

**LETTERS AND PRESS REPORTS
RELATING TO THE MASSACRE OF ELEVEN
BRITISH MISSIONARIES
AT HUASHAN (HUASANG),
FUJIAN (FUKIEN) PROVINCE, CHINA
1 August 1895,**

**INCLUDING THE REV. WILLIAM BANISTER'S
REPORT OF THE KUCHENG (GUTIAN)
COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION**

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INTRODUCTION

On 1 August 1895 eleven British subjects connected to the Anglican Church Missionary Society were murdered by Chinese rebels in the hill village of Huashan (Hwasang), above the district capital of Gutian (Kucheng, Ku T'ien). It was the worst attack on British subjects in China prior to the massacres associated with the Boxer episode in 1899-1901. The only comparable event in China's missionary history was the murder of foreign and Chinese Catholics at Tientsin in 1871.

Those killed at Huashan were:

The Rev. ROBERT WARREN STEWART, C.M.S. (Dublin, Ireland)
CMS Superintending Missionary, Gutian and Ping Nang Districts, Fujian Province
Corresponding Secretary, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Fujian Province
Representative of Dublin University Fukien Mission
Mrs. LOUISA KATHLEEN (nee Smyly) STEWART, C.M.S. (Dublin, Ireland)
HERBERT STEWART, (England—five years old)
HILDA SYLVIA STEWART. (England—baby)
HELENA (Lena) YELLOP (Ireland) nurse of Stewart children.
MARY ANN CHRISTINA (Annie) GORDON, C.E.Z.M.S. (Australia)
ELSIE MARSHALL, C.E.Z.M.S. (England)
HESSIE NEWCOMBE, C.E.Z.M.S. (Ireland)
ELIZABETH MAUD (Topsy) SAUNDERS, C.M.S. (Australia)
HARRIETTE ELINOR (Nellie) SAUNDERS, C.M.S. (Australia)
FLORA LUCY STEWART, C.E.Z.M.S. (England)

Survivors:

KATHLEEN STEWART (England)
MILDRED STEWART (England)
FLORA CODRINGTON C.E.Z.M.S. (England)
MABEL HARTFORD (Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, USA)

News of the disaster at Huashan spread around the world through the telegraph system. The various items are listed, in general, in chronological order, except where it seemed more accessible to group some items, such as the statements made by witnesses/survivors to the massacre that are grouped under 9 August 1895. Some dates are given as: 9 August 1895, others as August 9, 1895 depending on the original text.

These documents provide an insight into the relationship between Christian evangelization and foreign imperialism in late 19th century China. Readers will find concepts related to Edward Said's notion of 'cultural imperialism'¹ as well as the exaggerated concept of 'gunboat diplomacy.' There are also clear indications of the distortion of news at the hand of over-zealous reporters and, presumably, editors and sub-editors which reflect the way in which news exists only in the context in which it is received and may or may not reflect the reality. Careful analysis will reveal the very real gap between various elements of the foreign community in China and the mutual distrust of the missionaries, commercial and official elements of that community.

The later documents also trace the uneasy relationship between the male missionaries of the Church

¹ Said, Edward W, (1993), *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Knopf. See commentary on Said in relation to China by Dunch, Ryan, (2002), 'Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions and Global Modernity,' pp 301-325 in *History and Theory*, No 41, October 2003.

Missionary Society, the tension over the management of closely integrated but separate societies (the Church Missionary Society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the Female Education Society and the Australian auxiliaries of the CMS and CEZMS).

The Reports of the 'Kucheng Commission of Investigation' and some related letters are provided in a second section for convenience. The reports were written by the Rev. William Banister, an ordained minister of the Church of England serving with the Church Missionary Society in Fujian Province. Banister served as the CMS superintending missionary in Kucheng (today Gutian) in 1882-1884 and again between 1888-1893. He had a good working knowledge of the local Chinese dialect and was, with the Rev. Leonard Star CMS, appointed as interpreter by the British Consul in Foochow (today Fuzhou) to assist the Consul in investigating, with an American Consular party led by the United States Consul in Fuzhou, Colonel J Courtenay Hixson.² Banister's participation in what was incorrectly labeled a 'Commission of Investigation' caused concerns to the Church Missionary Society's headquarters in London where it was felt that his missionary status might be compromised by too close an association with the British authorities in China. Correspondence on this issue is at 3, 5 November 1895.

The British and American consular investigation group included:—Mr. R W Mansfield, British Consul at Foochow; Col. Hixson, US Consul at Foochow; Commander John S Newell, USN; Mr. E L B Allen, British Vice-Consul at Pagoda Island, Foochow, Ensign Waldo Evans, U.S.N; the Rev. W Banister, CMS, Rev. Leonard H Star, CMS, and Dr. James J Gregory of the American Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Gutian who acted as interpreter to US Consul Hixson.

A separate photograph gallery accompanies this document. Sources of the photographs are shown beneath each image.

² Hixson, J Courtney, US Consul, Fuzhou, Report on the Huashan-Gutian Massacre, State Department, Despatches from United States Consuls in Fuzhou, 1849-1906 See also Commander J S Newell, USN: Newell, Commander J S, (1895), Report on Huashan Massacre, pp 173-195 in *State Department, Papers, Foreign Relations of the United States with the Annual Message of the President*, Transmitted to Congress, December 2 1895, Part 1. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896.

Missionary Murders Prior to 1899

From: Maggillivray, Donald, (1907), *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, (1807-1907)*, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press,

| | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| 1847 | | |
| Walter M Lowrie, | (?) | Presbyterian |
| 1850 | | |
| Karl Josef Fast | Sweden | Lutheran |
| 1861 | | |
| J L Homes | USA | Southern Baptist Convention |
| H M Parker | USA | Protestant Episcopal Church |
| 1867 | | |
| Samuel Johnson | (?) | British & Foreign Bible Society |
| 1869 Aug 25 | | |
| J Williamson | UK | London Missionary Society |
| 1891 5 June | | |
| Rev. W Argent | UK(?) | Wesleyan of Joyful News Mission |
| 1893 1 July | | |
| Mr Wickholm | Sweden | Swedish Mission |
| Mr Johanssen | Sweden | Swedish Mission |
| 1894 Aug | | |
| Rev. J Wylie | UK | United Free Church Mission |
| 1895 Aug 1 Kucheng (Gutian) Massacre by Vegetarian rebels. | | |
| Rev. Robert W Stewart | Ireland | Church Missionary Society |
| Mrs. Louisa K Stewart | Ireland | Church Missionary Society |
| Master Herbert Stewart | Ireland | (five years old) |
| Miss H Sylvia Stewart | Ireland | (baby) |
| Miss Helena Yellop | Ireland | (children's nurse) |
| Miss Nellie Saunders | Australia | Church Missionary Society |
| Miss Topsy Saunders | Australia | Church Missionary Society |
| Miss M Annie C Gordon | Australia | Church of England Zenana Missionary Society |
| Miss Elsie Marshall | England | Church of England Zenana Missionary Society |
| Miss Hessie Newcombe | Ireland | Church of England Zenana Missionary Society |
| Miss F Lucy Stewart | England | Church of England Zenana Missionary Society |
| 1898 Nov 4 | | |
| Mr W S Fleming | Australia | China Inland Mission |
| 1899 Dec | | |
| Rev S M Brooks | England | Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. |

There were approximately 30 foreign Roman Catholic martyrs in 18th and 19th century China.
By national origin: Italy, 14; France 11; Belgium 1; Netherlands 1; Spain 6.

RECENT AND RELATED PAPERS

Chinese History at Australian Federation website (CHAF) at Latrobe University, Victoria, 2001 online at <http://www.chaf.lib.latrobe.edu.au/welch/index.htm>

Christianity and Chinese in 19th and early 20th century Australia. Introduction to Cheok Hong CHEONG (1851-1928)

Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia and New Zealand, 1855 - c1900. A list of Chinese missionaries and locations in Australia in the 19th century.

Chinese Christian Baptisms in Victoria, 1855-1915 (with some marriages and deaths)

Welch, Ian, (1980), *Pariahs and Outcasts, Christian Missions to the Chinese in Australia*, MA, Monash University.

Welch, Ian, (2003), 'The Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Evangelisation of the Chinese on the Victorian Goldfields in the 19th Century', Paper presented at the Methodist History Project Conference, *World Parish to World Church*, Sarum College, Salisbury, 25-26 November 2003. Available on CD-Rom from Methodist Missionary History Society

Welch, Ian, (2003), *Alien Son: The life and times of Cheok Hong Cheong, (Zhang Zhuoxiong) 1851-1928*. PHD Australian National University Online at <http://thesis.anu.edu.au/public/adt-ANU20051108.111252/> Also at [anglicansonline http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia](http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia)

Welch, Ian, (2004), 'Nellie, Topsy and Annie: Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895,' Paper presented to the First TransTasman Conference on Australian and New Zealand Missionaries, At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, Canberra, 8-10 October 2004. online at: <http://anglicansonline.org/resources/history.html#asia> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>

Welch, Ian, (2004), *The Kucheng Martyrs: An Australian Feminist Missionary Tragedy*, pp 31-37 in *Women Church, An Australian Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Sydney, No 35, Spring 2004.

Welch, Ian, Interview with Sutherland, Tracy, (2004), 'The neglected History of Australia and New Zealand's Women Missionaries', pp 1-6 in *Quarterly Bulletin, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University*, online at: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/qb/pdf/5-3Issue.pdf>

Welch, Ian, (2005) Amy Oxley, Letters from China: Letters to a cousin in Victoria, Australia by an Australian Missionary Nurse of the Church Missionary Association of New South Wales, Fujian Province, China, 1895-c1920/ http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/welch_oxley.pdf

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

Welch, Ian, (2006), Women's Work for Women: (Experiences of single women missionaries in Fujian Province, China, 1890s). <http://anglicanhistory.org/women/> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/index.html>

Welch, Ian, (2006), Missionaries, Murder and Diplomacy in late 19th Century China: A Case Study, A paper presented to the 2nd ANU Missionary History Conference: Asia-Pacific Missionaries: At Home and Abroad, Australian National University, 27 –29 August 2006. Online at <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/missionaryhistory/> and at <http://anglicanhistory.org/academic/> and <http://anglicanhistory.org/asia/china/>

Provenance: *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad, Melbourne, Vol XXII No 21, September 1895, pp 354-5*

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

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, 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 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 center, 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.

Provenance: *The Age*, Melbourne, 5 August 1895

**OUTRAGES ON CHINESE MISSIONARIES
FIVE WOMEN VIOLATED AND MURDERED
CONNIVANCE OF CHINESE OFFICIALS**

LONDON, 4TH August

Telegrams from Foo-Chow report that many Christians have been massacred by the Chinese in the Kucheng district, among the victims being five female missionaries, who were brutally outraged before they were murdered

The United States Consul at Shanghai confirms the reports of the Kucheng outrages, and states that the local Chinese authorities connived at the attacks on the missionary stations.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1895

MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS IN CHINA

LONDON, Aug 4

Advices from Shanghai report that a great massacre of Christians has taken place at Kucheng, China.

Aug 4

Further particulars state that four female British missionaries and an American missionary were massacred at Kucheng.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1895 (2nd edn)

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA

London, Aug 4

Further particulars with regard to the massacre of missionaries at Kucheng, in China, state that, in addition to the British and American missionaries killed, many persons were wounded, including

children.

Provenance: *New Zealand Herald*, 5 August 1895

CHRISTIANS MASSACRED

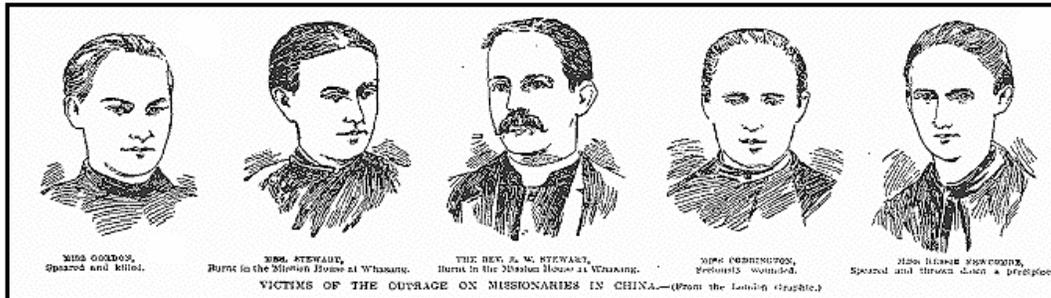
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SHANGHAI, August 3

REPORTS have reached here of a great massacre of Christians at Kuching.

LONDON, August 4

Foochow reports that among the Christians massacred in Kucheng were five female missionaries, who were first outraged. The United States Consul in Shanghai confirms this report, and alleges that the Chinese officials connived at the outrage.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 5 Aug 1895³



THE MASSACRED MISSIONARIES

NO FURTHER NEWS HAS BEEN RECEIVED IN NEW YORK

At the offices of the Methodist board of foreign missions, 150 Fifth Avenue, it was said this morning that no further news had been received about their missionaries in China since the cablegram of the Rev. G B Smyth, in which it was stated that the American missionaries and their property were all right. It is believed at the offices here that their missionaries in Kucheng were not the victims of the reported massacres there. It was stated this morning that a cablegram is hourly expected from the Rev. W H Lacy, the Methodist treasurer in Foochow, which will throw more light on the cruelties of the Chinese. At the offices of the other missionary societies it was said that while no direct news had been received from their representatives in China, little fear was entertained for their safety.

Shanghai, August 5

At a crowded meeting today of the European residents of this city speeches condemning the action of the Chinese authorities in the case of the massacre of missionaries at Whai-Han [*Huashan*], near Ku Cheng, on Thursday last were made and a resolution was adopted to appeal directly to the European governments against the outrage. The resolution also referred to the inadequate manner in which China has dealt with the perpetrators of former outrages.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 5 Aug 1895

Shanghai, August 6—According to a dispatch to the Mercury of this city Fu-Kien province is in a state of rebellion and the American mission at Fung-Fuk, in that province, has been burned. The Europeans and Americans have telegraphed for gunboats to protect the foreign settlement.

Hong Kong, August 6—In an interview today with some of the survivors of the Ku Cheng massacre, they declared that the outrage was carried out in the most diabolical manner and that it was evidently a

³ *The Brooklyn Eagle* was a daily newspaper published in Brooklyn, New York from 1841 to 1955. It was the most popular afternoon paper in the United States at one point. Walt Whitman was its editor for two years.

premeditated and carefully arranged attack, entirely unprovoked, made upon the occupants of the missionary station while they were asleep. The bodies of the victims were buried at Fu-Chow. There are rumours of further riots at places nearer to Fu-Chow than Ku-Cheong. This district includes the stations of the church of England at Zenana, the American Methodists' stations at Fuhkien, Fuhning, Layong, Ningtaik, Heckchiang and Hinghwa.

Shanghai, August 6—The British minister at Peking, Mr. O'Connor, has made a demand on the foreign office for a military escort from the British consulate at Foo Chow in order to enable him to visit the scene of the Ku Cheng massacre and hold the enquiry demanded. Mr. O'Connor has also positively requested that the Chinese government issue a decree offering the capital punishment of the offenders and that stringent orders be issued for the protection of all missionaries throughout China. The Chinese government has assented without demur to the demands of the British minister.

London, August 6—The last letter, dated April 8, from the murdered English missionary, the Rev. Mr. Stewart, has been received in London and describes the critical situation of affairs at Ku-Cheng. Mr. Stewart wrote:

Ten days ago we were awakened at 4 o'clock in the morning by a native clergyman who crossed the river in order to bring us the startling news that the Vegetarian rebels were expected at daylight to storm Ku-Cheng. The gateways of the city were being blocked with timber and stone in order to prevent their entry. We had 100 men, women and children in our compound outside the town. We passed a terrible time of suspense until daybreak, when torrents of rain fell, and the Vegetarians, not liking the rain, postponed the attack. All the mission party started to get inside of Ku-Cheng. The male and female staffs, in the early morning, after crossing the river in small parties in a tiny boat, reached Kueseng wall, which was blocked and had to be scaled with ladders. During the three following days bodies of citizens guarded the walls, armed with prongs and rusty swords. On the fourth day the gates were opened and the mandarin in command conferred with the Vegetarian leaders. What occurred during this interview we do not know. But nobody believes we have seen the end of this matter. Such a serious affair cannot be so easily patched up and is probably only begun.

Mr. Stewart's letter concludes:

All the women and children on the advice of the American and British consuls, will be sent to the coast. The opinion prevails that if the Japo-Chinese treaty is arranged soldiers will be sent from Fu-Chow to arrest the leaders of the rebels. But, if it is not arranged, then the Vegetarians will increase sufficiently to make the rising a success.

The officials of the [British] foreign office have cabled instructions to the British minister at Peking, Mr. N R O'Connor, to demand the safety of all British subjects in the disturbed districts and to insist upon a full inquiry into the massacre. In addition, Mr. O'Connor has been ordered to see that the culprits are punished and that an independent inquiry be made into the Ku-Cheng massacre by a British consular court.

Washington, D.C., Aug. 6—The State department has received the following cablegram from U. S. Consul Jernigan [Shanghai]

Shanghai, August 6—Hixson, United States consul at Foo Chow wires: "American mission property at Yun Fuh burned. Details of Ku Cheng massacre horrible. Houses stealthily surrounded and sleeping ladies and children speared to death. Situation unsettled.

At the headquarters of the Methodist board of foreign missions in New York, Dr. Leonard said this morning that no further news had been received from China about the reported massacre of the missionaries there. Dr. Leonard said that he thought the missionaries of his church were some distance from the scene of the reported massacre. He said, as well, that the conduct of many Englishmen, of whom there are a great many in China, had much to do with all the trouble met with by missionaries there.

The Rev. Dr. A B Leonard, corresponding secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary society when seen by a reporter said:

Two years ago I visited the places mentioned in the cablegram which you have shown me, and the principal centre of our work in South China is at Hinghua. We have a very large and extensive work radiating from there, and it is the only place of those mentioned where foreign [i.e., American]

missionaries reside. They are the Rev. Dr. W R Brewster, Mrs. Brewster and three children, all of Cincinnati. Miss Julia M Donahue, M.D., also of Cincinnati, and Miss Minnie A Wilson of the Northwestern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Foreign Missionary Society. All the other places, Fukhien, Fuhning, Layong, Ningtaik and Hochiang the missions are conducted by native preachers.

‘Our people have orders to cable us immediately if any disaster overtakes them, Dr. Leonard continued, ‘and I feel sure we would have heard something from Hinghua if anything has happened. Our latest dispatches from Kucheng are very reassuring and that they go to show that all at that mission are safe.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895*

**[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT]
AWFUL MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES IN CHINA
TEN PERSONS BUTCHERED
LADIES INCLUDED
SOME NATIVES OF MELBOURNE
ATROCIOUS CRUELITIES PRACTISED
A CLERGYMAN BURNED ALIVE
CHILDREN’S EYES GOUGED OUT**

LONDON, 5th August

Details of a terrible character have been received from Shanghai concerning the massacre of Christians by Chinese at Kuchang.

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 unsurpassable barbarity.

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 Marshall
Miss Gordon
Miss Newcombe, and
Miss Stewart.

