

THE FLOWER MOUNTAIN MURDERS.

PART THREE: THE BACKGROUND.

TIMELINE: MAY 1870—JULY 1895.

“The whole of the missionary interests in Fuhkien province were vitally concerned in the general outcome of the Huashan investigation: and it may be said, indeed, that all missionary interests in China were more or less involved.”

(Hixson, Report, paragraph 910.)

1870, MAY 14.

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, (London), 14 May 1870.)

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

Some Chinese correspondence on the rights and claims of missionaries which has lately been presented to Parliament is much more entertaining than ordinary Foreign Office documents. Diplomats are seldom required to discuss the supposed conflict of spiritual and temporal duties; and SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, deserves credit for his readiness to engage, on due occasion, in an unaccustomed controversy. Lord CLARENDON has habitually emulated the statesmanlike neutrality of GALLIO¹ whose determination to confine himself to his proper functions has been persistently misunderstood for eighteen centuries. It is against his advice that missionaries incur the risk of martyrdom by settling themselves in the interior of China, and he steadily declines to follow their enterprise with the aid of material force. The representatives of the Church Missionary and London Missionary societies, who have endeavoured in vain to shake his determination, disclaim any wish for the support of military detachments and of gunboats; but they contend that the English authorities in China might properly give them moral support by interceding on their behalf with the Government or with local magistrates. SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK replies that in China moral means are only effective in so far as they are sustained for force, latent or manifest, and known to be available. The missionaries themselves would scarcely deny that any influence which the English minister may possess depends exclusively on the knowledge that in case of need his remonstrances might be backed by fleets and armies...

1 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junius_Annaeus_Gallio

1894, FEBRUARY 23.

Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO (Foreign Office) 228/1151, CANTON.

Attack on American Presbyterian Mission (17 February) at Yeong Kong, 200 miles west of Macao. Chinese troops requested. Assisted in riot. Staff were British subjects. Premises gutted. All possessions lost. Prior to this no trouble.

1894, JULY 14.

*Peking and Tientsin Times, 14 July 1894.*²

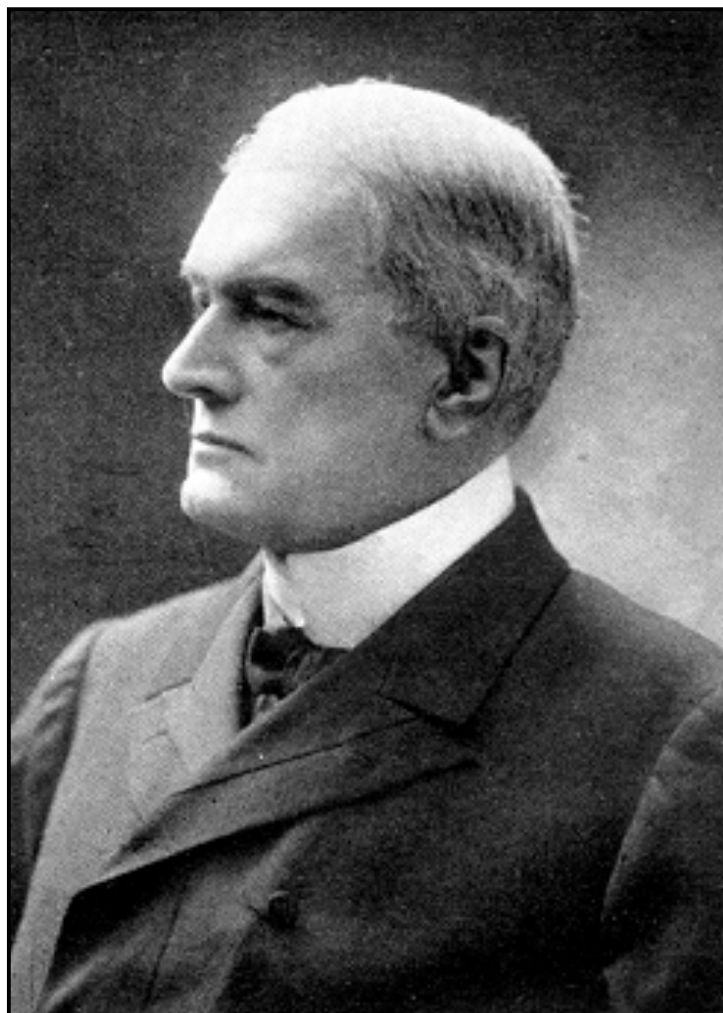
“BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER.”

On the occasion of the dinner to Admiral Erben, Captain Mahan, and the officers of the U.S. cruiser *Chicago*, at St. James’s Hall, on 24th May, says the *China Express*, the saying, “Blood is thicker than water,” was displayed in conspicuous letters. In proposing the health of the United States Navy, Admiral Sir G. Phipps Hornby, after playing tribute to Admiral Erben and Captain Mahan, gave an interesting account of the origin of the above saying. It arose when Commodore Tatnall and the United States Navy, after a check in the second China War at the Taku Forts to the British arms, sent his men to assist in bringing off the gunboats. The American commander had, at first, only intended to help the wounded, but when he saw the English getting the worst of it, he cried, “Blood is thicker than water!” and the Americans fought the English guns. The story brought forth great cheering for the United States Navy, and the band played “America.” The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm, and in his speech in reply, Admiral Erben said he and English Navy officers had been in China together, and had shared in the tremendous expeditions, years ago, for the suppression of Chinese piracy, which was commemorated both in Happy Valley and in New York. When Commodore said the words, “Blood is thicker than water,” he (the speaker) was with him, and it might be retold that American sailors leaped from their boat and manned and fought a British gun. There was great cheering throughout the hall as the Admiral said this.

Concerning the saying, Commander R. Patton-Jenkins, R.N>, writes to *The Times*:—May I claim your indulgence for a eye and ear witness of the memorable incident referred to Admiral’s Erben’s speech? In case for want of circumstantial detail the incident should be allowed to pass into the legendary, I write as senior surviving officer of Her Majesty’s late gun-vessel *cormorant*, on which, at the attack on the Pei-ho forts in June, 1859, this incident occurred. Being present at the moment, I heard Commodore Tatnall, when stepping on to the quarter-deck, use the words: “Blood is thicker than water.”

2 Citation courtesy Ms Haruka Nomura, Australian National University.

The Honorable Charles Denby.³
United States Minister to China 1885-1897



Denby, The Hon. Charles, *China and Her People*, (Boston, L. C. Page & Co, 1906.)

3 Born Mt. Joy, Botetourt County Virginia 16 June 1830. Educated Tom Fax Academy, Hanover Cty, and Georgetown College, DC, and the Virginia Military institute, graduating 1850. As a child spent three years in France where his father was US Naval Agent in Marseilles. Attended College Royale, Marseilles. Taught at Masonic University in Selma Al, for three years from 1853. Moved to Evansville and elected to Indiana Legislature 1856-1857. After April 12, Lt. Col., 42d Regiment Indian Volunteers to 1862. Col. 80th Indiana Regiment 1862-1863. Retired through wounds in February 1863 and resumed law practice in Evansville, Indiana. Appointed US Minister to China by President Cleveland on 29 May 1885. Chinese Imperial Government awarded him "Order of the Golden Dragon." Returned to US and in September 1898 served on various commissions, including the war with Spain and the Philippines 1898-1900. Died suddenly while visiting New York, 13 January 1904. Online 1 December 2010 http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~indiana42nd/DENBY_BIO.htm

**Sir Nicholas O’Conor,
British Minister to China, 1895-1898.⁴**



The American monthly review of reviews,
Volume 18 1898



VANITY FAIR, London, c 1907.

4 N.R. (later Sir Nicholas) O’Conor was a career diplomatist. Like so many senior officials in the foreign and colonial services, he was of Hiberno-Scottish descent, but also a Roman Catholic. He entered the diplomatic service in 1866, and in 1883 was appointed Secretary of the Legation at Peking. On the (25) death of Sir Harry Parkes in 1885, he found himself in charge of the legation at a particularly critical time during the Anglo-Russian Pendjeh crisis. He was judged to have acquitted himself well, and he also successfully negotiated the Anglo-Chinese agreements on Tibet and Burma. He returned to Peking as minister in 1892. A blunt and rigorous diplomat, O’Conor was a disciple of Parkes in his preference for firmness when dealing with the Chinese, suggesting, for instance, ‘strong measures’ by the Royal Navy to deal with anti-foreign rioting along the upper reaches of the Yangtze. (O’Conor to Roseberry (no 69_ 13 June 1895, FP 405/68/a11; *The Times*, (20 Mar. 1908). From Otte, Thomas G., *The China Question: Great Power Rivalry and British Isolation, 1894-1905*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp 24-25.

1894, DECEMBER 26.

New York Times, 26 December 1894.

**CHINA'S REAL CONDITION.
Anti-Foreign Sentiment of Peking People Greatly Exaggerated.
LI HUNG CHANG IS MISUNDERSTOOD.
The Senior of Congregational Missionaries Says that Severe Weather
and Foreign Sentiment Force Peace.**

PLAINFIELD, N.J., Dec. 25.—The Rev. Dr. Henry Blodgett, who has just returned from Peking, in visiting his son-in-law, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Richards.

Dr. Blodgett went to China in 1854, and has been connected since with the Congregational missions situated at Tien-Tsin and Peking, removing to the capital in 1864. He is the senior missionary of the mission.

