.

The New York Tribune, 14 August 1895.

A SPEEDY TRIAL PROMISED.
FIVE CHINAMEN, CONCERNED IN THE KU-CHENG OUTRAGE, ARRESTED.
AN IMPERIAL EDICT—THE BRITISH-AMERICAN COMMISSION LEAVES FOO-CHOW—
MINISTER DENBY WILL PROBABLY ORDER A SEPARATE INVESTIGATION.

London, Aug. 13.—An official telegram has been received in this city stating that an Imperial edict has been issued at Peking at the instance of N. R. O'Connor, the British Minister, calling on the governors to take precautions that the people are not misled by rumors exciting them against the missionaries.

The dispatch adds that five of the men concerned in the massacre of the missionaries at Ku-Cheng have already been arrested and will be tried immediately.

“The Pall Mall Gazette” this afternoon publishes a dispatch from Shanghai stating that the commission appointed to inquire into the massacre of Christians will leave Foo-Chow this afternoon for Ku-Cheng. The commission is comprised of the British and American Consuls at Foo-Chow and several missionaries. It will be escorted by a strong guard of native soldiers.

Washington, Aug. 13.—The United States Government will probably send one of its Consuls to represent it in the investigation into the recent massacres at Ku-Cheng instead of committing American interests to a British official. Whether or not this investigation will be conducted by a mixed commission or British and Americans cannot now be stated, but it is understood here that Mr. Denby will have a separate inquiry made to determine the extent of injuries to the persons and property of American citizens. Miss Hartford, of Dover, N.H., was the only American injured at Ku-Cheng, and she not seriously, but as the attack was so obviously directed against Americans and English alike, the Government will probably join Great Britain in demanding certain reforms to prevent a repetition of the outrages.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol XXVI, November 1895, pp 524-525

Missionaries and Reprisals.

BY THE REV. K. H. GRAVES, D.D.

Missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention.

THE papers are full of criticisms on Minister Denby, the American navy and the missionaries in China, on account of the destruction of property and loss of lives of missionaries through Chinese rioters. One would almost think the less acquainted with China an editor is, the better qualified he feels himself to be to give advice. I do not believe that any blame attaches to Minister Denby, who is a most efficient officer and friendly to missionaries, nor to the navy, for, whatever their personal feelings toward the mission work may be, our naval officers are always ready to do their duty in protecting the lives and property of American citizens. Missionaries, too, have counted the cost in going to such a people as the Chinese, and know very well that being in the advance wave of Western influence, they must bear the brunt of the anti-foreign hostility of the ignorant masses of the Chinese.

Some papers are calling for reprisals, and a telegram is published saying that the American residents of Tientsin are demanding reprisals on China. By reprisals I suppose they mean that when American lives are lost, or property in the interior is destroyed, some place accessible to our gunboats should be seized or some Chinese property captured. Even if some missionaries under excitement of the dastardly murder of their brethren should sign such a demand, I do not believe that it is the conviction of the missionaries as a body.

What is needed is local punishment. Let the Chinese learn that "who breaks, pays." The Chinese government is under a great strain at present, and those best acquainted with the facts know that, owing to its deep humiliation from the late war with Japan, its own subjects have become alienated. The riots are probably as much anti-dynastic as anti-foreign or anti-Christian. The enemies of the Tartar dynasty are anxious to have the present government involved in difficulties with foreign nations. By attacking missionaries they gratify at once their cowardly instincts of injuring the weak with no risk to themselves and their anti-dynastic as well as anti-foreign and anti-Christian feelings.

What is needed is local coercion. This may best be accomplished by insisting on several things from the Chinese government.

1. That all trials for the destruction of foreign lives and property should be before a *mixed commission* composed of Chinese officials sent direct from Peking and the diplomatic or naval representatives of the nation whose nationals have suffered. This is a just demand; for the Chinese officials have proved themselves so full of duplicity and anti-foreign feeling that they have forfeited all claims to be trusted. Witness the conduct of Chang Ghi-tung in the case of the Sng-po massacre. Even the higher authorities issue proclamations which they know will be seen by foreigners, while they may issue secret instructions to the officials of a very different tenor.

2. Indemnity should be demanded from the local officials. The Chinese way of dealing with an official whose accounts are short is to deprive him of rank, but retain him in office for a stipulated term until he makes up the deficiency. Let an official understand that if he permits an anti-foreign riot in his jurisdiction he immediately forfeits his rank and chance for promotion until he pays over the amount sufficient for indemnity for loss and cost of investigation, and he will be slow to encourage or allow riots, as so many mandarins do now. If he fails to make the reparation within the required period, let him be degraded and be forever ineligible for office. Where the people of a town know that they themselves must pay for the destruction of lives or property in a riot, just as an American city would have to do⁵⁸, they will be slow to permit one. But when the general government pays indemnity the villagers or people of a town or city are none the worse off, and do not feel the punishment.

3. Let the local literati who are proved to be connected with the riot be at once degraded and forever excluded from attending examinations. The gentry or literati are usually at the bottom of most of the anti-foreign difficulties. They represent the old conservatism, and are much less advanced in their ideas than even

58 Note that no American town or city or local officials paid any indemnity for the killing and ill-treatment of Chinese in the United States. Nor did the American Government pay an indemnity. There is no evidence of any American official being degraded or dismissed for not dealing summarily with anti-Chinese actions.

the mandarins who know that foreign nations have some power.

A life of nearly forty years in China has given me some acquaintance with the Chinese, and I feel that reprisals are not needed, but I am persuaded could create much unnecessary ill-feeling. The Chinese are very clannish and provincial, and could never understand the justice of a policy by which the innocent would suffer while the guilty would escape. They have seen enough of this under their own officials.⁵⁹ Let the pressure be brought to bear on those who are guilty either of active participation or blameworthy negligence, and the demands of justice will be satisfied.

Missionaries take risks, relying on God for protection ; but while we are required to take passports, and the government guarantees our safety, we cannot ignore the fact altogether. I am persuaded that general reprisals would work injury to the mission cause.—*N.Y. Independent*.

59 In fact, the Chinese were familiar with the innocent suffering in their legal system while the guilty could escape by paying others to take their punishment, including death. Note the willingness of the Chinese officials at the Kucheng trials to offer the foreign consuls any number of executions to end the enquiry.