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 murderers.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895*

ESCAPE OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

LONDON, 5TH AUGUST

The American missionaries in the district managed to escape with their lives, and only the British missionaries were murdered.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895*

**ACTION BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY**

LONDON, 5TH AUGUST

The Chinese Government has appointed a commission to inquire into the massacres. One of the members of the commission is the Chinese prefect of the district in which the outrages were perpetrated, a man

who is himself charged with instigating or conniving at the outrages.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895*

**MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
NAMES OF FURTHER VICTIMS**

The hon. Secretary of the Church Missionary Association received yesterday a cable message from Archdeacon Wolfe, Foo-Chow with the sad intelligence that among the ladies concerned in the massacres of missionaries in Ku-Cheng some were well known in Victoria. Miss Gordon (C.E.Z.) [*Zenana Mission Association*], Miss [Nellie] Saunders and Miss Lizzie Saunders, (C.M.A. [*Church Missionary Association*]) have all given their lives for China. Keen sympathy is felt for Mrs. Saunders under this severe trial. The Rev. R. W. Stewart, who three years ago visited this colony in the interests of foreign missions, his wife, son and four others have also fallen victim to the fury of a fierce mob.

For a year past the populace has been from time to time incited to acts of cruelty by placards fastened to the city walls, and since the conclusion of peace with Japan numbers of placards have been affixed to the walls of Fuh-Ting city, also in Fuh-Kien Province, of one of which the following is a translation:—

“In Fuh-Ting all say, In former days before the [*Christian*] 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. Followers of Jesus became akin to the beasts. Their conscience is dead; their lives become injured; their evil is certain. Even in death their bodies are maltreated; their eyes are torn from 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. 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 prevent maidens from marrying and alter 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 (Rev. 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.”

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 6 August 1895*

**A LONG THREATENED OUTBREAK
LETTERS FROM THE VICTIMS**

Mr. C. R. Walsh, secretary of the N.S.W. Church Missionary Association, 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 name of Vegetarians, who two or three times lately have threatened Ku-Cheong, 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 cablegram, the ‘Gordon’ is Miss [Annie] Gordon, from Melbourne. Curiously enough, I received a paper from her this afternoon, containing a letter from her. 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 Ping nang 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 Dong 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. He 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. Kang, 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.'

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1895

**THE MASSACRE IN CHINA
CHRISTIANS BURNED TO DEATH
LADY MISSIONARIES BUTCHERED
TERRIBLE ATROCITIES**

LONDON, Aug 5

A mob of natives set fire to the residence of Dr Stewart, at Kucheng, and he, his wife, and one child were burned.

Seven lady missionaries were butchered with spears and swords.

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

During the massacre, terrible atrocities were committed.

The Mandarins incited the populace to this rising against the Christian missionaries.

Provenance: *New Zealand Herald*, 6 August 1895

**CHINESE ATROCITIES
MASSACRE OF WOMEN MISSIONARIES
THE FANATICAL OUTBREAK AT KUCHENG
ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH MISSION STATION
FEARFUL BUTCHERY
DR. AND MRS. STEWART AND CHILD BURNT TO DEATH
SEVEN LADIES HACKED WITH SWORDS
MELBOURNE VICTIMS
THE EYES OF CHILDREN GOUGED OUT
Press Association—Electric Telegraph—Copyright**

SHANGHAI, August 4

FOUR female English missionaries, and one American, were massacred at Kucheng. Besides these many other foreigners, including children, were killed or wounded.

SHANGHAI, August 5

Fearful atrocities were committed on the unfortunate missionaries at Kucheng.

The mob set fire to the residence of Dr. Stewart, who with his wife and one child perished in the burning building.

Seven lady missionaries were butchered with spears and swords. Miss Codrington was seriously wounded, and several children badly hurt.

The rising was incited by the Mandarins.

LATER

The American missionaries escaped massacre.

Ten English were killed, including Misses Marshall, Gordon, and Stewart of the Zenana Society.

Some of the children had their eyes gouged out.

The Chinese have appointed a commission of enquiry, but as the Commissioner is the Prefect, who is himself implicated, the thing is a mockery.

SYDNEY, August 5.

Mr. March, secretary of the Church of England Missionary Society, has received a cable from Archdeacon Wolfe, at Foochow, saying that Miss Gordon and the two Misses Saunders, of Melbourne, Dr. Stewart, his wife and son, and four other ladies were slaughtered at Kucheng.

Dr. Stewart, who was a fellow of Trinity College, visited Australia and New Zealand some time ago in the interests of the mission, and founded a number of missionary societies.

Provenance: *The Sun*, Fort Covington, New York, August 1895

**MISSIONARIES MASSACRED
SHOCKING OUTRAGES UPON AMERICAN AND ENGLISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN
CHINA.**

A despatch from Shanghai on August 3, gives the details of the reported massacre of Christians at Ku Cheng. The ladies who are supposed to have been killed are believed to have been members of the Church of England, the Zenana, and the American Methodist Episcopal missions. According to the despatch they were butchered after suffering atrocious outrages. A number of other missionaries including women and children, were seriously wounded. The despatch declares that the Chinese Officials connived at, if they did not instigate, the attack on the Christians. The revival of outrages is attributed to the apathy of the American and British Ministers, despite the increasing anti-foreign heeling that is displayed. Foreigners in Shanghai regard the commission sent to enquire into the recent riots at Chengtu as a farce. May officials

who were charged with complicity in these riots are being promoted.

A cable message received at the State Department, Washington, on Saturday from Mr. Jernigan, the United States consul-general at Shanghai, reports a massacre of Christians at Ku Cheng, China. No Americans were killed, but one was seriously wounded. The name of the place where the massacre occurred was not plain in the despatch, but it is understood to be Ku Cheng, where according to a United Press cable message from Shanghai received that evening, a frightful massacre of Christians has occurred.

The despatch gave the name of a young lady who was seriously wounded as Miss Harlow [i.e. Hartford], and stated that five English ladies were killed.

On Sunday the State Department received the following cablegram from Consul Jernigan at Shanghai in reference to the reported massacre near Ku Cheong: "American safe; none hurt. Ten British killed."

THE KILLED AND SAVED

Sunday the "Telegraph" published a despatch from Shanghai stating that the massacre at Ku Cheng occurred on July 31. The officials suppressed the news for three days. The names of the killed are:—Miss Elsie Marshall, Miss Annie Gordon, Miss Bessie Newcombe and Miss Flora Stewart, all of the English Zenana Mission; Miss Nellie Saunders, Miss Topsy Stewart [i.e. Topsy Saunders], The Rev. Dr. Stewart and Mrs. Stewart, of the Church Missionary Society. Five of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart's children were killed and two survive. One had a knee broken and the other, a baby, lost an eye. The following were saved;—Miss Hartwell [i.e. Hartford] of the American Mission; Miss Codrington, of the English Zenana Mission, and the Rev. H. S. Phillips, of the English Church Missionary Society.

United States Consul Hixson, who is stationed at Foo Chow, with a party of volunteers, upon receipt of the news of the massacre, started on a steam launch for the scene and has returned bringing with him the wounded Americans. The experiences of the survivors were terrible. They say that death was the least part of the sufferings of the butchered women. The indignation here is intense. Nevertheless the man warships in the harbor are idle. A mass meeting was held on Monday to protest against the lack of energy on the part of the authorities and to urge that reparation be made and that the guilty persons be punished. The Mandarins endeavor to blame certain secret societies for the outrage. Europeans, however, regard this as nonsense. The officials are renewing their old tactics of stopping telegrams.

The reports of the outrage are rather mixed. The latest news says it is now known that ten persons were killed, including Miss Lena Stewart [i.e. Yellop] and Dr. Stewart's whole family except two. The American missionaries, Miss Hartford and Dr Gregory, escaped.

Church Missionary Gleaner, October 1895, p 151

Rev. H S Phillips to Eugene Stock 7 August 1895,

You will have long ago heard of the terrible, from some points of view, but yet blessedly glorious exodus of so many saints of God. This is the fourth riot I have come out of untouched almost: for me a terribly solemn thought. I need not repeat the story here, as I understand it has been very fully telegraphed home.

First, as to the survivors, Miss Codrington is very seriously wounded, but likely to recover; her quiet, clam trust does not a little for her physically. Mildred Stewart is very seriously wounded; she is, indeed, a little saint, and all who have watched her have been taught of God. Her first words when she heard dear Herbert was gone were just, 'Won't father and mother be glad to see him?' Dear child, after keeping up marvelously, her nerves seem now to have given out, and she is in a various precarious condition. [Stock adds Since Better] (Post-traumatic shock syndrome). Kathleen, a dear, brave little soldier of Jesus Christ, is much more slightly wounded, and has been such a help; in fact, I don't know what we would have done without her.

Evan is only slightly hurt, but much frightened, poor little fellow.

Baby still lies in a very dangerous condition. [Since dead], It was a great mercy that Dr. Gregory of the American Episcopal Methodist Mission, was in Kucheng, and worked nobly, and we as a Mission can never forget our debt to him.

I reached Hwa-sang about ten days previously, just arriving as a series of Keswick meeting were

commencing. A very happy, holy time we had. I send you a programme originally drawn up by Miss Hankin. In the morning we had a twenty minute prayer meeting, and in the afternoon a Bible reading daily. Everyone felt we were right in the King's own presence, and He was speaking to us all. Dear Mr. Stewart seemed so full; I was so specially struck with his quiet, calm life in God.

Our dear brother was indeed spiritually a strong man, as firm as iron, as gentle and loving as a little child; seldom have I spent happier days than those spent in loving communion with him and that mission mother, dear Mrs. Stewart. The text we chose for the coffin, that held what remains we got back from the fire, just described their lives, 'Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they are not divided.'

Never in the Fuh-kien Mission have we had missionaries more holy, able and true. I have never heard a Native speak in any but terms of the deepest love of dear Mrs. Stewart. Mr. Stewart was, indeed, an elder brother to me, and was as much interested in our upper city work as in his own.

A few days before he went home he said to me, "I do thank God for our life here; so many of us now, and yet never the slightest approach to friction" and this not because it could not be; in these sisters I see traits and habits that would naturally annoy and furnish cause for friction, but they are met with the grace that comes through painstaking prayer; all have their niche, each is indispensable there, with all their differences of character.

There was no such thing as despotism in Ku-cheng, love oiled everything; the sisters followed dear Mr. Stewart because they believed in him from the bottom of their souls. Oh, for more such missionaries, men who can lead because their life is a pattern. He was the most humble man I ever met.

For Miss H. Newcombe's coffin we chose, 'The Master hath come and calleth for thee.' She was so full of the Second Coming. God had wonderfully given her the gift of uniting and drawing together people. Her bright, cheery life kept everyone bright. For Miss Nellie Saunders we chose, 'Not counting their lives dear unto them.' She died trying to save the Stewart children, She struck one as a peculiarly unselfish soul; her one thought was others. She was burnt in the house. For Lena, the faithful nurse, who died covering the baby from the brutal blows, we chose, 'Faithful unto death.'

Miss Stewart was evidently more used in helping her sisters than in direct Chinese work; I knew her less than the others but believe she was deeply taught of God.

Miss Topsy Saunders' bright, whole-hearted life of self-sacrifice suggested 'Jesus Only' as the most suitable words. Wonderful the way God kept these two sisters in suspense about their work. May their death open some district where CMS workers may go to; those who believe God calls them to be Chinese to the Chinese. I don't want to touch on controverted matter, but if the CMS wants such labourers as many of our blessed CEZMS ladies, there must be the same liberty of the Spirit allowed in the work.

Miss T. Saunders' beloved friend (they were inseparable), Miss Elsie Marshall, was indeed a sunbeam. My wife used to say when she nursed her so lovingly at Sharp Peak last year, that her smile in the morning helped her for the day. The self-denying life of these two sisters, mostly at Si-chi-du [Sek-chek-Du], was a picture for the whole Mission. 'She asked life, and Thou hast given it for ever and ever' was her text.

Miss Gordon, you remember, was from the Colonies. We chose for her text, 'Where I am, there shall my servant be.' She worked so bravely alone in Ping-nang; faithful, I am told, was strikingly the key-note of her life.

So they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. The first words almost Miss Codrington said to me were, 'Won't Minnie give them a welcome?' (Minnie was my own dear wife). A woman, who could hardly be called an inquirer, came beside Miss Codrington's chair and said, 'Sister, don't think your work is all spoilt; the Ku-cheng women are weeping, they are so touched, now many will believe,' or to that effect. At least the words can never be said again, 'We natives may be killed or beaten, but you foreigners are safe'; and only a few days before, some had said how sorry they were. Phil, I,20 might be said, shall indeed be proved.

It was most touching to see the sympathy of the Christians as we passed along the road, and we realised that but for the grace of God they too might be poor, dark Vegetarians, we were convinced that what poor Ku-cheng wants is not Gatling guns, but the power of the crucified and *living* Christ; and I do earnestly beg, and I am sure those who are gone would fervently join in the plea, that their places may be

filled and others occupied without delay by the two societies.

On Wednesday evening, the day before, we had a happy Bible-reading on the Transfiguration. How little we knew the immediate glory was so near for some! In the evening we separated, speaking of a picnic to be held the next day in memory of Herbert's birthday.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

**[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT]
THE MASSACRE OF A BRITISH MISSION
FULL DETAILS
HOW THE VICTIMS DIED.
A TERRIBLY PATHETIC STORY
LADIES TRY TO BUY THEIR LIVES
FEARFUL BARBARITIES
OTHER OUTBREAKS FEARED**

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST

Further details of the atrocities committed upon the British missionaries at Ku-Cheng have been received from Shanghai.

It appears that the missionaries were taken completely by surprise, having received no warning that a fanatic outbreak was immediately imminent.

The mission station was suddenly attacked by a band of 50 armed men, members of a powerful secret society which the Chinese authorities feared to suppress; and it is believed that the attack was part of a general insurrectionary plot.

The Rev. Mr. Phillips, Church of England missionary, succeeded in escaping when the attack was first made. He witnessed the slaughter which followed, but was utterly powerless to interfere. He made fruitless efforts to secure assistance, and, although there were 1000 Chinese soldiers close at hand, no attempt was made by the Chinese authorities to stop the murdering and torturing of the missionaries. The burning of the mission station, in which the Rev. R. W. Stewart, his wife and one of the children were roasted alive, occupied some hours.

Some of the lady missionaries were horribly tortured before they were murdered, and the scene of carnage at the mission station was horrible.

Miss Harriet and Miss Elizabeth Saunders, two ladies of the Zenana Society Mission, who were from Melbourne, were literally hacked to pieces with spears and swords while trying to escape.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

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

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST

The lady missionaries in the Ku-Cheng station, when it was captured by the gang of 50 desperadoes detailed for the purpose, hoped at first that 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 victim to the ruthless cruelty of the murderers 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.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

**THE REV. MR. STEWART.
HIS LAST LETTERS**

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST

The Rev. R. W. Stewart, who burned alive by the murderers, 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 30 native teaches and a membership of Chinese converts of 2000.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

**WORK OF MISSES SAUNDERS AND GORDON PRAISED.
UNAVAILINGLY ADVISED TO RETURN TO THE COAST.**

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 most 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 safety, all pleaded most earnestly that he would allow them to stay. “They had trust in God, and would remain on duty.”

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

A LONG PLOTTED MASSACRE

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST

Later details of the massacre show that the Misses Saunders and Moss 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 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.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

PUNISHMENT PROMISED BY CHINA

LONDON, 6TH AUGUST

Reports from Hankow, a great inland city on the Yang-tse-kiang, 600 miles from its mouth, state that the western provinces of China are in a highly disturbed and dangerous state, popular hostility against missionaries and all foreigners being very strong.

The hospitals and chapels which the missionaries erected in the western provinces are everywhere being destroyed, and all foreign residents are fleeing eastward to save their lives.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

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Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

CONSULAR ACTION AT SHANGHAI APPEAL TO THE POWERS FOR REPARATION

LONDON, 5TH AUGUST

The Ku-Cheng massacre has roused the strongest and deepest feelings among the foreign residents at Shanghai, who have held an indignation meeting and denounced in the strongest terms the conduct of the Chinese authorities in failing to protect or conniving in the attack on the missionaries. Resolutions were passed calling upon all the foreign consuls at Shanghai to appeal to the European powers to obtain full and complete reparation for the outrages.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

INTERVIEW WITH MRS. SAUNDERS

At a late hour last night Mrs. Saunders, the mother of the two young ladies of that name who have fallen victims to the enraged fanatics, was with all possible tact and sympathy made acquainted with the additional particulars regarding the massacre contained in the above cable messages. Mrs. Saunders was found in her sitting room at "The Willows," Normanby-road, Kew, deeply engrossed in the perusal of the last batch of letters received from her daughters, who at the time of writing, early last month, were in good health and joyful and the excellent progress of the mission work. Her first remark, after the news had been circumspectly conveyed to her, was a fervid thanksgiving that, judging from the story narrated in the messages, the attack was so sudden and the end so swift that her daughters, she might reasonably hope, had died without suffering outrages that would be worse than death, as had been suggested in some of the messages previously published. Mrs. Saunders has a fervid love of mission work herself, and this religious fervor softens the terrible blow that has fallen upon her. "What, she asked in a firm voice, "have I to regret what God has seen fit to do? They went to death and they went to glory, and all I should say—all I desire to say—is Hallelujah. I know that this is the act of God—God who can see the end. He knows the benefits to follow this martyrdom. Believe me the grand work will go on; ten missionaries will arise for every one now gone, and the Christianising of this people will be expedited."

When the young women left Melbourne for the field of their mission work on 10th July 1893, they did not apprehend any such violent attack, "but," added Mrs. Saunders, "even if they had they would have gone just the same. Yes, and if I had two more daughters they should go too."

They reached China in December 1893, and made rapid progress in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language. The mission station at Ku-Cheng was the center of operations and curiously enough the only other active outbreak of fanaticism, which occurred 16 years ago, led to the printing of the Bible in the Chinese language, but in English characters. By this means the ignorant Chinese, who did not understand their own written language, were taught to read it by phonetics. The attack on that occasion was against the Rev. Mr. Scott. The lower orders of Chinese resenting the attempted introduction of Christianity, burned certain herbs, which generated poisonous vapors round the minister's house. He managed to escape, but so badly shattered in health that he was forced to leave the country for a term of years. During that respite from actual missionary work he Anglicized the Bible as stated. Mrs. Saunders narrated many little incidents of their life and work, culled from the letters of her daughters, the latest of which was dated July.

"I cannot understand," said Mrs. Saunders, "how the party were at Ku-Cheng at all at this time of the year. The climate is so bad during July and August of each year that they all leave Ku-Cheong, and repair

to their mountain home at Wah Sang [*Huashan*], about 10 miles off. At the date of this letter they were at the latter place, and consequently I am puzzled to know how the outrage could have occurred at Ku-Cheong. You think it is singular that the Chinese troops did not go to the assistance of the party. Let me tell you in the words of my daughter:—

The Chinese soldiers have nothing to fight with. They have no guns, no swords, and very little clothes. Some time ago, when one of the mandarins desired to send his troops on a punitive expedition, he tried to borrow a gun or a cannon from Mr. Scott!”

There is one happy feature in the gruesome story—the apparent escape of an English missionary, Miss Lucy Codrington. This young lady was with the others when Miss Saunders wrote on the 3rd July, and, according to the cables, is not numbered among the massacred. Reviewing the situation Mrs. Saunders said- “I have had so many explicit and comprehensive letters from my daughters that I almost know the place and people as well as if I were there. Be sure the war is indirectly responsible for this tragedy. The Siah Chai- (Vegetarians) have long been waiting for an opportunity to break out, and now, recognizing the utter weakness of the authorities—they are so absolutely ignorant, it is marvellous they did recognize it—they have struck their blow. The people amongst whom my daughters worked were utterly prostrated by fear at the thought of the Siah Chai, and on one occasion some of the native Christians ran into Jesus’ house, which they regarded as a haven from evil spirits and all else evil but the Vegetarians, and with bated breath whispered ‘Siah Chai.’ My daughter replied, ‘Well, what of them?’ But the messengers contented themselves with repetition of the name and a scared look, which eloquently bespoke their fear. As the mission port still refused to admit the awfulness of the name, they suggested immediate flight rather than the alternative of sudden and violent death. The better class of Chinese are admirable people to move amongst, and the Christianising efforts of the missionaries in that direction were attended with a large measure of success, but every convert gained from the lower orders was a trophy of incessant battle. When they were gained, however, they adored the Christians, and they were whole hearted in their trustfulness in God. On one occasion a whole street was burning. The fire raged around Jesus’ house. There was one convert of this class inside. She knew the great glory and beneficence of God, and she went on the roof and offered up a simple prayer. Jesus’ house was not burnt by so much as a spark. No wonder, the bereaved lady ejaculated, they place their trust in the power of Jesus Christ.”