Dr. Blodgett returned to this country Dec. 8. In an interview today he said:

The Emperor of China lives in the interior or "Prohibited City," with his wives. He only comes out to worship six times a year, and occasionally to visit his pleasure garden in the northwestern part of the city. He gives audiences to his mandarins, Privy Counselor, Princes of the blood, and high military commanders daily. He is inaccessible to foreigners, except when he gives occasional audiences to Ambassadors from other countries. In case the Japanese should invade Peking, the Emperor would probably withdraw to Jehol, just as one of his predecessors did in 1890, when the British invaded the city.

The anti-foreign sentiment in Peking is greatly exaggerated. Of course, the Chinese do not like foreigners, and if they were not restrained they might do injury. Shortly before my departure, in response to the remonstrances of foreign representatives, the Emperor issued a proclamation to protect foreigners. A copy of the proclamation was tacked up in every mission church and completely quieted all manifestations towards foreigners. No American or other foreigners are allowed by treaty to do business in Peking. In other parts of China little business is done by Americans, most of what used to be in American having passed into English hands.

Dr. Blodgett says that there is little resentment on the part of the Chinese in general to American restriction of immigration. In fact, they know little about it on account of the lack of newspapers. The high officials rather favor it, because they do not wish their followers to leave the country. Mr. Robert Hart, who is at the head of the Chinese Custom Service, recently told Dr. Blodgett that the Chinese did not care anything about the action of this Government.

Li Hung Chang has been greatly misunderstood. He believes in the Western World civilization, without the Christian religion, and had he had his way, the Chinese would have been educated in the arts of modern warfare. The defeat of China, he says, came from a supercilious disregard of the advance of the world in warfare. The Rev. Charles Fenney, an American missionary, teaches the children of Li Hung Chang the English branches. He also runs a private school, which is patronized by mandarins and rich men, who send their sons to him for these branches. Li Hung Chang liberalization is only his belief in the fact that in the arts and sciences, the rest of the world long ago surpassed China.

There are in Peking three Congregational churches, three Methodist, three Presbyterian, one Alliance, and six English Protestant. To these the Emperor extended protection mainly because he feels friendly to them as they educate the people.

Dr. Blodgett believes the war is practically at an end. The severe weather and the general foreign sentiment against it being too much, he thinks, for the Japanese to resist at the present time.

1894, DECEMBER 31.

GREAT BRITAIN, PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE: FO (Foreign Office) 228/1194 FOOCHOW INTELLIGENCE REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1894

THE VEGETARIAN SECT.

Two months ago a somewhat sensational report was sent to the consulate by a missionary [Rev. Robert W. Stewart] at Kutien [Kucheng] of the rapidly increasing power of a Sect, known as the Vegetarians which was supposed to be a political one and affiliated to the Ko Lao Hui.

Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO (Foreign Office) 228/1194. Foochow 10 January 1894, Foochow Intelligence Report for the Quarter Ended December 31, 1894.

POLITICAL SUMMARY.

Beyond a certain amount of idle speculation in the tea-houses, the war between China and Japan seems to excite little interest among the natives of this Port. A considerable number of volunteers have been enrolled but their duties are confined to wearing a uniform, attired in which they attend to their ordinary occupations. There is no sign of ill-will towards foreigners who come and go as usual both in the settlement and in the city proper. If the statements made by high officials are to be believed, the telegraphic information received by them from the North is totally unreliable, consisting mainly or reports of fictitious Chinese victories. A fortnight after the fall of Port Arthur it was stated that a telegram had been sent to Peking enquiring as to the truth of the rumour, and that the reply had been that the Government had no information of such an occurrence.

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There have been some complaints of persecution of converts in the Kutien and Fu Ching Districts, but it appears that the friction has arisen from causes not exclusively connected with religion and that the converts are not wholly blameless. Efforts are being made to arrive at the truth, a difficult matter at points so distant from the Port, and as the Chinese authorities show a desire to settle these cases amicably, it is unlikely that any further cases of the kind will arise. Considering that the English Missions number twenty-five males and sixty-two females in this Consular District causes of complaint are extremely few and far between.

RELATIONS WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS.

These continue to be friendly as formerly, the only official to whom some exception must be taken being Tang Ch'ao chu, the Min Magistrate. That official recently expressed himself in an offensive manner to Mr. Hixson, the American Consul, who obliged him to send a written apology the terms of which he himself dictated.

1895, MARCH 31.

Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194 Foochow Intelligence Report for the Quarter Ended March 31, 1895.

POLITICAL SUMMARY

Rev. H. Eyton-Jones



Nothing occurred during the months of January and February to disturb the peace of this Consular District. Early in March a technical assault was made on the person of Rev. H. M. Eyton-Jones (picture), a missionary, by a runner in the employ of the Fu-ting Magistrate. Mr. Eyton-Jones had gone to Fu Ting to open a book shop and was provided with a local passport by the Prefect of Fu Ning in addition to his Consular passport. The runner came on several occasions to the book-shop and was extremely abusive and violent. On one occasion he drew his knives and made a rush at Mr. Eyton-Jones, but he was fortunately seized and disarmed by the bystanders. The crowd held aloof and no harm was done to persons or property, but the fact is significant that the assailant was alleged to be a servant of the magistrate who behaved very arrogantly throughout the whole affair and refused to take any steps to punish the man. This magistrate has a reputation for ferocity, and it is said that his superior the Prefect is averse to interfering with him unless backed by a mandate from Foochow. The Taotai has been requested to cause the Magistrate to issue a proclamation disavowing the action of his subordinate and to punish him severely for his conduct.

THE VEGETARIANS THREATEN TROUBLE.

At the end of March news of a disquieting nature reached this Consulate from Kutien [Kucheng] a district lying about a hundred miles to the Northwest of Foochow. The Church of England Mission [Church Missionary Society and Church of England Zenana Missionary Societies] is there represented by the Revd. R. W. Stewart who wrote to H. M. Consul on the 28th March that the Kutien Magistrate had the night before received information of such a nature as to lead him, after consultation with the gentry to order the gates of the city to be walled up. The men worked hard and before long two of the gates were blocked. The whole city prepared to a siege as the Vegetarians in large numbers were said to be on their way. Mr. Stewart felt bound to order the women and children away but there were no [sedan] chairs to be procured and as they could not walk 30 miles to Shui Kou a place on the Min River and the point of departure for Foochow, it was proposed to send them to the mountain house of the mission, distant some 11 miles and on the way to the river. This plan could not be carried out as again there were no chairs to be procured and heavy rain had set in. There was not a soldier in Kutien though there were supposed to be a hundred. The anger of the Vegetarians was not directed against the Christians but against their own authorities. In a further letter dated March 29th, Mr. Stewart goes on to say that the magistrate told the people that if they would guard the walls themselves for five days, at the expiry of that time the soldiers he had sent for would have arrived. The people agreed and bodies of the citizens were stationed at short distances apart along the walls day and night, being paid at the rate of 20c per 24 hours. They displayed their 'arms' in a row against the walls, the best they had were sticks, as the three pronged forks [tridents] and swords, kept at the guard houses, were so ancient and had been used for so many other purposes during past years that they were of little use as weapons either of offence or defence. Added to his general inefficiency the Chinese 'citizen soldiers' evidently had distaste for remaining 'sub jove frigido.' Mr. Stewart says that one day being rather cold, one of the defenders of the city fastened his coat on a stick in the place where he should have been on duty and then took refuge in a house hard by. The Magistrate requested Mr. Stewart and his family to come into the city, which they did.⁵

On receipt of this information H. M. Consul wrote to the Viceroy direct asking him to send troops to Kut'ien. A day or two afterwards Mr. Stewart's children arrived in Foochow and the news became more reassuring. The Viceroy sent a deputy to Kut'ien who ascertained that the anger of the Vegetarians was

5 The entire missionary community, including the foreign missionaries, their Chinese servants, and the Chinese babies and school-children living in the Anglican mission on the opposite side of the Gutian River came into the city. The British missionaries occupied vacant houses in the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

aroused by the malpractices of the Magistrate who had rendered himself unpopular by his extortions. He is to be removed and things are now quiet; the gates are unblocked and business goes on as formerly.

Originally these Vegetarians were nothing more than a large society of co-religionists who refrained from eating meat in deference to Bhuddist [sic] tenets.⁶ Of late however they have been enlisting members in large numbers and it is generally supposed are affiliated with the numerous secret societies having political aims.

WAR RUMOURS.

There appears to be little doubt that the Japanese have taken the forts at the Pescadores and are hovering the neighbourhood of Formosa. The defence of the forts was rendered nugatory by the lack of ammunition, though the guns and works are stated to have been in a high state of efficiency. The Chinese claim to have sunk two of the Japanese war ships and to have seriously damaged others, but in the face of previous experience these statements need to be taken *cum grano*. It is said that large numbers of Chinese anticipating the arrival of the Japanese, are leaving Pagoda Anchorage. IN spite of this there is an entire absence of any anti-foreign feeling among the populace here. Never has their demeanour been more friendly and there can be little doubt that the general sentiment is that the presence of foreigners is a guarantee against the attack of the port by the Japanese. This is apparent not only in Foochow but in all the surrounding districts and the reports of the Missionaries in the interior all bear out this theory. A very long outstanding case of a riot at Kein Yang was finally settled on the 26th of February by the payment of an indemnity of \$600.

ARMY AND NAVY.

It is commonly reported that the number of troops now assembled at Foochow is 20,000 men.

RELATIONS WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS.

These relations are at present on an extremely satisfactory footing but the question has arisen whether in the case of a newly arrived Viceroy or Tartar General the Consul is to make the first call. On this point of etiquette questions are being asked separately.

Enclosure.

Proper Etiquette as to calls on arrival of a new Viceroy or Tartar General.

H.B.M's Consulate, Foochow, 30 March 1895.

Sir,—The question as to the rules to be observed with regard to calls on the High Provincial Authorities has long been a vexed point at this port. It has been the invariable rule for Consuls of all nations on arrival to call at once on all the Chinese Officials from the Viceroy and Tartar General down to the Magistrate and Maritime sub-prefects; and the same rule has been observed by the Chinese officials from the rank of Taotai down, return calls in all cases being promptly made.

Up to 1884 no visits were exchanged with the Viceroy and Tartar General, as these officials refused to receive Consuls except under unacceptable conditions. In that year, however, a call was made on the Consuls at Nantai for the first time by both these high officials.⁷ Since then the first call has been made by my predecessors on newly arrived Viceroys and Tartar Generals with one exception in the case of a Tartar General who made the first advance as reported in Consul Phillip's Despatch No 7, general series of the 9th March 1888. On the 13th September Acting Consul Hurst in his despatch No 14, general series, copy of which I enclose reported a difference of opinion on the subject which occurred between his colleagues as to the proper procedure to be followed.

As the matter stands at present the Russian Consul has instructions from his Minister not to call first on high officials newly arriving, the U.S. Consul has somewhat similar instructions, while the French Vice-Consul has apparently been told that he is to do so. This office has no instructions at all on the subject. A new Tartar General has lately arrived and the Viceroy is to be replaced probably in less than a month's time. The question as to whether I should call on these officials or await a first call (which may never be made) is therefore somewhat an embarrassing one, and I shall be much obliged for your instructions as to the proper course to pursue.

I have, etc. R. W. Mansfield, H.B.M. Consul. N. R. O'Connor, C.B., C.M.G., Her Majesty's Minister, Peking.

6 Reinders, Eric, "Blessed are the Meat Eaters: Christian Antivegetarianism and the Missionary Encounter with Chinese Buddhism," in *Positions*, Vol 12 no 2, Fall 2004, pp 509-537, espec. pp 517-526.

7 Nantai Island in the Min River (today Cangshan) was the main residence for foreigners. The consulates, foreign clubs and missionary institutions were located there. It is across the river from the old city of Foochow.

1895, MARCH 22.

United States Department of State-Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the annual message of the president, transmitted to Congress December 2, 1895, Part I (1895.) (Hereafter FRUS)

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, March 22, 1895. (Received Washington, May 13), No. 2172, Denby to Graham.

Published in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol XXVI. September 1895, pp 424-426.

SIR: During my recent short stay in the United States so many inquiries were made of me touching Christian missions in China and the work they are doing, that I have concluded to send to you my views on this important subject.

I beg to premise that my official position causes me to be more guarded in expressing my views than I would otherwise be. I suppose the main, broad, and crucial question to be answered touching missionary work in China is, Does it do any good?

I think that no one can controvert the patent fact that the Chinese are enormously benefitted by the labors of the missionaries in their midst. Foreign hospitals are a great boon to the sick. China, before the advent of the foreigner, did not know what surgery was. There are more than twenty charity hospitals in China, which are presided over by men of as great ability as can be found elsewhere in the world. Dr. Kehr's hospital at Canton is one of the great institutions of the kind in the world. The Viceroy Li Hung-chang has for years maintained at Tientsin, at his own expense, a foreign hospital. In the matter of education, the movement is immense. There are schools and colleges all over China taught by the missionaries. I have been present often at the exhibitions given by these schools. They showed progress in a great degree.

The educated Chinaman, who speaks English, becomes a new man; he commences to think. A long time before the present war the Emperor was studying English, and, it is said, was fast acquiring the language. Nowhere is education more sought than in China. The Government is, to some extent, founded on it. The system of examinations prevailing in the district, the province, and Peking is too well known to require comment. The graduates become expectant officials. There is a Chinese imperial college at Peking, the Tungkuan, presided over by our distinguished fellow-citizen, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, also a university conducted by the Methodist mission. There are also many foreign orphan asylums in various cities, which take care of thousands of waifs. The missionaries translate into Chinese many scientific and philosophical works. A former missionary, Dr. Edkins, translated a whole series of school readers. Reflect that all their benefactions come to the Chinese without much, if any, cost. Where charges are made they are exceedingly small and are made only when they are necessary to prevent a rush, which in this vast population would overwhelm any institution. There are various anti-opium hospitals, where the victims of this vice are cured. There are industrial schools and workshops.

This is a very brief and incomplete summary of what missionaries are doing for the Chinese, Protestants and Catholics from nearly every country under the sun are engaged in this work, and, in my opinion, they do nothing but good. I leave out of this discussion the religious benefits conferred by converting Chinese persons to Christianity. This, of course, is the one supreme object and purpose of the missionaries, to which all else is subsidiary, but the subject is not to be discussed by a minister of the United States. There is no established religion in the United States, and the American Buddhist, Mahommedan, Jew, infidel, or any other religionist would receive at the hands of his country's representative abroad exactly the same consideration and protection as a Christian would. I can only say that converts to Christianity are numerous. There are supposed to be 40,000 Protestant converts now in China, and at least 500,000 Catholic converts. There are many native Christian churches. The converts seem to be as devout as people of any other race.

As far as my knowledge extends, I can and do say that the missionaries to China are self-sacrificing; that their lives are pure; that they are devoted to their work; that their influence is beneficial to the natives; that

the arts and sciences and civilization are greatly spread by their efforts; that many useful Western books are translated by them into Chinese' that they are the leaders in all charitable work, giving largely themselves, and personally disbursing the funds with which they are instructed; that they do make converts, and such converts are mentally benefitted by such conversion. In answer to these statements, which are usually acknowledged to be true, it does not do to say, as if the answer were conclusive, that the literati and gentry are usually opposed to missionaries. This antagonism was to have been expected. The missionaries antagonize the worship of ancestors, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Chinese polity. They compel their converts to keep Sunday holy. The Chinese have no Sabbath. They work every day except New Year's day and other holidays. No religion ever won its way without meeting with serious opposition. Under the treaties the missionary has the right to go to China. That right being admitted, no amount of antagonism can prevent its exercise. In the second place, let us see whether and how foreign countries are benefitted by missionary work done in China.

Missionaries are the pioneers of trade and commerce. Civilization, learning, instruction breed new wants which commerce supplies. Look at the electric telegraph now in every province in China but one. Look at the steamships which play along the coast from Hongkong to Newchwang and on the Yangtze up to Ichang. Look at the cities which have sprung up like Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow—handsome foreign cities, object lessons to the Chinese. Look at the railroad now being built from the Yellow Sea to the Amoor, of which about 200 miles is completed. Will anyone say that the 1,500 missionaries in China of Protestants, and perhaps more of Catholics, have not contributed to these results? Two hundred and fifty years ago the pious Catholic fathers taught astronomy, mathematics, and the languages at Peking. The interior of China would have been nearly unknown to the outer world had not the missionaries visited it and described it. Someone may say that commercial agents might have done so much, but they are not allowed to locate in the interior. The missionary, inspired by holy zeal, goes everywhere, and by degrees foreign commerce and trade follow. I suppose that whenever and uncivilized or semicivilized country becomes civilized, its trade and dealings with Western nations increase. Humanity has not devised any better, or even any as good, engine or means for civilizing savage peoples as proselytism to Christianity. The history of the world attests this fact.

In the interests, therefore, of civilization, missionaries ought not only to be tolerated, but ought to receive protection, to which they are entitled from officials, and encouragement from other classes of people.

It is too early now to consider what effect the existing war may have on the interests of missions. It is quite probable, however, that the spirit of progress developed by it will make mission work more important and influential than it has ever been. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

1895, JUNE 3.

The Pall Mall Gazette, (London), 3 June 1895.

EUROPEAN PROPERTY DESTROYED BY RIOTERS.

SHANGHAI, Monday:—Intelligence has been received here that the property of the French Catholic and the English and American Protestant missionaries at Chengtu and Szechuan was destroyed by rioters between May 29 and 31. The missionaries are reported to be safe in the official's yamens.—*Reuter.*

1895, JUNE 4.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, June 4, 1895. (Received Washington July 11), No. 2256, Denby to Uhl.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that extensive riots have within the last few days taken place at Chengtu, the capital of the Province of Szechuan. The Catholic buildings and those of the China Inland and Canadian missions were destroyed. No foreigner was injured except the Catholic bishop, and he not seriously.

No news has reached me officially as to this occurrence. I know of but one American who is at Chengtu. His name is Virgil C. Hart, and he is connected with the Canadian mission.

Strong measures have been taken by the Government of China to prevent the spread of this riotous spirit to the Yangtze towns. Chengtu is situated on the river Min. Its population is supposed to approach 1,000,000. It has great wealth and political importance, and as far back as Marco Polo was noted for its beauty. It is the home of a viceroy. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

1895, JUNE 9.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne), (Special Kucheng Edition), Vol. XXII No 21, September 1895, pp 355-6

**TROUBLES IN SI CHUAN:
LETTER FROM REV. C. H. PARSONS.⁸**

Pao-ning Fu, East Si Chuan, June 9, 1895

The riot took place on Tuesday, June 6th at 10 p.m., a fine moonlight night. It was the great “Wun Tsu Huei,” or gathering in honor of the god of Pestilence, when people from miles around crowd into the city. A secret society could hardly have selected a better time. Furthermore there had been a great drought; the rice is withered up in the waterless fields, and a good deal could not be planted out at all. Then again, news recently came of the great riot in Che-tu [Chengtu], the capital of this province, when all the stations (four missions, including the R.C’s) were destroyed,—the missionaries being concealed in the Hsien Yamen.