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

THE INITIAL OUTBREAK THE MISSIONARIES DEFENCELESS

From the very slight information which is available it appears the Vegetarians of the south-eastern provinces of China, who are responsible for the horrible massacre under notice, are not merely mountain brigands analogous with the Italian condottieri. Besides living to plunder, they have a religious creed which dictates that eating of flesh is an abomination. Of course the Christians who are trying to propagate the Gospel in their country diet themselves when opportunity offers on good beef and mutton, and because they do so the Vegetarians have a more than ordinary distrust and dislike of their teachings. It will be observed that in the placard inciting the population to violence, the text of which we published yesterday, the sect alludes to the missionaries as ‘bestial ones,’ whom ‘we hate with the bitterest hatred.’ The same spirit is prevalent among them as is said to have inflamed the native population of Hindostan at the time of the Indian mutiny, when it was a paramount grievance that the British had greased their cartridges with the fat of one of their sacred animals.

A prelude to this murderous outbreak occurred on Whit Monday, or about that time, when a rising took place in the great western province of Sichuan. No loss of life occurred, but several mission houses were destroyed. The *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, a well informed organ of the missions, published in London, refers to this in its July issue, and draws special attention to the statement that the Viceroy of China had encouraged the outbreak, or at least had not checked it. Correspondence which is appended hereto describes the details of that rising, as far as it extended to the Fuh Kien mission. No one can fail to

be impressed on perusing it with the extreme position of peril in which the unfortunate missionaries who have since been murdered were placed. They carried no arms, on the principle that their vocation was a mission of peace. In a hostile country they had to rely on the mere personal aegis of the local mandarin, a corrupt old villain, who had peculated the funds given to him to maintain order, and was consequently without any force to support his authority. When special levies of soldiers were made from the citizens, they were armed with worse than useless implements, on which the missionaries felt they could not rely. Surely it was tempting Providence to stay in such a neighborhood, and the Cromwellian maxim, "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry," would have been a far better principle to have adopted than the course followed. To return to the progress of events, however.

Under date 27th March, the Rev. Mr. Stewart wrote:—

Two nights ago I was writing very late, proposing to start on a long itineration next morning. I had just finished my quarter's accounts for Hong Kong and my mail, about 4 a. m., when I was startled by calls of my name outside the house. Our native clergyman and several leading Christians had made their way across the river to bring me news that on information received the mandarin had suddenly ordered all the gates of the city to be walled that night to resist a rising among the Vegetarians. We had besides ourselves about 100 women and children in our compound. We talked and prayed and planned till daylight, when we woke everybody up, and first turned our attention to the schools. It was impossible to send the women and girls home. The rain had begun to fall in torrents, and no chairs could be got for them. With their small feet the women could not walk. So the only thing was to send them into the city. We first sounded the neighboring village people as to whether they would house them, but they were too frightened and thought only of protecting themselves. By daylight, every gateway had been blocked up. The only ingress was by a ladder belonging to our chapel on the wall. They started off—a wonderful procession of women and children, nearly 100—and we watched them making their way slowly by the little ferry boat over the water, and then up the ladder. It must have taken quite an hour—that short journey of 150 yards. This done the next thing, 'what were our Zenana Mission Society ladies and ourselves to do? We first thought of our mountain home at Hua Sang [*Huashan*], some 10 or 12 miles away, but the rain came down so hard, and the chairs, being locked up inside the city, could not be obtained for love or money, so this was clearly impossible. The poor little children could never do it on foot in such weather and on such mountain paths. We did not much like shutting ourselves up in the city, but there was nothing else for it. The mobs that were collecting might be down upon us at any moment. So we packed up a few things and followed the schools into the city. They are lodged in a large chapel—rather a crowd; and we are in one of the American mission houses with four of our ladies. Three more from the country will come in tomorrow morning, I hope. The mandarin visited me this morning, but I could not find out on what information he was acting. The story is that late on Wednesday evening an old man, a stranger, presented himself at the Yamen with a letter, which he said must be at once taken to the mandarin, or he would press in and deliver it himself. It was done. The stranger went his way, and the gates were immediately ordered to be built up. The officials have promised the citizens that if they will themselves guard the city for five days soldiers will then have arrived from Foo Chow. They are doing this zealously. The citizens in bodies of 30 or 40 are stationed at short intervals around the wall day and night. They display their arms proudly in a row on the wall. The best things they have are sticks, for their three pronged forks and swords are of so ancient a pattern and have been used for so many other purposes during past ages, that they will do but little harm to the adversary. Yesterday was wet and cold. However, the sentry at our part of the wall got over that difficulty by fixing his coat on a stick at the place where he was supposed to stand, while he himself sat in a warmer spot out of the wind. Oh such weapons. One man we observed washing sword in a pool, not to cleanse it from blood, but mud and rust. The Mandarin in charge of the city came to use in state today, preceded by a magnificent body guard of eight soldiers, or at least men of the opium smoking type with soldier's coats, wherever they get them, but they had stockingless feet, and only had a military cap. They stopped to have a good look at us, especially Mildred and Kathleen, and then slouched. The procession was

dominated by a man with a bamboo wand, such as schoolmasters use for their naughty scholars, only rather longer, whether to smack the boys who came too close to the great man, or to urge on the braves to the conflict, we did not know. The Mandarin begged to know if I had not even one gun to lend him to defend the city. "No," I said, "not one. We, the missionaries, don't have such things." "And no cannon?" he asked again. Fancy asking a man if he has a cannon about him? One thing gained is the officials see the difference between the Vegetarian and the Christian. This very official has been abusing our converts in our last persecution, saying that Vegetarians were better than they. Today he exclaimed that "truly there is a wide difference between us." I hope he won't forget it when the trouble is over.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

COLLAPSE OF THE WHIT MONDAY RISING

Another letter from the Rev. R. W. Stewart, date 10th April, contains the following passage:—

The Vegetarian rebels mustered strong at Sek-chek-Du and Sek-baik-Du, and were marching on the city, when the Mandarin had the gateway of the city wall blocked at night with timber and stone. Mr. Sing Mi with others came across the river to me at 4 o'clock in the morning and at daylight all the women and children were got to the other side of the river and over the wall.

For three days we were shut in, and then the Vegetarians for some reason separated to their homes. The ladies from Ku-Cheng were afterwards sent down to Foo Chow for safety.

The intrepidity of the missionaries seems to have led them again to take the field very shortly after this without taking the precaution of obtaining military assistance from Foo Chow, such as the Mandarin had alluded to when Ku Cheng was first invested. An interval elapsed, and then, from the cablegrams, there can be no doubt a surprise was effected, which has resulted in the savage annihilation of the whole party.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

THE FUH KIEN MISSIONS REPORT BY THE LATE REV. R. STEWART

SYDNEY, TUESDAY

There are two Church of England Missionary Societies at work in the Fuh Kien province in which the outrages have occurred. These two societies are the Church of England Missionary Society [*Church Missionary Society*] and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The latter is an organization controlled solely by women, and its missionaries also are women. An understanding has been come to by which the Church Missionary Society is not to send lady missionaries into the fields selected by the Zenana Society. In many parts of the world, therefore, where there are workers of both sexes, the men are supported by the one organization, and the women by the other. This is the condition which exists in the Fuh Kien province, and hence nearly all the ladies whose deaths have been reported are members of the Zenana society.

The Rev. R. W. Stewart, who with his wife and one child were brunt to death, recently wrote a report informing the committee and friends of the Zenana society as to the class of work in which its representatives in his province were engaged. By Wednesday's mail from China, Mr. C. E. Walsh, secretary of the New South Wales Missionary Society [Church Missionary Association of New South Wales] received a copy of this report from Mr. Stewart. In the course of the communication Mr. Stewart says:—

“Three days west from Foo Chow is our station of Ku Cheng, to which is joined the district of Ping Nang, the two together covering an area equal to about half New South Wales and as populous as the rest of China. In this region you now have two fixed stations, Ku Cheng and Sa Jong. A long day's journey separates them, and there are two other stations, which for the greater part of the year have ladies in them. Ku Cheong.—Here Miss Nisbet is in charge of the foundling institution, which takes in poor little girl babies cast off by their parents. The numbers have increased until we have had to give notice that no more could be taken in. Miss Nisbet gives nearly all her time to mothering these little things. There are in all about 30, and some of them are out at nurse. There is also a large district allotted to Miss Nisbet, covering some 200 square miles, with little bands of Christians dotted here and there through it. The women sorely need looking up and teaching, but they can get very little. Another institution here is the girls' boarding school, in the charge of Miss Weller. This, too, has so increased that although the school was enlarged considerably last year it is now again quite full, this too in spite of the new rule by which they must each pay a fixed portion of the expenses and must all of them unbind their feet. There are now close on 60 of these girls, and if they fulfill the hopes of their teachers they will do much towards elevating and

Christianising the country. Three other ladies who regard Ku Cheng as their head quarters are Miss Gordon, Miss Marshall and Miss Stewart. The last named is still working for her examinations and when she has got through them her work will be in the country, in the western section of the district. Miss Gordon's station, where she spends the great part of the year, is the Dong Gio mission, the chief center for the Ping-nang district. This great district has no other lady worker. I need not say that though she works ever so hard she can but barely touch what is waiting to be done. At that one station of Dong Gio there is a usual attendance of 89 or 90 women at Sunday service. We have to thank the Rev. H. B. Macartney for this valuable missionary. I only hope he will be able to send more like her. Miss Marshall's work is also in the country, returning only now and then to Ku Cheng as headquarters. Her section lies north of Ku Cheng and covers more than 300 square miles. She has several centres in this region, where she stops for a few weeks or two months at a time, collecting women together and visiting from house to house. The plan is for the sisters to travel in twos, accompanied by a Bible woman and a Christian servant, and to put up at chapels where is stationed a married catechist. Your other fixed station in this Ku Cheng district is Sa Long where Miss Codrington and Miss Tolley are located. The latter are still learning the language, but at the same time are doing many useful little bit of work. I took the bishop here on his recent confirmation tours, and he seemed specially impressed by the good work he saw doing. Ten miles still further west, across the mountains, lies the town of Sang Iong, and here Miss Maud Newcombe and Miss Burroughs have working for a year. Here a wonderful success has followed. The work is really done in their little room upstairs, where the two sisters meet so many times daily. There only remains to speak of the far north-west, where Nang Ua is the mission center for your ladies. It is four days' journey over the high mountains from Ku Cheng. I visited them at the beginning of the year, and found there Miss Johnson, Miss B. Newcombe, Miss Rodd, Miss Bryer and Miss Fleming. They have also among them Miss Sinclair, who has come from England independently, and is making herself useful in various ways. These devoted ladies are living as nearly like native women as possible. No knives or forks are seen in the house, I am told. There is a knife kept for any unhappy guest who cannot manage with the chopsticks, and though the locality is far from a healthy one, and our C.M.S. missionaries have one after another felt the effects of malaria, your ladies have wonderfully maintained their strength."

Mr. Stewart then proceeds to give a report of the work of the Zenana missionaries in other places around Foo Chow. The report is an official one of members of the Zenana society only, and that probably is why it does not mention the Misses Saunders.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

**A MOCK PROCLAMATION
A LETTER FROM MRS. STEWART**

SYDNEY, TUESDAY

In a letter lately received in Sydney from the Rev. Mr. Stewart, that gentleman states that there was much unrest in his part of the country at the time of writing in consequence of the war, and this feeling was greatly intensified by the posting of a letter purporting to come from the emperor on the walls of Ku Cheng city. Mr. Stewart translated it as follows:—

When I came to the throne I determined upon a progressive policy, but I have had the reins of Government only a few years in my own 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 all through my other sins. I chose them badly. I have failed now. I purpose leaving Peking and seeking quiet in a western city. Do you, my people, now select some other man to take my place, who will do better than I have done.

Commenting on this, Mr. Stewart observes:—I can hardly believe this to be genuine, but the effect on the populace will be to set their minds on a change of dynasty, and doubtless this was the intention of the author of the letter.

There is at present in Sydney a Miss Amy Oxley, who has been appointed by the Missionary Society in England to go to Ku Cheng with the Stewarts. On Wednesday a letter reached her from Mrs. Stewart, bearing date of 8th July, written from Hua Sang Hill Station, to which the missionaries in the Ku Cheng province repair when their health becomes affected by malaria.

You have heard, Mrs. Stewart says, "of all the troubles we have had from the Vegetarians this spring, and our hasty journey to Foo Chow. We are now more or less settled in our summer quarters in the hills above Ku Cheong in a little village, Hua Sing. The need for workers to evangelise the untouched parts of the province is greatest in inland parts. There are whole countries where neither man or woman has ever yet preached Christ to the people lying waiting, and we signs that God's time for giving them the gospel is coming.

Since the war between China and Japan ceased we have been enjoying more peaceful times. The Vegetarians have been obliged to keep fairly quiet, as their masters have now time to attend to them. However they are by no means quelled, and occasionally we hear of some trouble here and there, but it is really more against the heathen who do not belong to their band than against the Christians. Already we see tokens of the good that God is going to bring out of all this evil. There has been so much prayer among the native Christians that it has taught us one lesson at least. That is to rely on prayer. In many places real interest is springing up. Men and women both are anxious to hear about the Saviour. One of our dear sisters, Elsie Marshall, is having such a good time in her district that she cannot tear herself away to have much needed rest this hot weather. Just think she has all to herself a region covering over 300 square miles densely populated with people who have hardly had the smallest chance of hearing of the Saviour.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 7 August 1895*

REV. H. S PHILLIPS

The Rev. H. S. Phillips, who is reported to have escaped the massacre, has been attached to the Fuh Kien mission since 1887. Up the end of 1894 he was located with his wife at Kien Yang, some distance from Ku Cheng.

STEWART MENTIONS THE SAUNDERS SISTERS

In his last letter to the Rev. H. Barnett, dated Ku Cheng, 18th June, the Rev. Mr. Stewart thus refers to the two Misses Saunders:

Your two ladies have their hands full of work. Miss Nellie has daily two classes of charming little boys, aged from 12 to 16, picked out from the whole district as giving special promise of future usefulness. They will be teachers of five or ten years hence. She also has a fine lot of women on Sunday mornings and a day school on Saturday afternoons, and also a village visiting every week. Miss Topsy is chiefly located a place called Sek-shek-Du, about 12 miles north of this, with a Miss Marshall. Here they are in charge of the women's work, covering an immense area of about 300 square miles. She has women's classes, girls' and boys' schools, a little dispensary and any amount of visiting; people coming to her and she going to them. They are both very happy, and we only wish and hope you may send us some more like them."

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 7 August 1895 SECOND EDITION*

THE MASSACRE IN CHINA FURTHER VICTIMS AUSTRALIAN LADIES INCLUDED REVOLTING CRUELTIES TO WOMEN

LONDON, Aug 5

Further particulars received concerning the massacre of Christian missionaries at Kucheng in China show that the originators of the atrocities were members of a newly formed vegetarian society, and comprised

the rabble of the town. They subjected the female victims to revolting cruelties.

All the victims were connected with the Church Missionary Society. Beside Dr. Steward, his wife and child, there were Miss Elsie Marshall, the Misses Gordon (2), Miss Cissie Newcombe, Miss Flora Stewart, Miss Harriet Eleanor Saunders, and Miss Elizabeth Maud Saunders. The last two named ladies left Melbourne in 1893.

The harrowing story of the atrocities perpetrated by Chinese miscreants on the missionaries at Ku-cheng should have other results besides that of producing a natural thrill of horror wherever it may be told. We gather from the cable messages that a new secret society, composed as is usual in such cases of the rabble of the district, attacked the station of the Church Missionary Society at that place and cruelly butchered the medical missionary in charge, with his wife and child and seven lady auxiliaries. Two of those belonged to Melbourne, which city they only left two years ago to take up missionary work in China. Dr STEWART, who was killed, is known in Sydney, where he addressed meetings a few years back in aid of his society's work. He with his wife and child appear to have been burned in his house, the ladies of the Mission were subjected to terrible atrocities, while several children were maltreated besides the instances involving loss of life. It is further reported that the Mandarins incited the populace to this rising against the missionaries. By our China files, extracts from which we give elsewhere, it seems that Ku-cheng is not the only place where this lawlessness has broken out, though the occurrences there possess a melancholy local interest from the fact that some of the victims are, or were until a year or two ago, Australian citizens. The whole of the province of Szechuen is in a state of irritation, and the French, Canadian, English, and American missions at Chingtu, Kiating, Yochow, Pingshan, Pauming-fu, and Sinking have been destroyed, while those at Kuifu, Luchow and Chunking were threatened. The province is situated in the west of China. Ku-cheng is a small town ninety miles from Foochow in the province of Fuchien. Missionary enterprise has reached both, and earnest men and delicate women have entered on the work. At all times the European in certain parts of China carries his life in his hands, but recent events have made residence there even more perilous than before for the foreigner.

It is apparent from the information before us that the internal administration of the Chinese Empire has been almost completely demoralized by the reverses sustained in the war with Japan. Whatever control existed has been relaxed, and the local authorities seem to be either powerless to preserve order, or else only too willing to encourage the populace to excesses. The general dislike to the 'foreign devil' has been intensified by the result of the war. We may believe that the inhabitants of an outlying province like Szechuen know little beyond the fact that their soldiers have been defeated by tactics of European warfare, but that consideration is sufficient to stir up a latent hatred against the foreigner. Nor is it at all unlikely that the endeavours made to convert the Chinese and to influence the women towards Christianity have been behindhand in exciting this active antagonistic feeling. By the nature of the work the missionaries are carrying on, they must of necessity come into conflict with the cherished prejudices and habits of life of a remarkably conservative people. The least Christian of these habits are sanctified for them by traditional familiarity and almost sacred injunction, and those who seek to oppose prejudices and habits like these do so with their lives in their hands. That men and women are found to take up this dangerous work at the call of duty speaks nobly for their self-sacrifice and zeal; but in the face of such events as we had to chronicle yesterday it is time to consider whether, under all the circumstances of the case, missionaries are not taking upon themselves a needless temporary risk. The danger is exceptional in China just now owing to the weakening of the central control. The popular mind is more than ever excited against the foreigner. The continual spectacle of men and women going about among Chinese people in Chinese costume, and declaiming against the customs of these people, must have an irritating effect. So far as the male missionary is concerned, he probably understands to the full the risk he runs. But the case of women is different. The man risks his life; but the women who leave our Australian cities to enter on this work hazard daily and hourly shock to every preconceived idea of life and its conditions, with the danger of nameless outrage and torture besides. The news from Ku-cheng shows that this is no idle fear, and the public mind which has been appalled by the news of the dreadful atrocities perpetrated there is entitled to the relief of knowing that white women will be no longer exposed to these horrors until the state of the country becomes more settled again.