All these things, together with the news (now pretty widely known) of China’s thorough humiliation in the war, tended to make it a very favorable time for attacking foreigners. All day guests had been coming and going, appearing friendly enough. In the evening I took the Enquirer’s Class, and spoke about persecution, etc. Just after the gates were locked for the night, stones began to be thrown over the wall, and Mr. Williams sent off a man privately to the Yamen to tell the magistrate. Meanwhile the blows grew heavier, and the stones more frequent; then it settled down into a regular attack with loud cries of “ta-keo” (beat the dogs). Just as the outer gate gave way we got over to the Girls’ Day School, the ladies having preceded us. Our party consisted of Rev. E. O. and Mrs. Williams, their three little ones (the youngest only two months), Miss Kolkenbeck, Mr. W. C. Taylor, and myself. Then we heard the yells of the mob who, breaking open the inner gate, demolished the railings before the private house, and then attacked the house itself.

We commended ourselves, and especially the little ones, to our Father in Heaven, but the mob seemed to get nearer and nearer, and using tremendous force, (probably battering rams) broke open the large gates of the chapel courtyard, and were soon at the work of destruction. Just at that moment the Mandarins arrived,—the military Mandarin, the Fu and the Hsien. The soldiers drove back the mob and took five prisoners, but it was some time before order was restored, and then the Fu and Hsien Mandarins came down to us to the school. They expressed sorrow for what had been done, saying it was the fault of the thoughtless country people who had come in for the feast, and then they invited us to make a tour of inspection with them to see the amount of damage. I stayed to keep guard over the ladies, for even then some daring fellows were continuing the attack on the chapel. The courtyard around the house was strewn with glass, and huge stones weighing 10 to 15 lbs were found in the rooms. Very few things, however, were taken; I lost both my Chinese beds, some cash and a foreign lamp. The servants lost the most. One dear old evangelist told me afterwards how the Lord preserved him. While in bed he saw two young fellows enter his room and seize what they could, whereupon he lifted his heart to God, and “the Lord hid him,” for they went out, not perceiving that he was there. After the inspection the Mandarins sat down and discussed matters, the runners standing about the door, and men with lanterns being stationed in the courtyards. The Fu at once sent off messages to Kuang-yuen, to Pa-cheo, and to Tsang-his Hsien, in which district our Sanatorium, “sin-tien’ tse” is situated, to warn the Mandarins there. Next he asked us to go to the Yamen for a few days, as the next day would be “the great day of the feast,” when the country people just pour in from daylight. So having spent the rest of the night in getting our things together, the officials got us 5 chairs and we left in the early morning. Passing by the debris of our broken railings and gates, we were hurried through the already crowded streets, the Mandarin’s chair leading the way, and runners being about us in case of trouble. We

8 Parsons was the first missionary clergyman of the Church of England in Australia to go to China. He was closely associated with the Rev. H. B. Macartney of St Mary’s Anglican Church, Caulfield. As there was no direct opportunity for male Australian Anglicans to work with the CMS in China, other than through London, Parsons chose to work with the China Inland Mission.

three men were taken to the Fu Yamen, while the ladies and children went to the Ting-li Yamen adjoining, whither the sisters from another house which had not been injured had preceded them. We are in splendid quarters, occupying what is called the "Flowery Parlour," a fine room, 44 feet by 18, with a carpet in the centre, two full length mirrors, and two of the finest Rochester lamps I have ever seen. Some beautifully mounted scrolls hang on the walls, and a foreign clock stands on a side table. In front is a little courtyard with plots of green shrubs, and moveable awnings above to keep off the sun. The Fu came to see us on our arrival and bade us welcome. Mr. Taylor was allowed to leave for Sin-tien-tse, as he was anxious about the ladies who are there alone except for Chinese teachers and servants. The 5 ladies and 2 children are not so well off, being, I regret to say, in inferior quarters—two small rooms with a mud floor. We wish we could change with them. The little boy sleeps with me. The Mandarins at once set about repairing the house, employing 13 carpenters; it is now finished and they are doing the chapel.

JUNE 19.—We are to go back when all is completed. It will be a fortnight tomorrow since the riot. Soldiers are stationed on the mission premises, the guard being increased at night. The authorities are certainly doing their best, but the days seem very long. On Saturday night the Hsien Mandarin, a dear old man, a real scholar (not one who has bought his degree) came to see us; he said that he regretted the occurrence, and asked us to make out a list of things lost that he might make them good; he spoke nicely about the doctrine, and said that they could not but greet us well, we having come such a distance, and being their guests in China. I asked him whether he had seen our books, and he said, "Yes, in Chungking." On Sunday the evangelist and one or two of the servants came here and we had prayer together. At night the Mandarin came again and asked for our list. We told him that we did not want compensation, but he pressed us, saying that his heart would not rest unless he had refunded us. We stood out however, and agreed only to take money for the glass windows and for the servant's losses. The old gentleman asked if this "worship day" and remarked that Confucius spoke about "the seventh day" and when I spoke of the reason for observing the Sabbath, he said that he had read about the six days of creation.

JUNE 22—Our hearts are full indeed. Yesterday the Lord "turned our captivity" and we were escorted back to the Mission house at dusk. All seems quiet now. This morning we were kept very busy receiving the big men, civil and military' all most friendly. Soldiers still on guard at night, but we trust that the worst is over.

1895, JUNE 13.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, June 13, 1895. (Received Washington July 11), No. 2263, Denby to Uhl.

SIR: The riots in Chengtu, Szechuan, on the 29th, 30th, and 31st ultimo have excited widespread consternation in China.

I have received no direct information from Chengtu or any point on the Yangtze touching these riots. My information was that we had no mission at Chengtu, and on this theory I accounted for the fact that the consul at Hankow had not wired me as to the riots. It appears now that there were the following missions at Chengtu: The Roman Catholic mission, called the "Missions Etrangeres de Paris;" the Canadian Methodist Mission, of which Rev. V.C. Hart, an American, is a member; the China Inland Mission, the Church Missionary Society, and the Methodist Episcopal Mission of the United States. The members of the last mission are Rev. H. Olen Cady and Mrs. Cady, dr. H. L. Canright and Mrs. Canright, and another newly married couple

These riots are inexplicable except on the theory of official connivance. The Missions Etrangeres was a strong, powerful mission, numbering many members, having three great churches and all appliances necessary for charitable and religious work. I think it was established at Chengtu in 1715.

It is difficult to conceive how, after nearly two centuries of successful labor, there could exist at Chengtu any popular animosity sufficient to account for such a terrible uprising against the foreign missionaries. The world is forced to conclude that these riots were fomented by the viceroy, Liu Ping-chang. He has been viceroy of Szechuan during the past nine years, and he has always antagonized Christian and foreign methods. He has now been superseded, and it is surmised that he desired to signalize his departure by outrages against the detested foreigner. The Catholic bishop has added his testimony to other proof that Liu Ping-chang was the organizer of these outrages.

I will take appropriate official action as soon as I receive an official statement of the facts. Meantime measures have been taken by the Imperial Government to prevent the spread of riotous sentiment to the towns along the Yangtze. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

1895, JUNE 15.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, June 15, 1895. TELEGRAM: Denby to Uhl.

SIR: Riots still occurring in Szechuan. Mission at Chengtu not much damaged. Have asked imperial edict awarding death penalty to rioters. Central Government seems to have lost control over people, No American hurt. Denby.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, June 15, 1895, (Received Washington, July 31), No. 2268, Denby to Uhl.

SIR: I have the honor to confirm my telegram of this date. The Imperial Government is doing what it can to check the spread of the riots, but it seems to be powerless. Great fears are entertained for the safety of the foreigners at Chungking. **This port is inaccessible to steamers, so that no assistance can be furnished by the foreign powers.**⁹ I am, etc., Charles Denby.

⁹ This is an important note. Many mission stations, including those at Chengdu [Sichuan Province] and Kucheng [Gutian, Fujian Province] were inaccessible to foreign warships and foreign troops.

1895, JUNE 30.

The Hamilton News-Press, (Marion County, Alabama). 20 June 1895.

The following dispatch of Tuesday's date from Rev. J. R. Hicks at Shanghai was received at the office of the Methodist Missionary Society in New York Tuesday morning. "Property at Chengtu destroyed; missionaries all safe." These advices, said Dr. Baldwin, re-recording secretary of the society, are official, and while confirming the reports of the property loss, should set at rest rumors of the massacre of missionaries. There was no massacre.

1895, JUNE 30.

***Great Britain, Public Record Office: FO 228/1194. Foochow 10 July 1895.
Foochow Intelligence Report for the Quarter Ended June 30, 1895.***

(Discusses impact of Sino-Japanese War.)

The cession of Formosa to the Japanese and the military operations now in progress for the subjugation of the Island appear to have caused little sensation in this Consular District. Missionaries from the interior report that they heard frequent expressions of a desire for annexation of Formosa by the British, but now that the Japanese occupation is inevitable the fact does not appear to be disagreeable to the people generally who hope that trade will benefit thereby. The large staff of British missionaries in the interior have had few occasions of complaint and the present state of things in this respect contrasts very favourably with that of a few years ago...

1895, JULY 1.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 1, 1895, (Received Washington, Aug. 7), No. 2278, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a communication sent by me to the Tsung-li Yamen relating to a proposal of the mode of settling the matters growing out of the recent riots in Szechuan.

In 1886, when riots occurred at Chungking, I requested the English consul at that port to take charge of and arrange for the settlement of matters affecting American interests. He acted very satisfactorily, and his conduct was approved by the Department and all the interested parties.

I have in this case requested Mr. Tratman, Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking, to do what is necessary to secure damages for the American missionaries, and Her Britannic Majesty's minister has kindly consented that he may act for us. The proposition sent to the Yamen provides for the appointment of a commission composed of Chinese official and one British and one American commissioner to take all the facts and circumstances into consideration and to report to Peking. As our nearest consul is at Hankow and it would take him two or three months to reach Chungking, this course seemed advisable. I submit my action for your approval. The Yamen has not yet approved of the mode of settlement proposal. I am, etc.,

Charles Denby.

**[Inclosure in No. 2278]
Mr. Denby to the Tsung-li Yamen.**

A commission¹⁰ should be appointed, composed of the new viceroy of Szechuan, the treasurer and judge of the province, with whom should be associated two missionaries—one British and one American—for the purpose of investigating on the spot the circumstances connected with the origin of the riots, for inquiring into and determining the losses sustained by British and Americans in consequence of the riot, and fixing the amount of the indemnity to which in each case the claimants are entitled, and for making such other arrangements and dispositions as on mutual consultation may be found necessary to secure the settlement of the present difficulties and the prevention of future trouble.

The commissioners should submit a report of the proceedings of the conference and of the conclusions at which they have arrived to their respective authorities at Peking, who should take into consideration the suggestions and recommendations they had made and pronounce a final decision.

In view of the fact that the United States have no consul nearer than Hankow, I have requested Her Britannic Majesty's minister to permit Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking to take charge of American interests and to choose a suitable person to serve as the American commissioner.

I trust that telegraphic orders will be sent to the Chinese commissioners to hold themselves in readiness for the inquiry.

As soon as I am informed that this proposal is adopted by the Tsung-li Yamen I will notify Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking to nominate the American commissioner and desire him to join his Chinese and British colleagues at Chengtu immediately. Charles Denby.

¹⁰ The concept of a joint (with the British) commission to investigate episodes such as these riots reflected a determination by the two foreign powers to hold senior Chinese officials, including provincial governors, personally accountable for anti-foreign riots. The previous practice of demanding financial indemnity payments had proved ineffectual in preventing outbreaks of trouble and it was the universal belief of foreigners that Chinese officials fomented trouble and should answer for their actions.

1895, JULY 8.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 8, 1895, (Received Washington, Aug. 7), No. 2283, Denby to Olney.

SIR: In my dispatch No. 2278, of July 1, I inclosed a copy of my proposal to the Tsung-li Yamen to refer the consideration of matters growing out of the Chengtu riots to a commission consisting of certain Chinese officials and an English and American missionary.

I have now the honor to inclose a translation of the answer of the Yamen to that proposal, from which it will be seen that it was accepted.

The personnel of the commission has been, however, modified to the extent that the Chinese members thereof shall consist of the judge, treasurer, and prefect of Chengtu, retaining an Englishman and an American as members. Possibly Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking may sit on the commission should it meet at that port.

It is proper to state that should be proceedings before the commission develop the fact that the Viceroy Liu and other local officials failed to do their duty in protecting the foreigners their punishment will be insisted on. I have etc., Charles Denby.

Inclosure in No 2283 The Tsung-li Yamen to Mr. Denby.

No 19.

July 4, 1895.

Upon the 1st of July the prince and ministers had the honor to receive a communication from the minister of the United States, wherein he stated that that in the matter of the Chengtu missionary cases he indorsed the proposal of Her Britannic Majesty's minister, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, relating to the mode of procedure to be adopted in dealing with them, and asked that a commission should be appointed, composed of the new viceroy of Szechuan, the treasurer and judge of the province, with whom should be associated two missionaries, one British and one American, for inquiring into and determining the cases; that her Britannic Majesty's consul, Mr. Tratman, at Chungking, would take charge of American interests and choose a suitable person to serve as American commissioner with his British colleagues, and the Yamen was requested to send telegraphic instructions to Chengtu for the Chinese commissioners to hold themselves in readiness for the enquiry, and that Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking would be notified by wire to nominate an American commissioner who would be requested to proceed to Chengtu immediately, etc.

The Yamen would observe that since the riots took place at Chengtu all the missionaries have left the place, having been escorted to Chungking. The viceroy has telegraphed, ordering the Chuan Tang Taotai to confer with Her Britannic Majesty's consul and make satisfactory arrangements in this matter.

On the 28th of June the Yamen received a communication from Her Britannic Majesty's minister, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, in the same sense as the communication under acknowledgement. The Yamen have already wired to the high authorities of Szechuan to appoint proper and suitable deputies to meet the British and American missionaries appointed as commissioners on their arrival at the capital, and to act with them in considering and taking action upon the matters at stake. The said deputies are to report their action for the consideration of the high Chinese authorities, and after they have come to a decision, action will be taken accordingly.

As in duty bound, the prince and ministers send this communication for the information of the minister of the United States.

Necessary communication addressed to His Excellency Charles Denby, etc.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 8, 1895, (Received Washington, Aug. 7), No. 2284, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a report made by the Protestant missionaries at Chengtu to Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Chungking, describing the recent riots at that city.

The consul, Mr. J. W. Tratman, calls attention to the following points in the report which are especially worthy of notice:

1. Though evil rumors had been current for a month before, no precautions were taken on the day of the outbreak, the 5th of the fifth moon or Dragon boat festival, which is notoriously a dangerous day.
2. The riot, which ceased some time after dark the first day, was allowed to break out again on the next day.
3. The Canadian mission compound was held for one hour and over against the mob by two missionaries with guns, showing that a moderately strong force of soldiers might have suppressed the disturbance.
4. A point-blank refusal to do anything was met with in two cases: First, when the Methodist mission applied to the Lung Men Taotai Ch'ang, and secondly, when the French priest applied to the viceroy.
5. Proclamations were refused, a feebly worded one on the second day of the rioting being the only response to requests extending over three weeks.
6. The French mission premises, closely adjoining the viceroy's Yamen, were looted and destroyed.

The consul proceeds to say that—

It does not seem possible to draw any other deduction from a consideration of the above points than that of complicity on the part of the officials. There are at Chengtu—at least on paper—12,000 troops of different kinds, Manchu and Chinese, many armed with foreign rifles. A hundredth part of that number could have prevented or quelled the riot, but neither in the missionaries' report nor in the evidence which I have obtained from two or three messengers is any mention made of the movement of troops. The viceroy's feeling against foreigners is well known. He is already dismissed from his post and only awaiting the arrival of his successor to return home. There is a general opinion that this is his parting blow, and it is certainly a heavy one.

This report and these comments thereon justify the contention that I have always maintained with the Yamen, that if the local authorities chose to prevent antforeign riots they could do so.

The above-mentioned papers were kindly furnished me by Her Britannic Majesty's minister, Sir Nicholas R. O'Conor.

I have etc., Charles Denby.

(inclosure in No 2284.)
Report of the Missionaries.

CHENGTU, May 30, 1895.

DEAR SIR: The property of all Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in this city is completely destroyed. All dwellings, chapels, hospitals, and schools are razed to the ground. Some buildings were burned, others carried away piecemeal till nothing remained but broken tiles. Several of our number had very narrow escapes with their lives, but at the moment of writing the eighteen Protestant missionaries of the city with eleven children and two of the three Roman Catholics are safe in the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen. With the exception of one or two coolie loads, all hospital supplies and household goods of every description were looted by the mob.

About 4 p.m. of May 28, the day of the Twan Tang (or Dragon Boat) festival, rioting began at the premises of the Canadian Methodist mission on the street called Su Shen Tsz. Two cards were sent in succession to the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen, called on the Pao-kia on the way. Stones were thrown at the main gate of the mission compound and a mob rapidly gathered. No show of resistance was offered until the strong gates were battered down about 5 p.m. From that until long after 6 o'clock the mob was held in check by three missionaries, two carrying guns. The only assistance sent was a force of about twelve men in civilian dress and three soldiers in red, although between 5 and 6 o'clock our messengers had returned from the Yamen with the word that a large body of men would be sent at once. About 7 p.m. the four Canadian missionaries with four children and one C.M.S. missionary escaped under cover of darkness and fog to the city wall, they carried nothing but the clothes they wore. The C.M.S. missionary, Mr. Jackson, found his way to the China Inland mission alone. The other four left the city wall in chairs about midnight for the same compound. By midnight three dwellings, chapel, two large hospital buildings, and school buildings of the Canadian mission were completely destroyed with all their contents. During the evening a few Yamen

runners were deputed to protect two of the mission compounds.

At daybreak of May 29 anything remaining of the wrecked compounds was carried away. And by 6 a.m. the mob had re-formed in full force and turned its attention to another compound of the same mission directly across the street. So far as we know, no attempt whatever was made by the officials to scatter the mob or to protect this compound. In an hour or two the newly erected brick bungalow was in flames as well as every other building on the place. Mrs. Hartwell had escaped early in the morning to the U sha kai compound, while Mr. Hartwell climbed the wall and found refuge in the compound of a friendly native.