In the meantime it is to be hoped that those on whom rests the responsibility of exacting satisfaction for these outrages, and guarantees for the safety of other Europeans in China, will not neglect the duty thus roughly thrust upon them. A black list of such occurrences could be made out, and a strong indictment against the internal administration of China by the Mandarins, even in times of peace. The worst feature of the case is the strong impression evidently prevalent in China and out of it that these Mandarins actually encourage and connive at these outbreaks of orgies of rapine and massacre. The English papers published in China seem to have no doubt that in the case of these outrages in the province of Szchuen the Viceroy, LIU PINCHANG, is directly responsible. The 'idiot's life' one paper describes him as giving in explanation of the occurrences in his province, is no adequate explanation, and a demand is made that this official shall be brought to trial before a mixed tribunal of Chinese, French, English, and American officials. Evidently there is no confidence felt in the administration of Chinese justice in such a matter, and this no doubt is the meaning of this morning's cable relating to the state of feeling in Shanghai. France has already, through her Minister at Peking, demanded that she shall be represented at the inquiry into the Viceroy's conduct, and assembled her squadron at Woosung to enforce the request. The affair of Foochow in 1881 is sufficient to remind China that France is not to be treated with incivility when she makes a demand like that. Some of the Hongkong papers seem to have formed an impression that European interests in China have more to gain from a dread of France than from any respect on the part of the Mandarins either for England or America. Eleven years ago Admiral COURBET sailed up the Min River and sank the Chinese, bombarded Foochow and Tamsui, destroyed forts and batteries wherever he went, and in various ways taught the Chinese authorities that the flag of his country at all events was not to be treated with disrespect, whether it waved over soldiers or missionaries. The Chinese have never forgotten that lesson, and it remains to be seen if England will have to take the same desperate measures to ensure the lives of those of her people who go into China with civilization in one hand Christianity in the other.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
REVOLTING CRUELITIES
LADIES HACKED TO DEATH
CHILDREN IMPALED ON SPEARS
INDIFFERENCE OF THE CHINESE SOLDIERY
[BY CABLE]
(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)**

LONDON, Aug 5

Further particulars received concerning the massacre of Christian missionaries at Kucheng in China show that the originators of the atrocities were members of a newly formed vegetarian society, and comprised the rabble of the town. They subjected the female victims to revolting cruelties.

All the victims were connected with the Church Missionary Society. Beside Dr. Steward, his wife and child, there were Miss Elsie Marshall, the Misses Gordon (2), Miss Cissie Newcombe, Miss Flora Stewart, Miss Harriet Eleanor Saunders, and Miss Elizabeth Maud Saunders.

The last two named ladies left Melbourne in 1893.

The European residents at Shanghai are appealing to the Powers for protection from outrages, and protest against the inadequate punishment meted out by the Chinese authorities to persons concerned in outrages upon foreigners.

Aug 6

The ladies who were massacred at Ku-Cheng begged piteously for their lives, offering to surrender all

their valuables. The leader of the atrocities shouted 'Kill Nellie Saunders' whereupon the mob fell upon the lady missionaries and butchered them without mercy.

They burned the house of the Rev Dr Stewart.

Miss Cissie Newcombe, one of the victims, was speared to death, and her body, bleeding and hacked about, was thrown over a precipice.

Miss Elsie Marshall had her throat cut.

The Messes Gordon, who belonged to Australia, as well as Miss 'Topsy' Saunders, were speared in the head.

The four children of the Rev. Dr. Stewart were impaled on the spears of the murderers.

In addition to the missionaries who were put to death several other persons belonging to the mission were attacked by the mob, but they managed to make good their escape, although severely wounded.

It has transpired that there were 1000 Chinese soldiery at Ku-Cheng at the time of the murders, but no troops were sent to save the missionaries until the massacre was completed.

The Chinese Government has ordered the authorities to take immediate steps to punish the murders for the outrages.

Provenance: *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, London, September 1895, p 130.

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

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

**[BY TELEGRAPH]
(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS)**

MELBOURNE, Tuesday

The details of the massacres of the missionaries by the Chinese at Ku-Cheng have caused a deep feeling of sorrow throughout the whole community. The Rev. E. J. Barnett, secretary of the Church Missionary Association, has received many messages of condolence and sympathy. Mrs. Saunders, a resident of Kew, two of whose daughters were among the victims, is quite prostrated. In a hundred different ways she was made aware of the profound sympathy felt for her in her terrible bereavement. A memorial service will be held in St Paul's Cathedral on Friday evening, when the Bishop of Melbourne will deliver an address on the work of the missionaries who have been murdered. Other services of a similar character will follow.

BRISBANE, Tuesday

The Misses Gordon, who were among the victims of the massacre at Ku-Cheng, belonged to Ipswich, [Queensland] where their parents reside. {This message confuses the Saunders Sisters of Melbourne with Annie

Gordon, from Ipwich]/

AUCKLAND, Tuesday

In a letter written at the end of April, Dr Stewart, head of the mission at Ku-Cheng, in a postscript says, ‘ Since writing the above, (alluding to the menacing attitude of the sect known as vegetarians) the vegetarians mustered in forced, and looked so threatening that a mandarin suddenly ordered all the gateways of the city to be walled up at night, to resist an expected attack at daylight, and thus for three days were closely shut up. The danger passed over, and now that the peace with Japan is declared, we need expect, I think, no more interruption to our work.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

THE RECEIPT OF THE NEWS IN SYDNEY

When the first cable concerning this awful massacre came through to the *Herald* on Monday, some doubt seemed to be felt as to the full extent of the uprising, but in our second edition yesterday the names of the victims and the fuller details left no room for misapprehension. Yesterday in the city it was being talked of in every direction, and the utmost sympathy with the friends and relatives of the victims was everywhere expressed. A sense of horror took possession of the public mind at the diabolical crimes committed against this self-sacrificing band of unprotected missionaries in what has been thought to be a safe part of the Chinese Empire, situated on the seaboard, as the province of Fokien is, and containing as it does the ports of Amoy and Foochow, open to the commerce of all civilized countries.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

A CHINESE VIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF THE MASSACRES

Yesterday a representative of the *Herald* waited on Mr. Slin Johnson, who is connected with the Sydney Chinese newspaper, to ascertain his opinions regarding the massacre of Christian missionaries at Ku-Cheng. Mr. Johnson was quite ready to afford any information he had, and he thought that when the whole of the details were known his view of how the massacre was started would be found to be correct. The Vegetarian Society was, he said, merely a band of robbers, who were eager for plunder. If they attacked the Christians openly and robbed them, the mandarins would suppress them. The only way, then, that the robbers could accomplish their object would be to raise a riot, and hound down the Christians. This Mr. Johnson thinks is what has occurred. The vegetarians have entered the town in some force, have proclaimed themselves as opposed to the Christians, and have urged the lower classes to make common cause with them in looting the Christians’ houses. Then, as the riot has gathered strength, feeling has run high, and ultimately the disturbance has culminated in the terrible massacres reported. The business people, he thinks, would be sure not to join the riot, as when it got so far it might be difficult to stop at the Christians’ houses, but the spirit of robbery might lead on to the devastation of the wealthy portions of the town. Mr. Johnson therefore concludes that it is not likely that the wealthy men have countenanced the massacre. The idea of the mandarins supporting the murderers he altogether scorns. Not only would their sympathies be with the higher classes, but they knew that if they did not do their utmost to suppress such risings the Emperor would degrade them, or perhaps do worse. He remembered that there was a similar outbreak at Sha Min, near Ken Sow, some years ago, caused by ill-feeling against the French, engendered by the Franco-Chinese war, and in that case the Chinese Government had to pay a heavy indemnity to the French. There were also other instances of such uprisings in that vast empire.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

INTERVIEW WITH THE REV. R. BAVIN

The Rev. Rainsford Bavin, of the Centenary Hall, who occupies the position of secretary for New South

Wales of the China Inland Mission, and whose daughter, Miss Edna Bavin, recently returned on furlough from missionary work in that Empire, was interviewed last evening by a representative of the *Herald* in regard to the massacres in the province of Fu Kien. Mr. Bavin said that the township in which the outrages were committed was named Kucheng, situated about 90 miles from Foochow. Of the 18 provinces in China, only three were untouched by the China Inland Mission, for the reason that they were worked by other missions. These three exceptions were the provinces of Kuang-Tong, Fu Kien, and Formosa.

It was difficult to say what led to the revolt. The war was located in the north, and those in the south, where the outrages occurred, know scarcely anything about the war. It is not likely then the massacres were the outcome of the China-Japan war. The whole affair seemed to him to be in reality a rebellion against the Government. The Vegetarian Society, with which the perpetrators of the outrages were connected, was a secret organization, and had attracted to itself the rebel section of the province. There was evidently a very weak administration of Government in this particular center, and the rebels had been allowed to get the upper hand.

From communications received in Sydney from the Rev. W. Stewart, one of the victims, as recent as April last, it seemed that there had been a state of complete lawlessness in the district, and so serious did matters become that the lady missionaries and the children were sent to Foochow, 90 miles distant, for protection. Later, when matters had quietened down, they returned, and many of them had now been massacred. The mandarin or magistrate of the district had been powerless to act, and when he imprisoned three of the ringleaders he was compelled to accede to the demands of the mob for their release. Not only was he obliged to release the prisoners, but he had to suffer the humiliation of being whipped by proxy; he having handed over his secretary to the infuriated mob, which inflicted 300 lashes. Recently the walls of the city were repaired at very great expense in anticipation of the rebellion which has now started.

Mr. Bavin was somewhat afraid that this lawlessness was not confined to the province of Fuh-Kien, and he noticed that trouble was now reported at Hankow, in the province of Hupeh, 1000 miles distant, and that the dwelling belonging to the American Board of Missions had been destroyed. The China Inland Mission had also a station in Hankow, but whether the missionaries were safe he did not know. The province in which his daughter, Miss Edna Bavin, had been stationed for four years was that of Kiang-Si, which lay between the provinces of Fu-Kein and Hupeh, at both of which places outrages had been committed. Miss Bavin was stationed at the township Kwei-Ki, not more than 200 miles distant from the scene of the murders. The Rev. W. Stewart was in Sydney in 1893, accompanied by Mr. Eugene Stock, of London. The effect of their visit was to organize the Church of England Mission. Mrs. Stewart and her child, who have also been slain, were in England at the time of Mr. Stewart's visit to Sydney. The Misses Saunders were the daughters of a Melbourne widow lady, and were in Sydney just before their departure for China. Miss Gordon was also an Australian, but as far as he could gather none of the other victims was connected with Australian missions.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

THE OUTRAGES AS VIEWED IN CHINA

The European population vow vengeance on the perpetrators of these cowardly and barbarous atrocities. As recently as 28th June one writer says:— "It may sound somewhat brutal to advocate the employment of threats and force on every occasion when China wrongs Western subjects but the Chinese Government, being utterly unscrupulous and entirely barbarous, impervious to all other reasoning, must be taught by stripes if necessary that her scoundrelly officials can no longer conspire to burn out, rob, and ill-treat peaceful Europeans, living quietly in China. The lessons will, no doubt, have to be read to them very sharply before these outrages are abandoned, because, owing to the long continued immunity from retribution enjoyed, the mandarins have formed a belief that the Western Powers are afraid of China. To the everlasting shame of their Foreign Ministers, their policy during the past few years has given not only too much colour to that supposition, and even now the British and American Ministers have not, apparently, ventured to insist upon proper redress for the gross injuries suffered by the British and

American missionaries.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

TRIAL OF HIGH CHINESE OFFICIALS BY THE POWERS DEMANDED

Another European resident in Foochow, writing of these repeated onslaughts, says: - If the Foreign Governments do their duty, the chief officials of the province will be brought to formal trial before a mixed tribunal, as was the case with Phra Yot, the Siamese mandarin who was accused of treachery to a French party in the troubles on the Annam frontier a couple of years ago. Let these men be tried in the same way, before a tribunal in which representatives of China, Great Britain, France and the United States sit as Judges. If guilt cannot be brought home, well and good, but if it be shown that they instigated the riots, or, without having actually instigated them, took no steps to prevent them, or to afford protection to the foreigners, let sentence be passed upon the men adequate to their offence. If the Viceroys and other high officials of the Chinese Empire saw that by instigating or allowing outrages upon foreigners they rendered themselves liable to 10 or 20 years' penal servitude in a foreign gaol, say at Hongkong or Saigon, there would be no more riots like these at Ku-Cheng. There has been too much trifling in the past; the time for decided action has now arrived. It is no use punishing a few coolies, it is the leaders and instigators of these outrages that must be got at, but that will never be done as long as the punishment of the offenders is left entirely in the hands of the Chinese Government.

ANOTHER OUTBREAK MISSIONARIES FLEE FOR THEIR LIVES.

Further inland the situation is no less alarming. By the steamer Sikh, now in port here from Foochow, an account is to hand of similar riots near Chungking, situated in one of the inland provinces some three or four hundred miles from the scene of the latest massacre at Ku-Cheong. Writing on the 3rd of June from Chungking, a missionary says:— "we have every reason to believe that all China Missionary Society friends and houses are perfectly safe at Cheongtu, as yesterday I received a wire from Mr. Jackson saying, ' All Well.' Our fellow-workers of the Canadian Methodist, American Methodist Episcopal, China Inland and Roman Catholic missions have not fared so well. The hospital and dwelling houses of the first mission were burned down on the 28th ultimo, and on the following day those of the other missions shared a similar fate." On the 1st July the gatekeeper of Mr. Murray's house, which adjoins the China Inland Mission's premises, was warned to move because it was said rioters intended to commence with the latter place and then go on to the other missions. According to the latest news received on the 3rd instant through the Roman Catholics, the ladies and children of the other missions were on their way to Chungking by boat."

One of the escapees writes: - We escaped the riot by about two hours and a half in this way. We left the city at 4 o'clock p.m. on the 28th June. We could not have left the next day at all as it was the big Dragon feast, and at 4 o'clock of the 29th our compounds were burnt to the ground, that is the dwellings, schools, and chapel in one, and adjoining was the hospital. From our place they went to the China Inland Mission, carrying off every stick in the place. The compound where the ladies of our Wesleyan Methodist Mission lived was also rioted, the ladies going over the wall into a neighbour's. Next morning they began with the Methodist Episcopal mission, cleaning it out completely, even to the walls and the leaves on the trees. The new house belonging to our mission that Mr. Hartnull was living in was also looted and burned. Mrs. Hartnull escaping to the China Inland Mission after being driven with Wesleyan Methodist Mission ladies out of their house. The Catholics had five different stations, at one of which was a cathedral 270 ft long, or rather the whole building in which the cathedral was that length. All these different places are utterly wiped out. All the foreigners are at the yamen and one of the magistrates. Mrs. Stevenson and Mrs. Kilborn, with four children, crawled out on to the street through a hole in the big hospital gate that the mob was breaking in. As this so upset the rioters that it gave them a chance to escape. They tried several houses, as well as the fort near by, but were driven off each place, one of the soldiers kicking Mrs. Stevenson and driving them off with curses. Three women, with the children, wandered about the city wall till midnight, then went to the China Inland Mission till the early morning,

when the mob reached there. We are making all preparations for a hurried departure, and we have a good strong rope, which we will use to let ourselves down over the wall if they make any fuss in the night. The city is full of students who are just going into their examinations, and when they come out they may make a fuss, and it is well to be prepared. People going past our doors would say, “burn out the foreigners” and such like remarks, and still we thought nothing particular of it. You cannot calculate the harm to the mission work at present, to say nothing of the monetary loss. This will be a thing for the home offices to settle through Peking, which will take time. Meanwhile there will be nothing done here at Chengtu.”

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1895

THE ANTI-MISSIONARY AGITATION SPREADING

From the same source as the foregoing is the following. It is dated 26th June:— “On the top of the disorganization which the war has produced other troubles for the Peking Government have been prepared by greedy and self-seeking mandarins. In the great province of Szechuen a plot has been hatched, and successfully carried out, to efface the Christian missions there, and the English, French, Canadian, and American mission stations at Chengtu, Kiating, Yochow, Pengshan, Pauming-fu, and Sinking have been wrecked, while those in Suifu, Luchow, and Chungking are or were in jeopardy. Many of the missionaries are missing, but so far, though some are reported to have been ill used and imprisoned, no lives are known to have been sacrificed. The outrages seem to have been planned and carried out by the officials, and the design was so carefully concealed that up to the day on which they were perpetrated the missionaries were living in unsuspecting confidence, and never dreamed of the conspiracy that was hatching against them. Those missions not destroyed were promptly abandoned, and the missionaries fled down the Yangtze to safer quarters. Even at Hankow and Kuikiang, however, a strong anti-foreign feeling prevails, and at Yuling, near the latter place, a riot occurred recently, and no steps have been taken to punish the rioters or instigators of the demonstration. The other day, too, an attack was made on some Roman Catholic missionaries at Eaichow, in Anhwei, which has not yet been atoned for.”

Provenance: *The New Zealand Herald*, Wednesday, August 7, 1895.

KUCHENG MASSACRE A SCENE OF CARNAGE THE SISTERS SAUNDERS HACKED TO PIECES REVOLTING CRUELTY THE VICTIMS TAKEN BY SURPRISE PLOT AGAINST FOREIGNERS AN APPEAL TO THE EUROPEAN POWERS Press Association—Electric Telegraph—Copyright

SHANGHAI, August 5

The authors of the outrages in Kucheng are members of a newly formed vegetarian society, composed of the rabble of the city.

The women were subjected to the most revolting cruelty.

August 6.

At Kucheng there was a scene of great carnage.

The Misses Saunders, of Melbourne, in attempting to escape, were hacked to pieces., and a thousand Chinese soldiers, who were near at hand and witnessed the outrage, took no steps to prevent the outrage.

The burning of the mission houses occupied two hours.

Some of the women were horribly tortured before death ensued.

The United States mission near Hankow was destroyed, but fortunately the occupants escaped without

injury.

A meeting of foreign residents here has been held, and it was decided to request the various Consuls to appeal to the European Powers demanding reparation for the Kucheng outrage.

The Europeans in this city are appealing to the Powers for protection; and protests upon the inadequate punishment inflicted for outrages on foreigners.

LATER.

The victims of the Kucheng atrocity had no warning, and were taken entirely by surprise.

Their assailants were fifty members of a secret society, and it is believed this outbreak is part of a general plot against foreigners.

The Rev. Mr. Philips, Church missionary, escaped, but was forced to look on at the murder of his comrades, being powerless to interfere, and unable to secure assistance.

LATEST DETAILS HORRIBLE ATROCITIES THE VICTIMS PLEAD FOR THEIR LIVES NO MERCY SHOWN NELLIE SAUNDERS BURNED ALIVE OTHERS THROWN OVER A PRECIPICE MR. STEWART'S CHILDREN IMPALED.

Shanghai, August 6.

Further details of a horrible nature have been received from Kucheng.

The ladies begged for their lives, offering to surrender their property and jewels, but the leaders of the band ordered them to be killed.

Nellie Saunders was hacked about by the ruffians weapons, and thrown still alive into Mr. Stewart's blazing house.

Topsy Saunders and Miss Gordon were speared.

Misses Brain [?] and Newcombe were speared and thrown over a precipice.

Miss Marshall's throat was cut.

Four of Mr. Stewart's children were impaled and severely wounded but apparently not killed.

Although there were a thousand soldiers in Kucheng none were sent to the rescue until the massacre was completed and the murderers had escaped with plunder.

The Chinese Government has ordered the miscreants to be punished.

There were thirty native teachers and two thousand members at Kucheng station.

Reports from Hankow state that the western provinces are in a disturbed and dangerous condition.

Chapels and hospitals have been destroyed and foreigners are fleeing for their lives.