About 9 a.m. the two young ladies of the U sha kai compound (Canadian mission) together with Mrs. Hartwell arrived in chairs at the China Inland mission. They had escaped over their back wall. A few minutes later the big U sha kai compound was completely leveled to the ground, part of it having been burned.

There were then gathered in the China Inland mission compound one Church Missionary Society, three China Inland, and seven Canadian missionaries—in all eleven. The streets at that hour were, in the neighborhood of the China Inland mission, still comparatively quiet. The decision was made to go in chairs at once to the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen. But the chief of police arrived just then with a retinue of twenty-six men and guaranteed protection if they would stay right there. By 10.30 the mob was growing larger and more difficult to control. Now the official advised removal to the Yamen. Six missionaries got away safely, two by two. Then at 11 o'clock the crisis came. Not a moment too soon the remaining five, with three children, climbed the back wall and quickly concealed themselves in a small mat house. Thirty taels handed over at once effectually shut the mouths of the people and secured immunity from immediate discovery. At 8 o'clock in the evening, covered by darkness, they were conveyed, one by one, in chairs to the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen, where they joined the six previously arrived.

From 11 a.m. to about 2 p.m. these two men and three women, with three little children, sat huddled together in a dark corner of a dark room, were painfully aware, by the continuous booming and crashing of the work of destruction proceeding just beyond a mud wall. By 2 p.m. the China Inland compound was a complete ruin.

While these things were in progress in this quarter, the Methodist Episcopal mission near the south gate did not fare very differently. In the evening of May 28 an urgent request for protection in case of trouble was sent to the Lung Men Taotai. The reply was a refusal, point blank, to have anything to do with the case. Before daylight the six Methodist Episcopal missionaries with four children took chairs, arriving just at daybreak of May 29 at the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen. They were asked to return to their own compound at Shan hi kai, and guaranteed full protection. They accordingly returned home. Early in the forenoon the people began to gather, and notwithstanding the presence of a chief of police and twenty-two men, at 10 o'clock a.m. the attack on the compound began. The missionaries and their children, by invitation of an immediate neighbour, jumped the wall of their compound and were at once concealed in a small, dirty loft. Here they remained safely for about twelve hours, unwilling witnesses of the spoiling of all they possessed and the rapid demolition of all buildings of every description on the mission compound. About midnight all six Methodist Episcopal missionaries, with their four children, arrived in chairs at the Hwa Yang Hsien Yamen. About the same time Mr. Hartwell, Canadian missionary, arrived in a chair from the house of the friendly native who had secreted him. This made the total of eighteen Protestant missionaries in the city at the time of the outbreak. Some time later in the night of Ma 29, two of the three Roman Catholic missionaries of the city were brought safely into the yamen.

Evil rumors against us have been growing in the city for a month back. All three missions asked for proclamations against these rumors from two to three weeks ago. Repeated requests for a proclamation failed to secure one until yesterday afternoon, when about nine out of eleven mission premises had been wrecked. Then a mild proclamation was put out.

We have ample evidence that the officials openly connived at the work of destruction yesterday. The only restriction placed in the way of the rioters was that, for obvious reasons, they should not set fire to the buildings. The help asked for, if sent at all, was in every case sent in a very dilatory manner, and when it arrived was ridiculously insufficient and inefficient. Repeated requests for additional protection met with no response.

At present writing (noon May 30) we are in cramped but fairly comfortable quarters in this yamen. The Hsien tells us to remain quietly for a few days, and the understanding is that as soon as some of the excitement subsides through the city we are to be escorted out of the city and started away, either by chairs or boat.

All sorts of the vilest rumors are afloat that we killed a child, or children, baking their bodies, using their eyes for medicines, taking out their bones, etc [See Part Ten]. We hear now (2 p.m.) that a human head, human hand, and human eye have been nailed upon the wall of one of the wrecked compounds. Red paint has been spattered on the walls and exhibited as evidence of crimes committed by the missionaries. We hear that bones are being dug from graves and shown at the governor-general's Yamen as further evidence of our guilt.

It is significant that one of the Roman Catholic priest's residences was within a stone's throw of the governor-general's Yamen. His repeated requests for assistance from that yamen met with just as many refusals. His place was wrecked and burned. Another rumor says the city gates, four in number, are being guarded by soldiers lying in wait to cut off all escape from the city.

Our message by telegraph was received at the office and we believe was forwarded yesterday morning, 29th. This morning, 30th, our telegram was met with the statement that the wires are down. This is believed to be false.

Canadian Methodist Mission (George E. Hartwell, wife and two children, Omar L. Kilborn, wife and babe, David W. Stevenson, wife, and three children);

Methodist Episcopal Mission (H. Olin Cady and wife, H. L. Canwright, wife, and two children, J. F. Peat, wife, and two children);

Church Missionary Society (O. M. Jackson);

China Inland Mission (Joshua Vale, James G. Cormack, wife, and one child);

Total, 9 men, 9 women, 11 children.

1895, JULY 10.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 10, 1895, (Received Washington, Aug. 23), No. 2286, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose a copy of a communication sent by me to the Tsung-li Yamen the 9th instant, asking that the ex-vice-roy, Liu, be ordered to come to Peking to await an investigation into his conduct, so that he may be punished should the evidence be taken to show that he is guilty of complicity in the riots. I have, etc., Charles Denby.

**(Inclosure to No. 2286)
Mr. Denby to the Tsung-li Yamen.**

No 16.

PEKING, July 9, 1895.

I have therefore requested that troops should be sent from Chengtu to Chungking to assist in preserving order. If this request is not acceded to, the responsibility will rest with the Government of China, and this I desire to place on record. I think it desirable also that the examination at Chungking should be postponed, and this also I place on record.

I desire also to reiterate the ideas heretofore conveyed to the Yamen that the time has come to China when officials who are negligent or criminal in their conduct towards foreigners must be punished, and that simple payment of damages is not enough to secure future immunity from destruction. To that end I request that the late viceroy of Szechuan be ordered to come to Peking, in order that if inquiry into the causes of the riots shows him to have been in fault he may be properly punished. I will make the same demand as to all other officials who may be shown to be guilty.

Unless the guilty officials are punished, no settlement of matters appertaining to the riots will be satisfactory. It is clearly in the interest of China to make a grave public example showing her intention that riots shall be prevented.

The experience of many years shows that this can not be done unless there be condign punishment of guilty men. Charles Denby.

The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, (Melbourne), (Special Kucheng Edition), Vol XXII, No. 21, September 1895, p 353-355.

FROM MISS LIZZIE (TOPSY) SAUNDERS.

HUA SANG, JULY 11,—We had a lovely walk yesterday. Herbert Stewart and I went to find lilies, beautiful white ones, like Easter lilies. "Hub," as we call him, is the smallest of our party, and therefore soonest tired. This mountain reminds one of the bush¹¹ in some ways—bamboo as thick as it can be, and mass of underwood, oh, so beautifully quiet—but differing from the bush in the paddy-fields which one comes across at intervals, even in the highest and most inaccessible places. The patience of the Chinese in the cultivation of their land is truly a lesson. We are all getting better for the fresh air; the heat in the plains is intense... Dr. Gregory arrived yesterday to stay for a few days in a tiny little house quite close to this, and he asked me and Miss Hartford to go down to lunch today; it was so nice, and then we all came up to the Stewarts'... Mrs. Gregory has gone home, and he goes at the end of the year.

SUNDAY, JULY 14,—We had Chinese Service in the kuniong's [CEZMS] house today. Miss Hartford's teacher (one of the leaders in their mission as a preacher) took the meeting.

FROM MISS NELLIE SAUNDERS.

HUA SANG, Sunday July 21, 1895,—It was so painful to leave the work and everything, and to come away like this, but it is much cooler here. The Doctor [Gregory] and Mr. S [Stewart] have been very busy taking photographs. I have Mr. Stewart's teacher, Ding Sing Sang; he is a Ku Cheng man, which is a great advantage. I often have nice talks with him, and he told me the other day that he would like to be baptized...

11 "Bush" is a generic term used universally in Australia to refer to any place outside a city as in "Sydney or the bush!" It contains elements of wildness, danger, pioneering, individualism, courage in the face of adversity. Small country towns can be identified as being in the "bush."

We got the C.M.A. [Church Missionary Association of Victoria] Report this mail, and were much interested. We are as uncertain as ever where our final destination is to be. I know that Mrs. Stewart likes me to be at Ku Cheng, to help with the boys, and to do the work amongst the women in the city... Last night, Miss Codrington, who is of a very sociable disposition, asked Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, the Doctor, and us two to tea. Miss Hartford and five of our kuniongs were there already, so with Mille and Cassie we were a large party. We are having what we call "Keswick" this week, and it begins today.¹²

12 The Keswick "holiness" movement was very influential among evangelicals from the 19C into the late 20C. See Part One for a discussion of its impact on the Stewart's and colleagues. See also Naselli, <http://dbts.edu/pdf/rls/NaselliHandout.pdf> for a useful summary of the movement.

1895, JULY 12.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 12, 1895, (Received Washington, Aug. 23), No. 2288, Denby to Olney.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have designated Rev. Spencer Lewis, a resident of Chungking, to act as the American member of a commission to examine into the causes and results of the Szechuan riots.

I have addressed to Mr. Lewis a communication, of which a copy is inclosed, wherein the purposes of this commission, the constitution thereof, and its duties, are set forth. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

(Inclosure in No 2288)

Mr. Denby to Mr. Lewis.