SYDNEY, August 6

The secretary of the Church Missionary Society received a letter from Miss Gordon, one of the ladies killed at Kucheng, about the same time as the cable came announcing the massacre. The lady began by quoting the psalm "In God have I put my trust; I will not be afraid what man can do unto me." She goes on to say, "A number of the people called Vegetarians banded together to defy the Mandarin. One day when he caught four and put them in prison, others surrounded his house and said that they would pull it down and kill him if he did not release their comrade, so he had to release them. Not only so but he had to send his secretary to be beaten by their own hands. This happened at Kucheng city, quite close. They have persecuted the 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 of us."

MELBOURNE, August 6.

Mrs Saunders states that her daughters should have been on their holidays at the time of their murder. They had intended returning home on furlough.

LETTER FROM THE LATE REV. R. STEWART.

From a letter in the last number of the New Zealand Church Gazette from the Rev. Mr. Stewart we give the following passages which throw much light on the dreadful outbreak which has just taken place :—

All this has been the bright side of the past year, but we have had some dark days too. Owing doubtless to the Government being full engaged in the war [*Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895*] a sect known as the Vegetarians, but hitherto without influence or power, has suddenly sprung into vigorous life in this part of the country.

They first came into prominence in August last, a month after the declaration of war, and at a village called A Deng Bang, where an usually large number of men were joining our Church They attacked the convertss, beating some, pillaging the shop of another, and finally cut down and carried off 100 dollars [*Chinese*] of rice crops belonging to a leading convert of the place.

I at once visited our chief Mandarin, who promised to take the matter up without delay; but on sounding out officers to investigate they were met by an armed mob, and there being no soldiers closer than Foochow, nothing could be done. I ought to say, perhaps, that on paper we have 100 soldiers attached to Kucheng, but the Mandarin does without them, and pockets their pay.

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 offences but not in any way connected with our Church; so heinous that the magistrate was compelled to arres three or four and imprison them. This was a signal for a rising' messages were quickly despatched in all dircitons, and a mob assembled round the Yamen.

All that day they beat around the house, shouting threats of vengeance. On their way to the Yamen they passed outside our city church; some were for rushing in and demolishing it; others advised to move on to the Yamen, and they proved unsuccessful thee would return and take it next. The poor women and others in the church buildings, hearing all this, were, as you may imagine, terrified, knowing by past experience that there was every chance of the threats being carried out.

As the mob crowded round the Yamen, ever increasing in number, one leading citizen after another, who had been closeted with the Mandarin, came forth with offers of concession. 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 you 200 dollars 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 probably have meant an attack on us.

At last, as the evening was drawing on, and the mob showed their determination to have their way, a Mr. Lang [*Chiang*], one of the best known men in the city, came out with the message that all they asked for would be granted; the priisoners would be liberated and sent home in state, and the Mandarin would acknowledge himself defeated by allowing himself to be publicly beaten before the people. Poor wretch, he got 300 blows of the bamboo, and was dismissed next morning from his office. This in the Chinese minds meant that the Mandarin was himself beaten and brought to his knees in disgrace. From that day when they learned their power, recruits have crowded in. All who are in trouble with their neighbours, through debt or lawsuit, flock to their standard.

Since that August their numbers have rapidly increased, and in December notices were posted up all through the city and country, calling for a monster gathering at their new headquarters here. Very disquieting rumours reached us; the converts urged me to organise them and procure arms. Of course I would not do this, and showed them how futile any such proceeding would be. The day arrived, the meeting was held, but no injury was done. It was the 19th of the month; from early dawn that day a belt of prayer was encircling the earth for the "Fuhkien Missions;" prayer uttered by the thousands from New Zealand round to Canada, who use the C.M.S. Cycle of Prayer. They little knew how thankful we were to them that day.

I have just learned that up to the present 3000 have been enlisted in the last half year, mostly of the lowest orders, and at the present time the reigns of government are practically in their hands. What the immediate future will disclose we cannot say. One most significant fact , as indicating the opinion of the

better classes in the city, is that they have subscribed some thousands of dollars to rebuild their city wall, and repair the gates, and to put all in order to resist an attack They are working with quite unwonted vigour. I asked some men the other day as we watched the building why this great expense was being incurred, and got this answer; "For fear of a rebellion," I asked; "Who would rebel?" "The Vegetarians." This was all said quite openly.

Our house being outside the city, the rebuilding of the wall will not do much for us; but we have a far better protection than that: "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

The outlook may perhaps be a little dark, but we know very well that the Lord is reigning, and carrying out His own great design, and if the powerlessness of their own officials, and of us foreigners to lend them aid, lead the converts to fly *first* to God, and lean altogether on Him, these things will prove the greatest blessings we have known. God has not left us. At our principal baptism service at the end of the year, no less than 60 at a time were admitted into the Church, and this in this one district, some of them coming from those very villages where most of the persecution has been. In other centres I baptised similar numbers, and many times had cause to exclaim; "What hath God wrought?"

P.S. Since writing the above, the Vegetarians mustered in force, and looked so threatening that the Mandarin suddenly ordered all the gateways of the city to be walled up at night to resist an expected attack at daylight, and thus for three days we were closely shut up.

The danger passed over, and now that peace with Japan is declared, we need expect, I think, no more interruption to our work.

The effect of these troubles on the native Church has been to bring them near to God, as their only help, and to strengthen and deepen their faith, though in some places it has thinned our ranks.

Last Monday four men from A Den-Bang, where the persecution began, and was most severe, came to me for baptism. It was encouraging.

April 29, 1895.

Provenance: *The Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 7 Aug 1895

CABLE NEWS

Missionaries massacred and outraged.

London, August 4.—Foochow reports state that among the Christians massacred n Kucheng were five female missionaries who were first outraged. The United States Consul in Shanghai confirms the report and alleges that the Chinese officials connived at the outrage. [Both statements are incorrect].

SHANGHAI, August 4.—Reports have reached here of a great massacre of Christians at Kucheng.

Provenance: Church Missionary Society Archive, National Library of Australia.

Wolfe to Baring-Gould 7 Aug 1895

1. Massacre has mobilized foreign community as nothing before.
2. Not discouraged, 'blood of martyrs etc'
3. Send people.
4. Gives account of murders from Phillips.
5. Prompt action of US Consul etc. Upriver by launch
6. Met Phillips/Gregory coming down.
7. British wounded in community hospital.
8. Banister and Fitzipios upriver and meet coffins.
9. Burial Foochow, Tuesday.
10. Protest meeting Tuesday evening.
11. Wolfe had no explanation for massacre. No attempts in Gutian Dist to interfere with Christians. Massacre "came like a thunderclap."
12. LATER REPORTS:

“It is reported however by some that on account of some trouble which the local Mandarin had from these Vegetarians he had asked the Viceroy for some troops to enable him to cope with their lawlessness. The Viceroy sent up to Kucheng a most inadequate number of soldiers to deal with the Vegetarians, and therefore could do nothing to bring them to justice. He advent of soldiers from Foochow irritated the Vegetarians, who at once came to the conclusion that the soldiers were sent up at the request of Mr. Stewart and they then decided to eliminate the foreigners and afterwards to defy the Chinese troops.” CANNOT VOUCH for this.

13. Phillips reported that day earlier Stewart had remarked that all the troubles of past months seemed over.
14. Attack only on CMS. No other mission affected. No attacks on Christians in Gutian. “Ordinary persecutions it was the converts and the churches that were attacked. . . “
15. Huashan victims keeping KESWICK week, bible study and prayer.
16. Codrington saved by being under body of Elsie Marshall.
17. All killed instantly, no pain!
18. Chinese soldiers in Kucheng/Gutian have plundered Stewarts property etc.
19. No confidence or reliance in Chinese authorities where protection of foreigners is involved. “I trust that the time has at length arrived when the British Government will take some decisive steps. . .”
20. Contrary to his earlier discounting of warnings from Stewart, Wolfe now states”
“They have been informed over and over again of the danger arising from the lawlessness of the Vegetarians . . . “
21. Recommends Banister and Light to take Kucheng/Gutian. Light is a weak link.
22. “Vegetarians are only a local trouble only at Ku Cheng” all other districts quiet but note his other comments re trouble in Hok Chiang.

Provenance: Church Missionary Society Archive, National Library of Australia.

Rt. Rev. John Burdon, Bishop of Hong Kong to Baring-Gould, 7 Aug 1895
Copy of letter sent by Bp to Governor of Hong Kong.

Provenance: Church Missionary Society Archive, National Library of Australia.

**Wolfe to CMS London, Cable, 8 Aug 1895
Plus followup Cables and two from Australia (NSW, VIC)**

Rising Kucheng (Gutian) (Gutian) Five Sisters murdered five wounded. Stewarts probably safe children wounded all other members FuKien Mission safe. Inform Zenana Weller, Burroughs, Tolley Maude Newcombe, Wade safe. Will wire again. Wolfe.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 8 August 1895*

**[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENTS]
THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
ACTION BY LORD SALISBURY
BRITISH CONSUL TO INVESTIGATE
CHINESE MILITARY ESCORT PROMISED**

LONDON, 7TH AUGUST

The Marquis of Salisbury, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, has cabled to Peking a peremptory demand that the Chinese Government shall at once furnish a strong military escort to the British Consul at Foo Chow, who will proceed to Ku Cheng and personally and thoroughly investigate on the spot the recent horrible massacre of English and Australian missionaries.

The Chinese Government has assented without demur to Lord Salisbury's demand, and has promised that everything possible shall be done to protect the missionaries throughout China.

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 8 August 1895*

WARRNAMBOOL, WEDNESDAY

Great sympathy is expressed here with the relatives of the Misses Saunders, murdered at the Ku Cheng mission station. Recently, Miss Nellie Saunders wrote to two young ladies in Warrnambool that the people were quieter in Ku Cheng than 20 years ago, when the first missionary there was beaten out of the city in the middle of a hot day and died from the treatment he received. In this letter she also said: 'This is truly the devil's own ground here. He reigns pretty well undisturbed, and anyone who dares to oppose him is not likely to be left in peace.'

Provenance: *The Age, Melbourne, 8 August 1895*

EDITORIAL

It is not in one part of Asia only, however, that there is a call for active British intervention. The massacre of British and Australian missionaries at the Ku Cheng mission station in China exceeds in its atrocity anything even alleged in Armenia. In the Chinese case we have, not merely an attack upon the adherents of an Asiatic Christian cult, but a brutal outrage on members of the British race and subjects of the Queen. The occasion is not one for enquiring how far it is advisable to send Christian missionaries to countries in which civilization has only advanced sufficiently to give an adhesive power to a barbarous community, or whether it is right to send women to carry the gospel into all the countries of the heathen. That the courage of the race is displayed by members of both sexes when duty is supposed to call we may all be proud of, but it should not be forgotten that prudence is supposed to be a national characteristic as well as courage.

What is of immediate interest just now is the course which the British Government will take to ensure the punishment of the Ku Cheng murderers. The British consul is to proceed to the scene of the slaughter, accompanied by an armed escort provided by the Chinese Government, and it is to be hoped he will not be hoodwinked, as so many officials have previously been by the Chinese. He probably knows that as a rule in China the persons presented for punishment are not the real culprits, but poor devils selected to be

the subjects of vicarious atonement. The common opinion of foreign residents in China is that the local magistrates or mandarins either instigate these attacks on foreigners or so openly sympathise with them that the ruffians and fanatics within their jurisdiction are encouraged to commit atrocities by an understanding that they will remain unpunished. It would be useless to try to get at the actual assassins as a rule. The only way to put a stop to these enormities is to hold the chief men primarily responsible. If they can get off by the punishment of supposed rioters, it is ten to one that not one of the beheaded had anything to do with the outrages. If it once be understood that it is the mandarin who has to be hanged when an attack on Europeans takes place, the attacks will be few and far between. There has been a tremor of apprehension amongst the European residents in China for some time past, and one of them, writing from Foo Chow, points out that it is useless to attempt to suppress violence by merely hunting out The Agents, while allowing the instigators to escape. "Let," he says, "the chief officials of the province be brought to formal trial before a mixed tribunal, in which representatives of China, Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States sit as judges. If guilt cannot be brought home, well and good, but if it be shown that they instigated the riots, or, without having actually instigated them, took no steps to prevent them, or to afford protection to the foreigners, let sentence be passed upon the men adequate to their offence. If the viceroys and other high officials of the Chinese Empire saw that by instigating or allowing outrages upon foreigners they rendered themselves liable to 10 or 20 years penal servitude in a foreign gaol, say at Hong Kong or Saigon, there would be no more riots like those of Ku Cheng."

It is a proceeding which a high spirited people with any pretensions to civilization would resent; but what guarantee has the Chinese Government to offer that disorder will be repressed and justice done in any case of popular tumult? The Chinese Government has practically abdicated its functions when it puts forward the excuse for the Ku Cheng outrages that the Government forces were insufficient to control the rioters. Rulers who thus confess their impotence have forfeited their rights to courtesy at the hands of strangers, who are entitled, in the absence of more reasonable means of redress, to hold the whole population of the country responsible for the deeds of any of its members, and to mete out the indiscriminate punishment awarded to barbarous tribes.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

**MASSACRE IN CHINA
THE MISSION PLUNDERED**

LONDON, AUG 7

The Chinese soldiers who were sent to protect the mission at Ku-Cheng after the massacre of the missionaries broke in and plundered the mission house.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
FURTHER DETAILS
THE MURDERS CAREFULLY PLANNED AND EXECUTED
AN AMERICAN MISSION BURNED
DEMAND FOR REDRESS
[BY CABLE]
(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)**

LONDON, Aug 6

Further particulars received from China with reference to the murders of missionaries at Ku-Cheng show that the massacres were carefully planned, and executed in a most diabolical manner, the attack being made while the ladies were asleep.

The ladies of the mission only returned to Ku-Cheng from Foochow at the conclusion of the Chin-Japanese war, when the Vegetarians appeared to be quiet.

The American mission at Fung-fuh has been burned, and the other stations between Ku-Cheng and

Foochow are menaced.

The British Minister at Peking (Mr. N. O'Connor) has demanded redress for the massacre, and insists that the safety of British subjects in China shall be secured.

Five ladies belonging to the Zenana mission at Ku-Cheng have arrived safe at Foochow.

AUG 7

Yielding to a peremptory demand made by Lord Salisbury, the British Premier, the Chinese Government has undertaken to supply an escort to enable the British Consul at Foochow to proceed to Ku-Cheng with the view of inquiring into the massacres.

The Chinese authorities have also decreed the execution of the murderers, and have issued orders for the strict protection of the missionaries.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

SYMPATHY IN SYDNEY MEMORIAL SERVICES TO BE HELD

The Dean of Sydney proposes to send a circular to all the clergy asking them to intimate in their churches on Sunday next that a memorial service will be held in St. Andrew's cathedral on Tuesday next, at which the Dean, in the absence of the Primate in Northern Queensland, will preach. It is felt that such a memorial service would be fitting in view of the fact that this terrible massacre will kindle feelings of the deepest regret in the hearts of all members of the Church of England and those who sympathise with her missionary efforts. It is thought also that it would be fitting for this colony to express its sympathy with the sister colony in the loss of two of its devoted young missionaries, and still further fitting as a grateful recollection of the earnest and loving efforts made by the late Rev. R. W. Stewart, M.A., whilst he was in Australia.

MESSAGES OF CONDOLENCE

The hon. Lay secretary of the N.S.W. Church Missionary Association, Mr. C. R. Walsh, by direction of the committee, yesterday sent cables offering sympathy and condolence to the parent society in London, and to Archdeacon Wolfe at Foochow, who is in charge of the mission stations in the province of Fuh-Kien.

THE CONGREGATION UNION AND THE MARTYRED MISSIONARIES

At a meeting of the general committee of the above union, held on Tuesday, a resolution of sympathy was unanimously carried, and the following letter has been forwarded by the Rev. James Buchan, M.A., secretary of the Congregational Union, to Mr. Walsh, hon. Secretary to the Church Missionary Association;—"Dear Sir,—I am instructed, on behalf of the general committee of the Congregational Union of New South Wales, to convey to your association their heartfelt sorrow at the terrible news of the massacre of your missionaries at Ku-Cheong. We share in the universal grief that such a fate should have overtaken those who had given their lives to the work of blessing and saving others. We also earnestly pray that the friends of the martyred missionaries may be upheld and comforted in their deep and bitter sorrow, and that your association may be very mercifully and graciously sustained and guided in this baptism of trial. In deepest sympathy, etc..."

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

DR. ON LEE ON THE OUTBREAK A RELIGIOUS WAR AGAINST CHRISTIANS

A Herald reporter interviewed Dr. On Lee last evening as to the cause of the massacre at Ku-Cheng.

I have just returned home to-day, explained Dr. On Lee, and I have not had time enough to make any proper inquiries. I do not know that I am acquainted with the places as which the missionaries have been killed. It is, I think, out beyond Foochow. The people out there are very wild. They do not like those at the seaports. They have a hatred of all foreigners.

The people who killed the missionaries are said to belong to a society of vegetarians?

Oh yes! There is a society known by that name. They eat no meat, only vegetables and fish. They have now wives. They are a quiet but desperate class. They tell you quietly to go away, and after doing this several times, if you do not go they kill you. They are not afraid. They do not care whether you kill them or not. They do not like foreigners.

Do you think the war with China will make them believe the foreigners have caused evil towards their country?

No, not any more than they have thought all along. I do not think the war has affected them very much, only to make the power of the government weaker.

Do you think this outbreak has a political importance?

I think it is all on account of religion. The Vegetarians are like priests. They have great faith in their religion. They live only for it. They leave their fathers and mothers, and go away by themselves on the hills and live in seclusion. They are hermits, and they do not care what you do with them. They do not like to see people turning their religion. They do not like the 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 turn their religion just the same as they do the missionaries. They are always killing them quietly. The Vegetarians shave all the hair off their heads, have no buttons on their clothes and wear blue gowns.

Are they Confucians?

Yes, they are a kind of Confucian, but they are not a pure Confucian. I do not exactly know their belief. It is different from the religion of Chinese generally.

Will the disturbances extend to other parts?

Very likely, but it will be only in the back parts away from the water. The Government has not so much power there. The Vegetarians do not interfere with any one, except those turn their religion. They have the support of the people.

And the Government?

Oh, no; but I think they have the sympathy of the mandarins. The Government is not to blame—the mandarins are, I think. They could stop it perhaps if they wished, but they will not. They do not care. The mandarins do not like to see people changing their religion.

But the Government should be able to suppress the Vegetarians.

The Government has nothing to do with them. There are any amount of societies the Government does not interfere with. They cannot, and the Vegetarian Society is one of them. There are a great number of these people away back. You can tell them you will kill them, and they will laugh at you. They do not care no matter what you do to them.

Do you think they will be joined by the large number of discontented people in China?

No; they will keep to themselves so long as the Government does not interfere with them. If the Government were to try to interfere with them, I do not know what would happen.

I would like you to tell me if a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the Government of China has caused the people to rise against the foreigners and the Government.

No, I do not think so. The Government is all right. People do not care about the war in the districts away back in the country. Of course they want money, and are always ready to take it, but the Government can stop that. The Government cannot interfere with the Vegetarians. Perhaps it will kill some, but that will not matter. The war with Japan was a very good thing. China has been too long asleep, and it wants waking up. Japan has given it an eye-opener. By-and-bye it will be all right. China in the back districts and in the mountains will be the same as along the water. Religion will be strong and everything will be better.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

LETTER FROM THE REV J KING

A letter was received yesterday afternoon by Mr. Thomas Pratt, financial agent in Australia for the London Missionary Society, from the Rev. Joseph King, organizing agent for Australasia for the L.S.S.,

in the course of which he says, "We are in great sorrow to-day over the terrible news from China. The mother of two of the victims—Mrs. Saunders—is a neighbour of ours at Kew, and Miss Gordon was educated at Melbourne for mission work. It is a terrible affair, happening as it does in an old mission district. Our Amoy outstations are not more than 90 miles from the scene of the massacre. What will the English Government do?"