SIR: It has been arranged by the Chinese Government, Her Britannic Majesty's minister, Sir N. R. O'Connor, and myself that a commission consisting of three Chinese officials—probably the prefect of Chengtu, the provincial treasurer, and the judge—Her Britannic Majesty's consul, Mr. J.W. Tratman, an English missionary, and an American missionary, should sit either at Chengtu or Chungking for the purpose of inquiring into the causes and results of the recent riots in Szechuan.

I have designated you as a member of this commission and hope, in the general interest, you will consent to serve.

It is proper to state that I have consented to the organization of the commission without consultation with my Government, there being no time to do so fully, and that I can not hold out any inducement that any compensation will be paid to you, or even that your expenses will be reimbursed. All that I can say is that when the labors of the commission are concluded, and a report made of services rendered, I will represent the matter to the State Department for its consideration.

The duty of the commission will be to inquire into the causes and origin of the riots; to find the facts and to determine from them whether the provincial officials took adequate measures to prevent disorder and to suppress it after it broke out, and to assess the damages suffered by each individual and corporation.

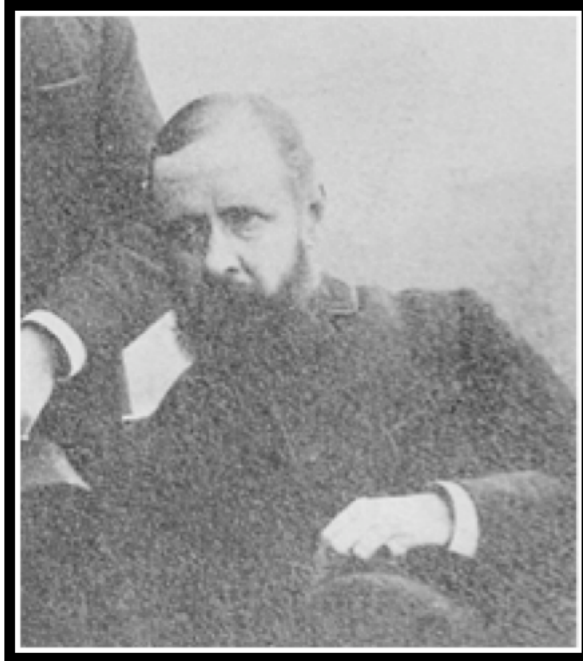
The findings of the commission will not be final and conclusive, its object being to find the facts and submit them for the further action of the two foreign representatives chiefly interested therein.

It is desired that a full report of the proceedings of the commission be made and forwarded to this legation. I am, etc., Charles Denby.

1895, JULY 19.

FRUS. Department of State, Washington, July 19, 1895. No. 1113, Adee to Denby.

Alvee A. Adee, US Secretary of State



SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 2263 in regard to the antimissionary riots at Chengtu.

You state that "these riots are inexplicable except on the theory of official connivance." If the connivance of high Chinese officials in this antforeign demonstration be reasonably shown, stern reprobation and punishment must be expected, with due reparation and safeguards for the future. You will continue your efforts to elicit the truth, and act accordingly within your standing instructions. I am, etc. Alvee A. Adee

1895, JULY 23.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 23, 1895, (Received Washington, Sept. 6), No. 2291, Denby to Olney.

Richard Olney, US Secretary of State



SIR: I have the honor to inform you that riots occurred during the last days of May and early in June in Szechuan at the following places: Chengtu (the capital), Kuan Hsien, Hsin-tu Hsien, Kiang Chou, Kiating, Ya Chou, Mei Chou, Sui Fu, Lu Chou, Pao-ning, P'eng shan, and Hsin-king.¹³

The Methodist Episcopal mission (American), the American Baptist mission, the China Inland Mission (English), the Canadian Methodist mission, and the Roman Catholic mission were the sufferers. All their property was wrecked.

I shall furnish you with a detailed statement prepared by American missionaries as soon as it reaches me. I have, etc. Charles Denby.

¹³ A district administrative city was a 'fu', hence Kucheng-fu. This was the lowest level of national government. Beneath a "fu" there was an administrative unit or "hsien" with educated men providing leadership to the community. A "chou" was near enough to a local village.

1895, JULY 26.

FRUS, Legation of the United States. Peking, July 26, 1895, (Received Washington, Sept. 6), No. 2293, Denby to Olney.

SIR: In my dispatch No. 2288, of the 12th instant, I informed you that I had appointed Rev. Spencer Lewis, of Chungking, to sit with the British consul and an English missionary, on a commission to assemble at Chengtu, for the purposes of examining into the causes of the recent antiforeign riots in the province of Szechuan, and matters connected therewith

I have received to-day from the consul-general a report of the proceedings of a large meeting held by Americans at Shanghai, at which resolutions were adopted praying the Government of the United States to appoint a commission, headed by a consul of the highest rank, to examine into the whole subject. The report of these proceedings has been forwarded to you. After reflection, and somewhat influenced by the action of the Americans above mentioned, I have concluded that the commission proposed by the British minister would not be sufficiently impressive, and that public sentiment in the United States would not approve of there being only one American on so important a commission. I have accordingly notified the British minister that the appointment of Lewis was countermanded, and that I would take no part in any commission until I had received instructions from you. The question before you now is whether you will direct the organization of a commission composed exclusively of Americans for the purposes indicated.

The question at issue, that is, the protection of foreigners in China, is one of the utmost gravity. It is known to you that no mode has ever been devised for the prevention of riots, which occur almost continuously in some part of the Empire. They involve, of course, great danger to life, enormous destruction of property and suspension or cessation of foreign residence in the localities where they occur. In antiforeign outbreaks no distinction is made by the mob between persons of different nationalities.

It follows that all the nations are interested in the questions involved. I am, therefore, of the opinion that, instead of organizing one commission for each nationality, a commission representing all the Western Powers should be created. There is no reason why they should not all take part in such action, except, perhaps, in the case of Russia, whose laws as to foreign ecclesiastics are peculiar.

I enclose a clipping from the North China Daily News of the 18th instant, embodying certain resolutions passed by a meeting of foreigners at Hankow, which strike me as sensible. Should you approve of the idea of holding an international commission it occurs to me that you might with great propriety take the initiative in the movement. The reasons are too obvious to require mention why the lead of the United States in so important a matter would be agreeable to China as well as to the other powers.

I suppose that the plan indicated would produce as little delay as would the appointment of a commission composed of Americans alone, as it is not likely that the President would appoint such a commission unless he were authorized to do so by Congress.

I respectfully await your instructions on the whole subject. It is proper to state that, unless otherwise directed by you, I will present any claim of any sufferer by the riots for payment, without referring the same to you. I will also support any of my colleagues who shall demand the punishment of delinquent officials. I am, etc., Charles Denby.

(Inclosure in No. 2293.

Clipping from North China News, July 18, 1895.)

The Rev. David Hill, Wesleyan Mission, moved the second resolution, which was as follows:

Whereas for many years past numerous and extensive riots have occurred in many parts of China, directed against missionaries and property, while in some cases lives have been taken: and

Whereas no effectual measures have thus far been adopted for the prevention of these outbreaks; and

Whereas foreign property has lately been destroyed on an unprecedented scale, both in Chengtu, the provincial capital, and in other cities of the Szechuan Province, (where hitherto the people have always manifested an exceptionally quiet and friendly spirit), thus breaking up the homes of many missionaries and

interrupting for an indefinite period important missionary work; and

Whereas these periodical outbreaks have been frequently caused, and ill-feeling has been continuously fomented by the wide circulation of blasphemous and calumnious literature which has emanated chiefly from the province of Hunan.

We venture most respectfully to urge upon the ministers and representatives of the Governments concerned the following suggestions for their consideration:

(a) That a searching investigation into the Szechuan riots be undertaken by accredited officials representing each of the governments involved; that this investigation be conducted at Chengtu, in the place where the trouble commenced, and that one missionary at least of each mission involved should be present at the investigation.

(b) That the missionaries and the mission should be fully indemnified for their losses. The indemnity shall not be limited to the actual cost of the things destroyed.

(c) That the missionaries shall be reinstated, with official recognition at all the places from which they have been ejected.

(d) That in dealing with those criminally concerned in the riots, whether by personal instigation, culpable neglect, or actual violence, strict impartiality should be preserved, irrespective of rank or position.

(e) That the right of missionaries to reside in the interior should be placed on clearly defined treaty basis, and this right should be made known by imperial proclamation throughout all parts of the Empire.

In addition to the above, we would respectfully state that, in our opinion, as long as the province of Hunan is allowed to maintain its present condition of isolation and exclusiveness, it is likely that antforeign riots will continue, and we would suggest that no step is better calculated to bring these riots to an end and insure peace in future than the definite opening of that important province.

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

THE VEGETARIANS OF KU CHENG.

Many questions have been asked as to the Vegetarian sects of societies in China since the terrible massacre at Ku Cheng, and it is important that we should understand as clearly as possible, the real nature of the combination of men which sent eighty of their number to murder the missionaries at Hwa-Sang. Was their action due to fanaticism aroused by the preaching of Christian doctrines distasteful to them, or had they any other motive in their cowardly attack? Was the movement purely local, or did it extend to other districts in Fuh-Kien or to other provinces?

Vegetarian sects exist in all parts of China, and are composed of those who, for various reasons, have abstained from animal food and banded themselves into societies. An admirable and very complete account of them will be found in the current number of the *Sunday at Home*, by the Rev. C. G. Sparham, of Hankow.¹⁴ He says with regard to their general reputation:—"The rites of the Vegetarians are celebrated in private houses, and consist chiefly in the chanting of litanies. The more earnest among them will occasionally stand up in the streets and exhort men to virtue. The sects all set high values upon purity of life, and many members are celibates. By the people at large, the rank and file are regarded as simple and harmless folk, but the motives of their leaders are suspected."

This exactly expresses the general opinion in Fuh-Kien of the Vegetarians. They are not generally anti-foreign or anti-Christian; indeed, as Mr. Sparham proves in the case of Hankow, so it is in Fuh-Kien, some of our most earnest converts have been drawn from their ranks. One of the leading Christians in Ning-Taik was for many years a strict Vegetarian, and had risen to be a leader among them before he heard of the Gospel. But the so-called "Vegetarians" who planned and executed the attack on the Ku Cheng missionaries, were quite different in the objects, and in the nature of their organization. Their leaders came from the neighbouring province of Kiang-Si, and were commonly reported to be members of a much-dreaded secret society called by a euphemistic title "The Elder Brothers Society." On their first appearance in Ku Cheng city two years ago, they began business as curers of the victims of opium-smoking and attached a large number of men to them by insisting on their cure before enrolling them as members of the Vegetarian Society, under cover of which organization they were maturing plans of rebellion. That they were rebels appears from the fact, that the mandarin in Ku Cheng refused for a long time to give them leave to hold their meetings and establish headquarters in the city. Another indication of this fact is, that the wealthy Heathen feared them as much as did the Christians; and themselves subscribed to build again the broken-down city wall of Ku Cheng, telling Mr. Stewart that "they feared the Vegetarians would rise in rebellion." This does away with any argument that they were actuated by fanatical religious feelings, as their co-religionists feared them as much as the Christians did. It has also since come out that after the massacre occurred no violence was used to the native Christians, though they had them in their power.

That they were rebels is proved by their actions. A very able writer in *The Times* of August 5th, dating his letter "Han Kau, June 18th," says with regard to the Szv-Chuan riots that they were not the work of rebels as "there does not appear to have been the slightest hostility shown by the mobs towards either yamens or mandarins, and those, the real rebel, always goes for straight and first. Still stranger still, the mandarins do not seem to have shown much hostility to the mobs, although, whatever they may wink at, they never shut their eyes when actual rebels are around."

The history of the Vegetarian society in Ku Cheng is one long struggle with the local mandarin whose yamen, or official residence, they threatened from the first; and the immediate cause of the massacre, as subsequent letters have shown, was the abortive attempt to suppress the Vegetarians made by the local mandarin, who got up 200 extra troops to Ku Cheng, and alarmed the Vegetarian leaders, who, by some reasoning process of their own, attributed to the foreigners the arrival of troops, and determined to get rid of them.

A good deal of false pity has been spent in some circles in Dublin on the murderers who are supposed to have acted religiously "up to their lights," and some have even gone so far as to say that they should not have been executed; but the facts show that had the rebellion been a little more successful, the whole country of

14 London Missionary Society.

Ku Cheng would have been plunged into the horrors of a rebellion, and thousands more would have lost their lives. Although, as all true Christians will, we deplore the necessity which compelled the death of these misguided men, yet we know that these deaths have averted a rebellion.

After the massacre, the remnant of the murderers are said to have escaped into the Ping Nang county, one day's journey due north of Ku Cheng city.

So local was this rebellious movement that Mr. Stewart said that there were no "Vegetarians" in Ping Nang; and to the north-west, one day's journey from Ku Cheng city, some Christians had not even heard of the organization which could make no headway in Kien-Ning. That they attempted to rouse the Kien-Ning people is proved by recent letters received from the Zenana ladies in Kien-Ning, a district abounding in Vegetarians of the ordinary kind, with no political tendencies. Some "Vegetarians" had come up from Ku Cheng a few days before the telegram was received, recalling the ladies in the Kien-Ning district, trying to get the local Vegetarians and people in general to join in a rising, but at Nang-Wa and Kien-Ning city they were told to go about their own business as no one was willing to join them. Two men joined them at the village of Ha-Kai, but when they found no one else did, and that the mandarin of the city was sending out soldiers to put down a rising, they got frightened, and came to A-Cue, where Miss Rodd and Miss Bryer, of the C.E.Z.M.S. were staying, *saying they wanted to become Christians*, and asking that they would teach them. "The Sisters had heard nothing of what had been happening at Ha-Kai and were very pleased, and the men seemed very interested. Then came the tidings that the Sisters must leave, so they asked if they might go for further instruction to the hospital at Ning-Wa. As they were eating their own rice, and only asked to be taught, they were passed on accordingly. Who knows but that they may find the treasure though they were seeking only shelter from an earthly danger."

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, November 1895, Vol XXVI, pp 511-513.

**Is this Antagonism against the Missionary because he is a Missionary
or because he is a Foreigner?**

**BY Rev. William. ASHMORE, D.D., Swatow,
(American Baptist Missionary Union).**

IT makes a deal of difference which end of a broomstick comes first. The question can be answered. No reasonable man need be in doubt. We appeal to the common sense and fair-mindedness of our countrymen to face the problem and be candid in the answer.

It is said that it is the missionary's unpalatable doctrines which are at fault. Granting freely that the missionary has some truths to utter not in themselves acceptable, it must be admitted that even these are attended with other truths fitted to turn bitter waters into sweet, and they always go together. For a man to be told to repent, and to be told that he has something he needs to repent of is not soothing to be sure, but to be told to repent for the reason that if he does so, for him the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and what occasion for irritation is left. The missionary is a bearer of a good tidings message—"good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people" is the way an angel straight from heaven once put it. Unhesitatingly we affirm that the predominant staple of missionary preaching in China is just that.

But in preaching their Gospel of Salvation the missionaries may run across the popular view of idol worship, and ancestral worship, and of Confucianism in so far as it is a religion, or a substitute for one. Yes, there is that possibility. But here let the missionary be heard in his own defence. It is assumed commonly that missionaries go smashing around like a bull in a China shop, thrusting and punching in all directions, as if bent on giving the greatest amount of annoyance possible. That is a calumny. It is true that, now and then, here and there, may be found some ill-balanced, ill-tempered talker who violates the rules of common missionary courtesy, but these are few in number and feeble in influence compared with the body of solid, sober and sensible missionaries. Now note what we affirm in connection with them. Their moiety of influence, though defective so far as it goes, has not sufficed to stir up the anti-missionary feeling that has been manifest in these recent years. Why saddle the missionary body with such an awful charge as would make them all out to be ill-bred and inconsiderate disturbers of the public peace?

We affirm that missionary policy is not to irritate but to make friends, and the missionary going into the towns and villages does make friends. He is politic and civil, he is friendly and affable, he is courteous and dignified, he pays for what he gets, and soon finds he can get credit for anything the shops offer if he has occasion to ask it. In his preaching and argumentation he seeks to be fair-minded and to avoid arousing animosity. Animosity is the very thing he is most anxious to avoid. He wants to conciliate, to gain a candid and hospitable hearing for what he has to offer. He is not such a blunder-head as to spoil his own case by coarseness and vituperation.

And yet, somehow, there is the anti-missionary feeling. So it is—or rather it gets there, from some other quarter. It has a genealogy of its own, and the register is well kept. It is not a case of spontaneous generation but of systematic propagation, and that by the same class of men—the Literati and the Yamen men. If these disturbers of the peace would keep their hands off the missionaries would get along well enough with the villagers.

Be it observed next that it is not zeal for their own religion that animates these Yamen underlings; it is not wounded sensibility for the honor of Confucius that fires up these literati to insatiate hate. The missionary may not have said a word about Confucius. The charge is not made against him that he has. Note that point.

And note another one along with it: Yamen officers and literary aspirants and "expectant" officials are not given to religious sentimentalism; it would surprise themselves very much to have such a character imputed to them. They are not zealots, they are not even Pharisees. They are Sadducees. They do not trouble themselves about either angel, spirit or resurrection from the dead. For such doctrines they have a supercilious disdain. If the common people are so stupid as to swallow such things, let them do it—they are only T'u-jin—"Men of the Soil," clod-hoppers or "Country Jakes"—as Western people say—any how.

So far as these specific notions are concerned the Confucian scholar does not care a rap. If occasion requires he can hobnob with a Parsee or a Shinto all day long. At the open ports he does not trouble his brain to ask what men believe. Nor would it be different in the interior if it were not that it is a foreigner that is doing it. It is the foreigner himself that he wants to keep out. If a native were to pass along the street telling a story about a resurrection from the dead of somebody eighteen hundred years ago he would simply curl his lip and hurry on; but when a foreigner does the same thing his wrath is aroused. These foreigners! these hated foreigners!! they have come here also. Missionaries they call themselves, but what is a missionary one way or the other? Allow them to stay and others will come, and by and bye we shall have Consuls, and Consuls will have gunboats, and trouble with the foreigners will begin. It is along that line that a true explanation is to be sought.

* * *

"Spiritual agents for spiritual work" is the first qualification to be laid down by every missionary society, says Edward A. Lawrence."

A sound body, a trained mind, linguistic talent, and common sense, a rounded character and a loving heart, clear, firm faith and consecrated piety—these constitute fitness for the mission work.—*Edward A. Lawrence.*