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

A REBELLION PREDICTED

On the occasion of the arrival in Sydney of the Rev. Dr. Davenport, of the London Missionary Society's station at Chung King, at the end of May last, he was interviewed by a representative of the *Herald* respecting the feeling of the Chinese in regard to the result of the China-Japan war. Dr. Davenport then predicted a revolt, although he evidently did not anticipate that the lives of Europeans would be endangered. In the course of the interview reported in our issue of 25th May Dr. Davenport said that the great bulk of the Chinese nation was ignorant of the fact that a war was being actively engaged in. Even a few miles out of Shanghai the inhabitants knew nothing of the war. It was to the advantage of the mandarins to keep the people in ignorance in order that they might deal with them as they liked. It was only the high officials and upper classes who were made aware of the existence of a war. As soon as the populace was levied for the cost of the war he anticipated trouble. One of two things, in his opinion, would then happen—either there would be an internal rebellion, or the war with Japan would be renewed.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE AMOY MISSION STATIONS

The scene of the terrible outrages is only 90 miles distant from the Amoy out-stations connected with the London Missionary Society, and considerable uneasiness is felt for the safety of the missionaries in that center. The Amoy mission is the largest and most important branch of the work of the London Missionary Society in China, and connected with it there are no less than 52 outstations. In view of the close proximity of this mission to the spot where the massacres were perpetrated, some facts regarding the work there and the nature of the country will at this stage be interesting.

The city of Amoy is situated on an island of the same name, 300 miles north of Hongkong, and is the chief port of the southern portion of the province of Fu-Kien. It has a population of about 200,000, and another 100,000 occupy the villages which are scattered over the island. From Amoy the mainland is easily reached, and the mission, which commenced in 1844, extends its operations over a wide region, and has many out-stations. The Fu-Kien people are described by the L.M.S. authorities as "a sturdy race, enterprising, self-reliant, full of common sense, and friendly to foreigners," a character not in accordance with their recent actions.

The London Missionary Society's missionaries in charge of the Amoy station are:—Rev. John Macgowan, Rev. James Sadler, Rev. R. M. Ross, Miss Miller, Miss Benham, and Miss Horne. There are also six ordained native pastors and 38 native preachers. The church members number 1575, and there are 1763 other native adherents. There are 18 schools in connection with the mission, with 273 scholars. Last year the school fees amounted to £45/7/3d, and the local contributions totaled the sum of £721/7/1d.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

PREVIOUS ATROCITIES IN FU KIEN. HATRED TOWARDS CHRISTIANS

In the province of Fu Kien where the outrages occurred a strong feeling of antagonism against Christians has existed for a considerable time, and this is not the first occasion upon which life has been taken. The annual report for 1894 of the London Missionary Society, in referring to this antagonistic spirit says:— 'the year opened with a heavy cloud of anxiety hanging over the work in the Hui-an district. The progress

of the Gospel in that region has been so remarkable for some years past, and the prospect seemed so encouraging, that the Amoy missionaries have pleaded very earnestly for the appointment of a lady medical missionary and a clerical missionary to reside in the district. Suddenly a thundercloud gathered and burst upon the Christians. The disturbances seem to have taken place during the idolatrous feasts with which the Chinese new year is celebrated. A riot took place at a place called Hui-o's, about 10 miles from the prefectural city of Chin Chew, which resulted in the death of one woman and very severe injuries to a number of the other Christians. The Rev. R. M. Ross was in the neighbourhood, and at once appealed to the Mandarin for redress, but his appeal was without avail, and he was stoned on his way to the Yamen. Excitement was very high, and it appeared as if a determined effort would be made by the literati to drive all Christians out of the district. After much pressure, the native authorities took up the matter, and the disturbances came to an end. Now all ill-feeling seems entirely to have passed away, and Mr. Ross has been able to go about again with freedom."

The Rev. R. M. Ross, one of the Amoy missionaries, in writing of these vents and of the prospects of the work, said:—"But believe me the country of Hui-an (gracious Peace) is perfectly peaceful, and when I went through it last November, even through the areas of the assault on the Christians and murder of the women, I never once heard a discordant or threatening sound, did not see an angry glance, and was laughed at when I solemnly asked all the preachers and many members, for your benefit not for mine, as to the safety of a lady or ladies living in Hui-an city, 12 miles from Soa-an. They alleged, in all truthfulness, that Soa-an itself, where the foe lived, would be as safe for ladies as for me. Last year saw an enormous increase of hearers, and I want very emphatically to state that hundreds came to our chapels for the first time during the trial and confinement of the literary man and our Christians, when, to all appearances, Christianity was insulted, and our converts disgraceful used, even by officials.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE RISING IN THE WEST MISSION AT CHUNG-KING

The reported anti-missionary agitation in the west of China, some 1500 miles from the scene of the murders, has caused considerable uneasiness among relatives of missionaries throughout China. It would seem that their movement against Christians is not confined to the province in which the massacres have occurred, but troublous times are reported from various parts of the Empire. As stated yesterday, six Christian mission stations in different parts of the province of Sz-Chuen have been wrecked, whilst others, among them Chung-King, are in jeopardy.

The London Missionary Society has an important branch at Chung-King, and three missionaries—Revs. J. W. Wilson, A. E. Claxton, and Dr. Davenport—are located there. Mr. Claxton was for several years engaged as a missionary at Samoa, and for a time was the native advocate to the Land Commission there. He passed through Sydney about two years ago on his way to England previous to being transferred to the mission at Chung-King, where he now is. Mr. Claxton is well known in Sydney among the friends of the London Missionary Society.

Dr. Davenport, another of the missionaries stationed at Chung-King, is at present in Echunga, South Australia, on furlough. He passed through Sydney in May last, and an interview with him regarding mission work in Chung-King was published in the *Herald* at that time. In view of what has now transpired, and the probability of trouble taking place at the scene of Dr. Davenport's labours, it will be interesting to reprint portions of the information given by him. On the occasion referred to Dr. Davenport said that Chung-King was the great commercial center of the province of Sz-Chuen, in the west of Central China, and about 1500 miles from the coast. There were at present four Protestant mission stations in Chung-King, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, The English Friends, the Chinese Inland Mission, and the American Methodist Episcopal Society, and he was glad to say that they worked in perfect unity with each other. In addition to these missions the Roman Catholics had also established a station there. There had been a very great increase of missionaries sent to the province during the past two or three years, especially from America. Altogether about 100 Chinese had become

converted to the Christian religion, and greater progress was anticipated in the future. Chung-King was the scene of the great riots in 1885, when the houses of Roman Catholics and others were destroyed, but a great change had come over the city during the past few years, and the missionaries now had free intercourse with the people, whom he found quite willing to listen to the Gospel. The London Missionary Society's station was opened in 1888, and their duties included street preaching, pastoral work, distribution of the Bible and Christian literature, the establishment of a school for teaching the native tongue and medical aid.

[Details of medical work follow]

The chapel and dispensary had been newly built in semi-foreign style, and the mission hospital was a transformed native house, which could supply comfortable sleeping-room for 40 or 50 patients. The hospital contained three small and two large rooms on the ground floor, while upstairs were two small rooms and a large ward. A great many Roman Catholics had attended both as inmates and outpatients, and the mission workers had invariably found them more enlightened and open to treatment than their heathen neighbours. No fee had been charged for attendance or medicine, but they had sought as far as possible to get patients to contribute to the funds of the hospital.

Chung-King is one of the two largest cities in Sz-Chuen, the largest province of the Chinese Empire. The province has an area of 167,000 square miles, and a population said to be about 68,000,000. Chung-King is a trading mart, situated on the left bank of the Yang-tse, 1400 miles from the coast, and contains between 200,000 and 300,000 people. The London Missionary Society has three English missionaries and one native preacher at this center. The mission is devoted principally to medical work among the Chinese.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

ACTION TAKEN BY FRENCH WARSHIPS ON THE SCENE

Immediately the news came through of the anti-missionary riots at Chengtu in the extreme west of the Chinese Empire, a movement was made by two of the French cruisers towards the Yangtze River, on which the capital of the province is situated. The *Japan Daily Advertiser*, published at Yokohama on 26th June, has the following:—The French cruisers Alger and Isly are probably in the Yangtze by this time. The French Minister at Peking, as he showed the other day when he dictated to the Tsangli li Yamen what he wished done, in regard to the sale of land to French missionaries, is not a person to be trifled with, and it is safe to conclude that the Isly left Nagasaki in a bit of a hurry because M. Gerard wanted her in connection with the anti-Christian riots in Szechuan. The Firebrand and Comets were at Hankow on the 15th; the Porpoise was at Wuhu the same day, and the Petrel on the Langshan Crossing on the 16th. The Firebrand was to leave Hankow in a day or two for Ichang. Since the above was in type news has been received that a French squadron is ascending the Yangtze.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

A JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT ON THE SITUATION HELPLESS WOMEN AND CHILDREN EXPOSED TO THE FURY OF THE MOB

The correspondent of the *Japan Advertiser* (Yokohama) wires from Shanghai:—“As the Chinese Government has failed to take prompt measures in connection with the outrages on missionaries in Szechuan, a French squadron composed of four war vessels has left here for Nanking for the purpose of making a demonstration against the rioters.” Another wire:—“All the Western provinces are in a blaze. Chapels are destroyed, hospitals torn down, orphanages demolished and their inmates scattered. Harmless and trustful foreigners who have given their lives for this people are fleeing to the interior from their burning homes, in many cases with helpless wives and children to be exposed to the brutality of the mob; or perhaps they are confined in the foul prisons of the yamens, destitute of food and clothing, and at the mercy of their bitter enemies.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE MASSACRES IN CHINA THE MISSION PLUNDERED

LONDON, Aug 7

The Chinese soldiers who were sent to protect the mission at Ku-Cheng after the massacre of the missionaries broke in and plundered the mission-houses.

Aug 8

The United States Consul at Foochow has obtained evidence, which goes to show that the Mandarins were aware for some days prior to the massacre that an attack was intended to be made upon the mission station at Ku-Cheng. The native Christians at Ku-Cheng were subjected to terrible persecutions from the Vegetarians, and the foreign residents suffered great insults.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE PROBABLE CAUSE OF THE OUTRAGES VIEWS FOR MR. C. R. WALSH

Mr. C. R. Walsh, hon lay secretary of the new South Wales Church Missionary Association, which is a branch of the Church Missionary Society of England, upon being seen by a reporter last evening, said that it could not altogether be said the rebellion was unexpected. He had been in communication with the Rev. R. W Stewart, one of the martyrs, since he had been in Ku-Cheng, and from what Mr. Stewart had said at different times it would seem that the object of the rebels was to overthrow the reigning dynasty. For some time the rebel section had been engaged in planning against constituted authority, and open rebellion might have been anticipated. It had been expected that trouble would arise as soon as the people came to realise the indignity which had been imposed upon their country through the failure of the war with Japan, and especially when called upon to pay extra taxes necessary to defray the expenses of the war, and to pay the heavy indemnity. He did not think for one moment that the missionaries had been slaughtered because they were Christians, but because they were foreigners. There was a very strong feeling against the white races, and very few Europeans other than missionaries would venture inland. Had the martyrs been traders or travelers they undoubtedly would have met the same fate. Whilst it was true that there was a certain hatred against the Christian religion, the feeling was not of itself strong enough to urge the people to revolt. European traders would not risk their lives by going far from the coast; but the missionaries went to proclaim the Gospel in the innermost portions of the Empire, knowing full well that they carried their lives in their hands. The Chinese were a very suspicious and susceptible people, and it was only necessary for one of their mandarins to suggest to them that their misfortunes and troubles were due to the presence of English people, and an outrage would follow. If the mandarin at Ku-Cheng, instead of appropriating the money allowed to him for the maintenance of troops, had carried out his instructions the Vegetarians might have been stamped out immediately they showed themselves. As it was, however, the rebels gradually grew in power and the mandarin at last was helpless. The fact that the rebel section first attacked the mandarin convinced him that the revolt was not against Christianity, but against the ruling powers and presence of Europeans in their midst. The opinions which he had ventured to offer were formed from a series of letters which he had received from the late Rev. R. W. Stewart and other missionaries stationed in China.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE PREJUDICE AGAINST MISSIONARIES

For many years there has been a strong feeling against the presence of missionaries in the different townships in the province of Ku-Kien. It seems that in 1892, the Rev. H. S. Phillips, of the CMS. was with his wife expelled from the township of Kein Yang, a few miles away only from the scene of the murders. He fled to Nang Wa, and was compelled to remain there until the spring of 1893. Afterwards it

was found that the people generally did not object to the missionaries, and that the opposition came solely from the upper classes.

Archdeacon Wolfe, of Foochow, who is in charge of the different stations in the province of Fu Kien, writes regarding the troubles in the city as follows:—"It has been clearly proved during the year that the inhabitants of Kien Yang are not unwilling to have foreign missionaries resident amongst them, for in spite of the threats and warnings of the local authorities against the renting or selling of houses to foreigners, the people have again and again offered to sell houses to the missionary. One man, for example, having been put in prison for disregarding the warning of the mandarins by selling his house to Mr. Phillips, actually remonstrated with the local mandarin for having violated the treaty in refusing to allow him to sell the property to the missionary. . . It has been shown that the principal opposition to the residences of missionaries in the city has come from the officials and a few of the gentry, and not from the people at all. It is now to be hoped that the struggle of four years to get a footing in Kien Yang is ended, and that Brother Phillips will be allowed at last to carry on his work here in peace and quietness."

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 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.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1895

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. DEAN COWPER ON THE MASSACRE.

The local branch of the Church Missionary Society held a meeting for prayer and humiliation yesterday afternoon at the Chapter House.

Dean Cowper, who was much affected, said that they had met in great sorrow, and under the chastening hand of their Heavenly Father, who had thought fit to visit those who were dear to Him in the manner they were all so sadly acquainted with. While they dwelt upon these events they shrank from the pains, the sorrows, and the agonies the martyred missionaries had gone through in the service of their Lord and Master in carrying out the work which He had set for them. The massacre impressed them with feelings of amazement, and they wondered why the Lord allowed His tried servants to be put to such suffering. God was the ruler of all, and He had said that he would make all things work for the good of those who served Him. In the hand of the living God the evil which was apparent to-day was turned into everlasting good. He had taken His workers away a little earlier than they expected to the rest prepared for the people of God. It was a world of tribulation, and manifold were the trials through which they all had to go, but it was through tribulation that they entered the Kingdom of god. He believed—not withstanding the rebuff which the Christian Church had received at the place of the massacre—it would be only a prelude to some greater and more glorious victory than ever China had yet yielded to the missionary work. As in former times, God had permitted this calamity in order that He might cause greater and more lasting results. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. It had been so in the past, so it was to-day, and so it would continue. They trusted that though there may be great difficulties to be overcome, still there would be greater advances than ever made in Christian efforts in China. Ten missionaries had been taken away, but it was consoling in some degree to note that on the Sunday before, seven Chinese were baptised in the Christian faith. They should humble themselves before God in their great adversity, and earnestly pray that He would help them to be steadfast in His service. It may be asked if it was a wise thing to send missionaries into these places. The Lord did not say

they were to go only into the easy places of the earth; He said they were to go forth into all the world. Let them seek His help in carrying forward with greater energy the great work for which the Chinese Empire was waiting.

The Rev. J. Martin reminded those present that the Church of England in Australia now had its martyrs. It was an occasion for humiliation and prayer, and they should try and atone for their negligence in not supporting the missionaries more by sympathy and prayer than they had done when they left this shore, and in their labours in China.

A number of special prayers were offered that China may be brought to accept the Gospel of Peace. Several missionary hymns were also sung.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 August 1895*

THE POSITION OF MISS BOOTH

Apart from a general feeling, some local concern is expressed concerning the massacre of Christian missionaries in China, as Miss Booth, a Parramatta young lady, was attached to the mission, It is, however, stated that she is located about 100 miles from the scene of the massacre.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 August 1895*

SYMPATHY IN SYDNEY

Baptist Union offered sympathy

Baptist Zenana Missionary Society offered sympathy (Grace Taylor, Hon secretary)

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 August 1895*

MISSIONARY MEETING AT PETERSHAM

A RESOLUTION OF SYMPATHY

In connection with the fifth annual Christian Conference, which closed a four days' convention in the Petersham Town Hall last evening, a missionary meeting was held in the afternoon, when there was a crowded attendance. The Rev. W. Collier, chairman of the Baptist Union of New South Wales, presided. The Rev. J. E. Carruthers moved:—‘that the meeting, consisting of members of the various Protestant denominations, expresses its profound sympathy with the missionary societies whose work has been interrupted, and whose agents' lives have been imperiled by the recent risings in China, and specially with the Church Missionary Society, in the loss which it has sustained by the sudden and violent death of a band of hits devoted workers. It commends the sorrowing relations and friends of the departed to the tender compassion of the ‘Father of mercies and God of all comfort’ prays that on this occasion, as in the past, the blood of the martyrs may be the seed of the church, and declares the conviction that He who maketh the wrath of men to praise Him will overrule what has happened ‘for the good of humanity, in the extension of His spiritual kingdom.’ The resolution needed no word of his to commend it to that vast audience. They met together under exceedingly sad and solemn circumstances. The hand of God had been upon them. It seemed to him as if the Lord Jesus Christ had put His hands on His missionary servants to-day in a manner which marked His love and the honour He was putting upon the church by allowing it to offer up some of its sons and daughters as martyrs for His name's sake. They might have said, “Lord, if Thou hadst been here our friends would not have died:” but if they had faith might they not yet see the glory of God resulting from this? Their sympathies and prayers went out towards the relatives of those who had been called to render up their lives for their Master's sake. They had all been moved by the accounts of the tragedy, especially in reading of the mother of those two noble girls, who would have accompanied them but that her age and unexpected financial embarrassment prevented her. They were face to face with the circumstance that the Church once more had had the opportunity to showing its love for God and devotion to the Master by playing the part that was played by those in the early days who “counted not their lives dear to them” for the sake of Christ. There wee critics to-day who

told them that it was folly for these missionaries to go to China, and he had been grieved in reading the words which fell from the lips of a well-known clergyman in Melbourne, who asked why these services were not given and those lives offered for the benefit of the heathen within our own borders; was there not opportunity enough here for all the devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of the people of England and these colonies? Critics had their proper place and criticism its work, but the world would never be saved by the critics. Thank God there still lived the martyr spirit. . . It was said that the Rev. Mr. Stewart, one of the martyrs, was led to dedicate himself to missionary work by reading the account of the martyrdom of Bishop Harrington in South Africa . . .

The Rev. William Allen said it was his privilege and honour to second the resolution. The body of which he had the honour to be chairman had already passed an official resolution that conveyed their feelings of sympathy. He seconded that resolution with considerable agitation of mind, for he had been deeply stirred by some things that had been said about these atrocities. Of course, the dominant feeling in their mind was that of sympathy, but he confessed that some of the criticisms had moved in him indignant feelings. They must not expect that all people who wrote the daily papers would write from the Christian's standpoint. They recognized the services done by the newspapers in the cause of civilization and of progress; but he did not think that their ideal of life was exactly the Christian's ideal. He did not agree that the loss of life had been result of wanton folly. He asked how it was that in the case of scientific men who ventured upon dangerous experiments, and sometimes lost their lives in trying to advance the cause of science, they never heard a word to the effect that their giving up their lives had been the result of wanton folly. He should like to ask how it was that they did not hear that the enterprise of explorers was wanton folly. Those gentlemen who urged that view misread the heart of Christianity if they thought that Christian people were not going to display equal courage with the scientist and the explorer, and had failed to understand the very genius of Christianity. He experienced profound astonishment at such words as those quoted having been uttered by a Christian minister, and must also express his abhorrence of the sentiment. He declared that the spirit which advocated cautious counsels was anti-Christian. Let them place alongside that sentiment the words of Mrs. Saunders, "If I had two more daughters I would give them to China." Which was the more Christian, the words of that Christian lady, or the utterances of the Melbourne clergyman? He had great respect for him, and for what he had done in trying to ameliorate the condition of the unemployed in Victoria, and that made him feel the greater astonishment at an utterance of that kind from him. The objections were the very ones that had been used to stifle Christian missions 100 years ago, but they were out of date. What would have become of Christianity if the apostles had said:—"we have quite enough to do in Jerusalem, let us remain and work here, and let the rest of the world take care of itself?" And, speaking with all reverence, what about their Great Master if he had followed such reasoning? But, instead of that, He became obedient unto death. And should not his followers do the same? He wished to say that there were no lives less wasted than those lives which were given up for the service of Jesus Christ. There were abundance of wasted lives in their midst. He called the lives of persons wasted whose time was pent in flitting from one ballroom to another, from one amusement to another. He called those wasted lives. But the lives that were given up to God . . .

Provenance: *The New Zealand Herald*, Wednesday, August 8, 1895.

[Brief mention of the Vegetarians]

The Vegetarians are a secret society, and draw into their ranks men who band themselves against the Government, and are joined by all worthless creatures in the province. For some time they have caused uneasiness both to the missionaries and to the governing authorities. Somemonths ago the walls of the city of Kucheng were repaired by the city authorities. On that occasion the missionaries had to get within the city walls for protection. What is known as the missionaries compound is outside the walls.

MELBOURNE August 7

Mrs. Saunders was to have gone with her daughters to keep house for them and other missionaries. She is

a woman of means but the crisis in Victoria prevented her disposing of her property, and, in consequence, she had to remain behind.

BRISBANE, August 7

The Miss Gordon, murdered at Kucheng, belongs to Ipswich, where her parents reside.

The Miss Newcomb, who was speared and thrown over a precipice, is a native of Warrnambool, Victoria, and is a niece of the Rev. Thos. Laver, Congregational minister of Melbourne. Miss Newcombe is about 25 years of age, and proceeded to China about five years ago.⁴

In a letter addressed to a friend in Melbourne, and dated April 8, the Rev. R. Stewart says :—Ten days ago I was called up at four o'clock in the morning by our native clergyman and other Christians, who had crossed the river to our house to bring the startling news that the Vegetarian Rebels were expected at daylight to storm the city, and that the gateways of the city were being blocked with timber and stones as fast as the workmen could work. Between women, girls, and children we had nearly 100 at the moment sleeping in our compound. The rebels expected in an hour! What was to be done? As we talked and prayed and planned the dawn began to break, and with it came the rain in torrents. What part this played in the matter I do not know, but as we saw it falling heavily, and knew the fear of the Chinese of getting wet, we said to one another, "That rain will be our protection." At daylight we roused the schools, and after a hasty meal they left in a long sad procession to make their way across the river in the small ferry boat, which came backwards and forwards for them till at last all had reached the other side. It was a long business, all in the rain, and then the wall had to be climbed by a ladder, for by this time the blocking of the gateways was complete. Near our chapel the wall had not yet been rebuilt to its full height, and the chapel ladder, the only one that could be obtained, just reached to the top. This was one of the many incidents that showed us the Hand that was controlling everything. The next day that part of the wall was built to its proper height, and the ladder was several feet too short; we could never have got the children up it, nor the women, with their cramped feet. For the next three days the wall was guarded by bands of citizens posted at short intervals from one another, and armed with the best weapons they could find; but indeed they were poor things! Old three-pronged forks, centuries old, to judge by their appearance, with movable rings on the handles, to shake and to strike terror to the hearts of the foe. Rusty, too, were their swords, and rarely to be seen. We watched their proud possessors washing them in a pot, and scraping them with a brick. The majority had no scabbards, not that the 'braves' had thrown them away, but lost them. Those three days while the city was straitly shut up were anxious ones, and then the gates were opened. What took place between the Mandarin and the Vegetarians leaders we do not know, but no one believes we have seen the end of the matter, so serious an affair cannot be patched up like that. Probably we have as yet had but the beginning; much depends on the course the war takes. If, during the present armistice of three weeks a treaty can be arranged, then I think that perhaps all will be quiet. Soldiers could be spared from Foochow, and some arrests of the ringleaders can be affected, and that will quell I; but if not the rebels will have recruited in sufficient numbers to make a rising a success.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 8 Aug 1895

CHINA MISSIONS HELPLESS

No Protection Proffered by Either British or Federal Authorities

INDIGNANT AT THE NEGLECT.

A Public Meeting Held in Hong Kong to Record the Sentiment of the Foreign Residents Regarding

⁴

The source of this information is unknown. There is no record of a Miss Newcombe from Warrnambool. Miss Hessian Newcombe was one of four sisters from Ireland.

Government Slothfulness—Chinese Authorities Really in Sympathy With the Work of the Rioters.

Hong Kong, August 8—At a public meeting just held here resolutions were passed expressing anger at the supposed contrivance 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.

London, August 8—A dispatch to the Pall Mall Gazette from Shanghai says the 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-Kien and Hupeh, Taiping, and An-Hui. These outbreaks, it is added, are not merely the work of vegetarians, but they are said to be organized and carried out by the 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, 200 Sikhs, reliable British Indian troops, from Hong Kong, will escort the British consul from Foochow to Ku-Cheng, where the consul will conduct an inquiry into the recent outrages.

In conclusion, the Shanghai correspondent expresses the opinion that further outrages are inevitable unless Great Britain takes swift and deadly vengeance.

In connection with the dispatch from Hong Kong last night, announcing that the British and American missions at Fat Shan, near Canton, were attacked yesterday afternoon 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 Shan. The hospital and station are under the charge of Dr. Wanyon, who has just arrived here after a perilous overland journey during which he was arrested in Armenia as a spy. The rest of the mission staff of the Wesleyan mission 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 mistake 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.

Washington, DC., August 8—The state department has not called on the secretary of the navy to assist in protecting the missions, but it is known at both departments that the *Petrel*, on her recent voyage up the Yang Tsee river, assisted 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, stating that the arrival of the *Petrel* at Su Hu was providential, saving many lives and preventing anticipated trouble. British Consul Fond confirms the report and says that had it not been for the American gunboat the foreigners at Wu Hu would have suffered in the riots.

The *Petrel* is the only vessel of the Asiatic squadron which can go up the river any considerable distance, the others being of too great draught. The *Petrel* on her last voyage, went six hundred 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 there it would have a quieting effect on the rioters. Acting Secretary McAdoo today sent for the list of vessels on the Asiatic station and their positions, and will consider

moving them so as to better protect American interests.

Jackson, Miss., August 8—[Methodist Episcopal] Bishop Galloway of this city yesterday received a cablegram from the Rev. Drs. Parker and Reid at Shanghai, China, which read as follows: "Horrible massacre. More danger. Move Washington."

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 8 Aug 1895

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE
HOW THE MISSIONARIES WERE BUTCHERED
A Detailed Account of the Tragedy Sent to the World by Dr. Gregory. Vegetarian Fanatics Held Responsible for the Crime.

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(Special Cable Dispatch to the World).

Foochow, China, August 5—Dr. Gregory, an American missionary, who escaped from Kucheng, gives the following account of the massacre there:

At 12.30 P.M. on Thursday, August 1, a native Christian rushed into my study, saying that several of the foreign ladies at Hwasang, a mountain resort four puo (about twelve miles) from the city of Kucheng, had been killed that morning, and that two houses had been burned.

Fifteen minutes later a note from Mr. Phillips confirmed this. He wrote that five ladies were dead, the Stewarts were missing, and four persons were seriously wounded. He expressed the hope that I was then on my way to Hwasang.

I immediately went into the Yamen, where hundreds of excited natives had already gathered, and requested the district Magistrate, Uong [Wang Yu-yang] to send some soldiers at once to Hwasang to protect those still living. In half an hour the magistrate went to Hwasang under an escort of about sixty soldiers.

At 3 P.M. I left Kucheng City under an escort of thirteen soldiers, arriving at Hwasang at 8 P. M. to find that nine adults, all British subjects, had been murdered, and that all those still alive at Hwasang—eight only—had been more or less severely wounded, excepting Mr. Phillips, who arrived there only two or three days before, and was lodging at a native house some distance from the English cottages. I delayed in leaving Kucheng, owing to the fact that the coolies refused to carry chairs. On my arrival I set to work to make the injured as comfortable as possible.

Miss Codrington received a sword cut extending from the left angle of her mouth diagonally outward and downward seven inches long, completely dividing the lower lip and exposing the inferior maxillary bone; one cut on the crown three inches in length and quite down to the inner table of the skull; one cut across the nose beneath the right eye five inches long and another three inches long on the right side of the neck. The last two were skin wounds only. There were also two contusions on the right arm and a deep, punctured wound on the outside of the right thigh. Her condition is serious.

Miss Mabel C Hartford of the Methodist mission, the only American residing in Hwasang at the time, who was living in a small native house some twenty rods from the English cottages, was attacked by one assassin armed with a trident. She received a slight cut on the lobe of the right ear, was thrown to the ground, beaten about the lower extremities and the body. While the murderer was engaged in this attack a servant grappled with the assailant and during the struggle Miss Hartford escaped. Miss H. remained hidden until all was over. Her nervous system sustained a serious injury.

Mildred Stewart, aged 1 year, received a wound on the outside of the right knee joint six inches long, exposing the joint, and two punctured wounds, one on the left leg and one on the left foot. Her condition is serious.

Kathleen Stewart, 11 years old, received several slight wounds and bruises about the face and lower extremities. They are not serious.

Herbert Stewart, 6 years old, received a deep wound on the right side of the neck, four inches long; one on the crown which chipped the external table of the skull; one on the back part of the head, four inches

long, cleaving the skull and exposing the brain; a circular scalp wound on the left side of the head, two and one-half inches in diameter; a small punctured wound in the anterior part of the chest and a stab in the back. He died of the injuries thirty hours later on the road to Suikow.

Even Stewart, 3 years old, was stabbed in the left thigh and received several bruises and scratches on the head and body. His condition is not serious.

Baby Stewart, 13 months old, has a severe injury to the right eye, a small, penetrating wound in the left frontal region, which enters the cranial cavity and several severe bruises on the head and body. The injuries will probably prove fatal.

All the wounds apparently were made by the swords and spears.

Of those killed outright, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Nellie Saunders and Lena Pellow, an Irish nurse, were almost wholly incinerated in the burned house. In all probability they were murdered before the house burned.

Kathleen Stewart saw Nellie Saunders lying unconscious on the nursery floor and removed baby Stewart from beneath the dead body of the nurse.

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

Miss Marshall's throat was frightfully cut and there was a deep sword wound in the left wrist.

I failed to find any serious wound on the body of Miss Stewart. I am inclined to think she died of shock. This opinion is sustained by Miss Codrington's report to me.

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

Topsy Saunder's death was caused by a spear wound on the right side of the head, the weapon entering the brain.

The last three bodies were lying in one heap. Apparently no post mortem mutilation had been attempted.

The frightful massacre was done by members of the secret society known as the Vegetarians who have been causing much trouble alike to Christians and heathen in and around Kucheng City. From various reports of those who saw the attack, I believe about eighty men were engaged. They were armed with spears and swords and seemed strongly organized under one chief leader.

The attack came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, not one of the victims having the slightest intimation of the intention to assault them. Thirty minutes from the time the onslaught commenced not a single Vegetarian was to be seen near the grounds of the massacre.

Miss Codrington told me that the ladies were the first seized and told that they were to be bound and taken away into captivity.

Afterwards several faint hearted attempts were made to kill them when they pleaded for their lives.

At this time the leader appeared upon the scene and noting the wavering of the gang, shouted to them: 'You know your orders. Kill them outright.' These orders were at once obeyed.

Mr. Phillips and I worked all the latter part of the night placing the remains in coffins. We finished the sorrowful duty about 8 P.M. on the 2d. Having finished placing the bodies in the coffins and fearing to remain on the scene we undertook to secure transportation to Suikow.

According to our request the district magistrate had remained with his soldiers on the ground, so we appealed to him for chairs for the living and bearers for coffins. After urgent pleading and finally commanding I was able to leave Hwasang at 3 P.M.

At 8.30 on the morning of August 3 there was the saddest, most appalling procession ever formed in China.

The magistrate had sent runners to Suikow by our orders and had impressed four native boats for us. We left for Foochow in the afternoon.

On the morning of the 4th we met a steam launch taking the sub prefect to Suikow. I boarded her and insisted on the launch towing our boats to Foochow, it being necessary to arrive there as soon as possible, since the effect of the extreme heat was proving serious.

We were welcomed by and our hearts were devoutly thankful to United States 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 remainder of the journey to Foochow.

At noon we met Mr. Gibbs, who kindly came in a houseboat to meet us, bringing more supplies.

We arrived at the United States consulate on the jetty at Foochow, where Consul Hixson and a large party of friends soon had the injured comfortably resting on clean beds.

When the question is asked as to the cause of the terrible massacre, one need have little doubt that the Vegetarians were the active participants, and that the local and provincial authorities were directly implicated in the crime seems certain for the society has been strong around Kucheng for two years and increasing.

The members have been growing bolder in their threats and acts as the months have passed.

Early in July last several hundreds attacked a village near Kucheng and killed and wounded several natives not Christians.

This never-punished viceroy sent to Kucheng small forces of two hundred soldiers to assist the local authorities in settling with several thousand determined savages.

It was a mere farce and the local officers were unable to do anything. But they criminally failed to promptly demand reinforcements from the viceroy.

It is obvious to all who have given the matter much thought that China has been encouraged to continued to be slack in caring for foreigners' lives and properties within her territory by the fact that heretofore a money indemnity has been accepted as the price of foreign blood spilt by murderous subjects.

Just as long as the foreign powers are satisfied with such a settlement of this wanton, barbarous destruction of life, just so long will China fail to govern her people as she should govern them in this enlightened century.

J J Gregory

Provenance: *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 “
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 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 am

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 US 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 RIOTS

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:—

“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, and we were . . . *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 kidnappers 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 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 Graves, St John's College, 7th August.

Provenance: *North China Herald*, Supplement, 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 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 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.

Provenance: *North China Herald*, Supplement Aug 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.

**Provenance: CMS East Asia Archives G C 1 0 1894,
National Library of Australia, Microfilm 1915, Reel 245.**

An edited version of the above report was sent from New York on 8 August 1895 by Reuters Telegrams.

The World publishes a statement from its Foochow correspondent by Dr. Gregory, and American missionary who was at Ku-Cheng near Hwa-Sang when the massacre at the latter place occurred. Dr Gregory says:—

On Tuesday a native Christian rushed into my study saying, ‘The foreign ladies at Hwa-Sang have been killed!’ I went at once to the Yamen in which I found hundreds of excited natives. In half an hour the magistrate Wong started for Hwa-Sang escorted by sixty soldiers. The coolies refused to carry chairs and thus delayed me. When I arrived I set about caring for the injured ladies. Miss Codrington had a sword-cut, seven inches long on her face, and other wounds on her head and limbs. Miss Hartford, an American lady, was on the road. Evan Stewart had received a stab but not of a serious character. The baby had an eye and its head cut and the wounds will probably prove fatal. The bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss Nellie Saunders and that of the children’s nurse, named Pellow (sic), were burned in the house.

Kathleen Stewart removed the baby from under the nurses’ body. Miss Hessie Newcombe was speared and thrown over an embankment. Her body was subsequently recovered.

Miss Lena (sic) Stewart received no serious wound but died of shock.

Miss Gordon had three spear wounds in the head.

Miss Topsy Saunders had her brain pierced.

The last three were found lying together in a heap.

A post-mortem examination of the bodies disclosed no sign of mutilation.

The band who attacked the station numbered about eighty. The ladies who were first seized pleaded with their assailants to spare them and for a short time the latter appeared to waver. The leader thereupon shouted, ‘you know your orders, kill them!’ Dr Phillips and myself worked all night and placed the bodies of the dead in coffins. We arrived at Suikow on the 3rd inst. In company with the magistrate and his escort who impressed boats for the journey.

On the 4th we met the Sub-Prefect in a launch and he insisted on taking us in tow. We afterwards met Mr. Hixson, the American Consul at Foochow, and Mr. Gibbs who bestowed on us every possible care.

The Vegetarians are responsible for the attack and there is no doubt that the provincial authorities were implicated in the disorders at Ku-Cheong last month. The Viceroy sent to Ku-Cheng two hundred soldiers to cope with several thousand savages. This was a mere farce. The Viceroy criminally failed to respond to a demand for reinforcements. The system hitherto observed of accepting a money indemnity for the blood of foreigners has encouraged China to neglect their safety.

Provenance: CMS Archives Birmingham

Rev W Banister to Baring-Gould, 8 August 1895.

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

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

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

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

sad meeting and we comforted each other by prayer and committed the whole matter to God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I trust this will not be the result but there are many things we cannot understand about this and it may

be that it was only part of a widespread conspiracy against foreigners and Christianity in the entire country and that further trouble awaits us.

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

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

I am Yours very truly

W Banister.

PS Since writing the above news has come in that the soldiers sent to protect the mission property are looting the houses instead. They have broken open the houses and pillaged the contents.

This certainly will prevent anyone going up there for a long time to come. The Vegetarians are reported to be gathering by the thousands not only in Ku Cheng but also in the adjoining counties.

Provenance: *North China Herald*, Supplement, 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.

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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.

Provenance: *North China Herald Supplement, Shanghai, 9 August 1895*

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE GREAT PUBLIC MEETING

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

5 The China Association, established 11 April 1889, was a business interest group for trade to China, Hong Kong and Japan. By 1895 it had over 400 members. It sought close cooperation with the British Foreign Office to protect British business interests. Although not interested in missionaries, it saw any attack on British subjects in China as a threat to all.

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 Richard⁶ 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 Denby 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 incredible is that Sir N O’Conor and Col. Denby should have assented to the

6 For an account of the Rev. Timothy Richard’s life and most important contribution to China see Bohr, Paul Richard, (1972), *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. See also Pfister, Lauren, (2003), ‘Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard,’ in Porter, Andrew (2003), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Mission, 1880-1914*, Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

7 Sir Nicholas O’Conor, British Minister and Colonel Charles Denby, American Minister.

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'Conor 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 war⁸ 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] Morrison⁹ 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 that the whole missionary community are a set of

8 Sino-Japanese War 1894-1895.

9 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 <http://www.earnshaw.com/shanghai-ed-india/tales/t-sinica.htm>

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 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 overboard 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 international 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, but 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 it 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. R W Little¹⁰—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*, 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

10 Introduced electric lighting to Shanghai.

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? 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 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 Margary, 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 something of the doctrines they themselves taught, and though have been, as Mr. Michie mentions in his *Missionaries in China*¹¹ 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.)

11 Michie, Alexander, (1891), *Missionaries in China*, London, E Stanford.

The Rev. Timothy Richard¹²—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 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. 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

12 Welsh Baptist missionary in China for over forty years. Richard saw the need for social, cultural and political reform in China. Soothill, W E, (1924), *Timothy Richard of China: seer, statesman, missionary & the most disinterested adviser the Chinese ever had*, London, Seeley Service. Bohr, Paul Richard, (1972), *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.

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 Hykes¹³—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 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 Hui¹⁴ 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

13 Agent of the American Bible Society in Shanghai.

14 The 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.

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 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 Reid¹⁵ 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.

Provenance: *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, Melbourne, Vol XXII, No 22, October 1895, pp 367-368

MORE ABOUT KU CHENG

STATEMENT OF KATHLEEN STEWART, (11 YEARS) AUGUST 8

Last Thursday morning, August 1st, between 6.30 and 7 a.m., Mildred and I were just outside the house, on a hill we called 'the garden,' picking ferns and flowers because it was Herbert's birthday, and we were going to decorate the breakfast table. We saw men coming along, and at first I thought they were *dang dangs* (load men). Milly saw their spears and told me to run, but I was so frightened I lay in the grass, thinking perhaps they would not see me. The men did see me, and took hold of me and pulled me by my hair along towards the house. Just as we arrived there I fell down. The then began beating me. I got away from them and ran to the back door. I tried to shut it, but could not at first, as the men put their sticks in, but afterwards succeeded, and bolted it. Then I went into our bedroom, and got under my bed. Mildred lay on her bed. Soon the men broke open the door, pulled off all the bed clothes, opened the drawers, and took what they wanted, smashed windows and things, then began Mildred and cut her with their swords; afterwards they left the room. One man saw me under the bed as they were going out, and gave me a knock on the head with a stick. We next saw Topsy Saunders with her cheek very much cut, being walked backwards and forwards by the men who were asking her questions; and if they were not answered quickly, they dug a spear into her. One question we heard them ask was about her money, and she told them they had taken all she had. Topsy afterwards came and told us to go into her room, so we went and lay there on her bed, and she left. We saw Nellie Saunders lying by the door moaning. From the window we saw four men outside the back door beating and killing the *kunions* (laides). One *kunions*'s head I saw quite smashed up in a corner; it was an awful sight. Very soon I heard a rushing noise like water, and going out to see what it was I found the house on fire. I went back to tell Mildred, and we went to the nursery, where we found Herbert covered with blood, Lena lying on the ground (I think she was dead, she was covered with blood), with baby beside her, and Evan sitting crying. I screamed at Lean, but she did not answer. I tried to lift her up, but could not. I took baby first and laid her down outside; then went back for Evan; then we all five went down past the *kunions*' house, which was all of a blaze, into the little wood. After waiting there a little while, I saw Miss Codrington with a Chinese man; I called out to her, and the Chinese man came and carried Herbert to Miss Hartford's. I carried baby, while Mildred and Evan waited in the wood. I then went back and carried Evan to Miss Hartford's. As I was going back for Mildred, I met her on the way trying to walk; but she had only come a few steps when I heard a cracking sound in her knee, and she fell down. Then I beckoned to a Chinese man, and he came and helped Mildred to walk a little way, and then carried her to Miss Hartford's. We stayed at Miss Hartford's till Friday afternoon, and started for Foochow about 4 o'clock.

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

Provenance: *North China Herald Supplement*, August 9, 1895, p v.

H S Phillips Statement.

The Rev. H S Phillips, English Church Mission, made the following statement:—

About 6.30 a.m. on the 1st August, haring shooting from the direction of the Stewart House—I was sleeping in a house five minutes walk off, though spending most of the day with the Stewarts—I went out and at first thought it was a number of children playing. But soon I was convinced that the voices were those of excited men and started off for the house. I was soon met by a native who almost pulled me back shouting the Vegetarians had come. I said I must go on, and soon got in sight of the house and could see numbers of men, say forty or fifty, carrying off loads of plunder. One man seemed to be the leader, carrying a small red flag. I could see nothing of our Europeans. As this was in full view of the rioters I crept up a hill in the brushwood and got behind two trees from twenty to thirty yards from the house. Here I could see everything and appeared not to be seen at all. As I could still see no foreigners I concluded they had escaped and so to go down was certain death I thought better to wait where I was. After a minute or two, the retreat horn sounded and the Vegetarians began to leave, but before they did so they set fire to the houses. Ten minutes after this every Vegetarian had gone. I came down and looked about the front of the house, but could see nothing of any one, though I feared something dreadful had happened as I heard the Vegetarians as they left say repeatedly, ‘Now all the foreigners are killed.’

I just then met one of the servants who told me the children were in the house in which Miss Hartford of the American Mission was staying. I found Mr. Stewart’s eldest daughter Mildred here with a serious wound on one knee, and another severe cut. When I had washed these and put what old calico we had to staunch the bleeding I turned to Herbert, Mr. Stewart’s son who was fearfully hacked almost everywhere. Then Miss Codrington sent me a message that she too was in the house. I found her in a fearful condition, but with cold water rags we managed to staunch the bleeding. She begged me not to wait as she thought Miss Topsy Saunders was still alive. I then rushed up to the back of the house and found the bodies of Miss T. Saunders, Miss Stewart, Miss Gordon and Miss Marshall. The latter was awfully cut, her head almost severed, but beyond wounds given in the struggle the bodies were not mutilated; then later I found Miss H Newcombe’s body at the foot of a hill in front of the house where it had evidently been thrown. As then I could see no traces of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss N Saunders, and Lena, the nurse, we hoped some had escaped and I returned to the house where the children (four Stewart children) and Miss Codrington were. Presently Miss Hartford arrived; she had received a nasty cut under one ear but had been saved from death by a native Christian. I learned later from Miss Codrington that the five ladies of the Zenana Missionary Society who lived in the lower of the two houses which form the Kucheng Sanatorium, after a futile effort to escape, got out at the back and were immediately surrounded by Vegetarians. At first they said they intended to bind them and carry them away and they begged if that was the intention they might be allowed their umbrellas, but this was instantly refused. Some of the Vegetarians seemed touched with their pleading for life, an old Whasang man alone of the natives who did not take part begged that their lives might be saved. Some of the Vegetarians were inclined to spare them but were ordered by their leader to carry out their orders. Had they been able to escape into the brushwood round, there seems little doubt they might have been saved. The great misfortune was that only two were dressed. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, I learned from Kathleen Stewart, were not dressed. Lena, the nurse, died protecting the baby whom Kathleen managed to carry out of the house though not before the baby’s eye was injured. Miss Nelly Saunders, Kathleen told me, was also knocked down at the nursery door going to help the children and as we afterwards found the remains of a burnt body there, we had little doubt it was hers. For a long time we thought that at least Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had escaped; but later I found their bodies, or rather ashes, in what had been their bed-room. The Whasang people seem to have as a whole no hand in the affair, though doubtless four or five Vegetarian families were concerned; the natives say a Vegetarian band came from the east road (of Kucheng city), and within thirty or forty li of Kucheng. The Kucheng magistrate, named Wong, came up in the evening to examine into the case.

Provenance: *The North China Herald*, 30 August 1895. p 367

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE MISS CODRINGTON'S STATEMENT

Miss Codrington, (English) was among the number of helpless ladies who were attacked and savagely assaulted by armed desperadoes at Whasang, a suburb of Kucheng, on the 1st of August, under circumstances already described in these columns. She was fearfully hacked about, very nearly 'done to death' in fact, her wounds being described as follows in our issue of the 6th instant:—[by Dr. Gregory] Miss Codrington was cut from left angle of the mouth diagonally outward and downward. The wound is seven inches in extent and completely divides the lower lip exposing the jaw-bone. She has a nasty cut on the crown of her head, three inches in length, which exposes the nose; a cut under her left eye, three inches long; a deep gash on the right side of the neck; two wounds in the right arm and a deep spear wound in the right thigh.

Little wonder, then, that this lady was too seriously ill to make a statement of her terrible experiences as soon as she arrived at Foochow. We are, however, in position now, through our Foochow correspondent who has been courteously supplied with it, to furnish our readers with this lady's reminiscences of that awful tragedy, told in her own simple language. It is the most interesting and important statement yet published and copies of it should be forwarded without delay to the friends of all our readers at home. The statement is as follows:—

It happened about 6.45 on Thursday morning, August 1st. I had been up about half an hour and was almost dressed when I was startled by a sudden shout of men's voices followed by a child's scream and rapidly succeeded by a loud report of a cracker and terrified cries from the servants and teachers quarters. I went at once to our front door [CEZMS House] and there met Miss Gordon coming into the house (she had been sitting outside reading). In answer to my enquiry, 'What is the matter?' she answered, 'Something serious. I think the rioters are here.'

Just as she was speaking one of our teachers rushed into the house and out the back way without speaking and then I saw a man coming from the Stewart's house brandishing a long spear in his hand. I got the front door shut and locked before he reached it, and calling to Miss Gordon to help close the shutters in front of the house as rapidly as possible, at the same time we both urged the other ladies, who were still in bed, to get their things on and come at once.

The man outside began beating in the windows with his spear, and called others to join him. More men came, a cracker was let off in front of our house and then they all set to work to break in the front of the house. Miss Newcombe and Miss Marshall were soon ready and joined Miss Gordon and myself at Miss Stewart's door, which was fastened on the inside. After a little delay, Miss Stewart opened her door, but we had not succeeded in getting her things on before the men had effected an entrance. Some of us shut the bedroom door and fastened it, but we soon saw our position was more hopeless shut in there, so we opened the door and made a rush to escape by the kitchen, hoping they were too busy plundering to notice. Unfortunately the kitchen door was fastened on the inside so we retired to Miss Stewart's room again to consult, Miss Marshall receiving a wound on her shoulder as we went back. We tried to escape by the window, had got the shutter open and were in the act of jumping out when two men rushed at us and drove us back with their spears.

We then knelt together in prayer as the men hammered on the door.. Soon it was burst open and in they rushed but at first were too busy searching for money to molest us. Seeing the kitchen door open, four of us—Miss Gordon, Miss Marshall, Miss Stewart and I—made for that, but Miss Newcombe and I got separated from us and I never saw her again. We passed safely through the deserted kitchen into the court at the back, where we were again confronted by men. They searched us to see if we had any money about us, and one of them pulled the ring off my finger. They were passing on into the house when another man came and asked them, 'Have you secured anything?' 'Not yet,' was the reply. 'Do it quickly, then.' he said. I think it was just then that a

man whose dress and appearance differed from all the rest and who, I think, belonged to the Whasang village, interposed and begged them to spare our lives. 'If you give us \$2,000,' was the scornful reply given him. Miss Marshall then begged me to go to this man and get him to help us. I asked him to save us if he could. 'They won't kill you,' he said. By this time we had got outside and were standing between the Stewart's house and ours, at the back. The men gathered round and threatened us with knives and spears.

A division arose among them. Some suggested taking us to Kucheng for the hope of a reward, others shouted, 'Kill them! Kill them!' Miss Marshall's wound was bleeding profusely and I begged her to let me try to staunch it, but she declared it was nothing. For a moment it seemed they decided not to kill us, but to bind us and take us to Kucheng. Miss Marshall asked me to beg them not to bind us. I went up to the seeming leader and said we would walk quietly, and told him if he killed us or ill treated us the consequences would be most serious. 'Walk on, then.' He said. Just at that moment a man carrying a red flag and crying—'KILL THE! KILL THEM! VERY ONE!'

A man seized me by the collar of my jacket and pointed a knife to my throat, and then as our eyes met he dropped his hand and walked away. In the scuffle I had been dragged away from the others—a little way—but now got back to them and standing close together we received the onslaught. A blow on the head made me unconscious for a minute. When I came to I was lying between Miss Marshall and Miss Stewart. I still heard men's voices so lay quite still. Miss Marshall was groaning a little at first, and I hoped was still living. Soon I heard the order to start away given, followed by the crackling of burning wood which told me our houses were on fire.

The next thing I remember was hearing Cassie [Kathleen] Stewart's voice crying, 'Oh, they've killed them all.' As soon as I dared I got up. A glance told me Miss Stewart and Miss Gordon had gone, but Miss Marshall and Miss Topsy Saunders seemed to be breathing still. They were lying just under the wall of the house and with some difficulty I dragged them a little further out of the reach of the flames.

Then, feeling my own strength fast giving way, I went in search of help. Standing on the hill I looked down and saw a man standing below. I beckoned him to come, but I think he was too frightened; but still I knew by his signs that he was friendly and so somehow I made my way down the hill to where he was standing.

Cassie Stewart (11 years) joined me on the way with baby Stewart, and told me the other children were on the hill, but she did not know where her mother and father were. Some Christians then joined us. At first they were afraid to take us to Miss Hartford's house, which was close at hand, fearing the return of the rioters; but finding I could not walk any farther they got me in there and then went for the children. I was unconscious after this, I think, for I do not remember anything more after this, till I heard Mr. Phillips and the children in the next room. Mr. Phillips came to me and stanching the bleeding with wet rags. He then went to see if the others still lived, but it was soon ascertained that of our mission only the children and myself survived.

To Mr. Phillips prompt attention I feel, under God, I owe my life.

Later in the evening, Dr. Gregory arrived and dressed our wounds. We owe much to his kind care on the journey down. The next day we left for Foochow and arrived here on Sunday afternoon.—*Hongkong Telegraph*

Provenance: *North China Herald Supplement*, August 9, p v.

Mabel Hartford's Statement, Cols 1 and 2

The following statements, received in Shanghai, have been handed to us for publication:—

Miss Hartford, an American lady missionary, gives the following account:—The massacre took place on the 1st August. At 1.30 a.m. I heard shouts and yells on the streets at Kucheng, and my servants rushed into my room shouting for me to get up, as the Vegetarians were coming and they were burning down the house belonging to the English mission, on the hills. A few minutes later my teacher came to the door. I put on my clothes, rushed out to the door, to be met by a man with a trident spear who yelled, 'Here's a

foreign woman!’ The man pointed his spear at my breast but I twisted the weapon to one side and it just grazed my ear and head beside the ear. The man then threw me to the ground and beat me with the wooden end of the spear. A servant came and wrenched the spear away and told me to flee. I jumped down an embankment and ran along the road, and servant came, and pulled me along until I got u to the side of the hill, where I lay to get more breath. After resting twice I reached a secluded spot and lay there. All the time the yells went on, and the two houses were burning to the ground. After a while, the yelling stopped and we supposed the Vegetarians had gone away, so the servant went to see how matters were. He returned in half an hour telling me to come home, and that five ladies of the English mission had been killed, and some wounded were at my house. This was a rented native house and not troubled at all. I went home to find Miss Codrington much cut about the head and beaten all over. Mildred Stewart (twelve years) cut on knee, which was bleeding very hard. Herbert Stewart, aged six years, cut on the head and almost dead. Baby Stewart, one year old, one black and swollen knee; the second Stewart girl, Kathleen,, aged eleven years, and the second boy, Exan, aged three years, were beaten and pierced with spears but not seriously injured. The boy vomited all day at times, but we thought from fright. Mr. Phillips. Of the English mission, lived in a native house at some distance and escaped all injury, only arriving in time to see the bodies of the dead and to hear the Vegetarians say, ‘we have killed all the foreigners.’ At first we heard that some of the foreigners had escaped and were in hiding, but as Mr. Stewart did not come we feared the worst. Mr. Phillips went to the ruins and found eight bodies, five not burned and three burned so as not to be recognizable. Dr. Gregory arrived at dark and dressed the patients. Coffins were made and the bodies put in, and the bones of the burned put in boxes, another burned one was found, making nine grown people massacred.

The murdered were the Rev. R W Stewart and his wife (2), Mrs. Stewart’s nurse from Ireland called Iena, (3) Miss Nellie Saunders (4), Miss topsy Saunders (5), both of Australia. They live din the upper house called ‘Stewart Home.’ Miss Hettie Newcombe of Ireland (6), Miss Elsie Marshall (7) Miss Lucy Stewart of England (8), and Miss Annie Gordon of Australia (9).

The first four were burned beyond recognition. Miss Hettie Newcombe was thrown down an embankment and her nearly severed from her shoulders. Miss Gordon’s head was also nearly cut off. The bodies were put in coffins and we elft Wahsang for Chaokan at about four o’clock on Friday evening. On the end of August, Herbert Stewart died about three hours later just below Kolong. We took the body on in a chair and had a coffin made at Suikow, and reached Suikow at about eight o’clock on Saturday morning, and telegraphed to Foochow for a steam launch. We left Suikow in two native boats at 3 p.m. and on Sunday morning met a steam launch going to Suikow taking soldiers. We engaged them to tow us to Foochow and soon after met another steam launch having the U.S. Marshall and two English missionaries on board.

When I was thrown down my teacher’s wife called on some Whasang men who stood around to save me. There were four men there, and only one Vegetarian, but they would not help me. She (the teachers’ wife) came and tired to pull me away as he beat me and a Vegetarian kicked her. When this Vegetarian who beat me started down the hill to come to our house there wee three others with him, but they then ran off after some Chinamen. I escaped with only one persecutor. There were about fifty Vegetarians. I only saw the one who shouted, ‘Here is a foreign woman, and he had a trident spear.’ Some of them had swords and there was at least one gun for it was fired off. The natives say there were several other guns. The Kucheng Magistrate came up to Wahsang, on Friday evening, the 1st of August, with one hundred soldiers. He viewed the bodies, saw the injured, enquired names of all and places of injuries and wrote out an account. He did what he could to

Provenance: *North China Herald*, Supplement Aug 9, 1895, p iv-v

Dr Gregory’s Summary of Injuries and Cause of Deaths.

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| Miss Codrington (English) . . . 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 . . . 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.

Herbert 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 case 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 (Yellop)** 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.

Provenance *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.

Provenance *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

**THE LEADERS OF THE ASSASSINS
IDENTIFICATION BY THE AMERICAN CONSUL**

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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

**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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

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 . . .

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

**[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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

**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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 August 1895

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.

Provenance: *The New Zealand Herald*, 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.

Provenance: *The Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 9 Aug 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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 10 August 1895

**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. There was another way of looking at the question. What did . . .

Provenance: *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 purposed of expressing sympathy with the relatives of the martyrs, and indignation at the brutal action of their countrymen 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.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 August 1895*

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.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL METHODIST MISSION MEMORIAL SERVICE AT PARRAMATTA

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 10 August 1895*
MEMORIAL SERVICES

Tomorrow evening the Rev. Rainsford Bavin¹⁶, 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.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 August 1895

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.

Provenance: *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.

16 Rev. Rainsford Bavin was Superintendent of the Wesleyan Central Mission, Sydney.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

**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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

**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.'

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

**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 effused 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

**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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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 consults 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 toe scene of the murder.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

AMERICAN MISSION HOUSE DESTROYED. THE MISSIONARIES ESCAPE

LONDON, Aug. 6.

The latest news from Shanghai is tot he 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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 plentiful, 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 a 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. He 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 joined 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. Kang, 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 Cheek 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.'

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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 shrank from touching on details that I thought would be too harrowing. Added to this marvelous 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHINESE MISSIONARY IN MELBOURNE THE REV. CHEOK HONG CHEONG THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF CHINA

The Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong, 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

AUSTRALIAN LADY MISSIONARIES

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.

| NAME | Title, First Name | ORIGIN | LOCATION, CHINA | SOCIETY |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Garland | Miss | Brunswick | Kansu | China Inland Mission |
| Garland | Miss S | Brunswick | Kansu | CIM |
| Gould | Miss A | Melbourne | Shensi | CIM |
| Burgess | Miss O | Melbourne | Shensi | CIM |
| Strong | Mr. W S | Melbourne | Shensi | CIM |
| Middleton | Mr. R W | Adelaide | Shensi | CIM |
| Booth | Miss | | Shensi | CIM |
| Steel | Miss | | Shensi | CIM |
| Sorensen | Miss | | Shensi | CIM |
| Coleman | Miss | | Shensi | CIM |
| Scarell | Miss | New Zealand | Shantung | CIM |
| Devenish | Mr. A S | Adelaide | Shantung | CIM |
| Joyce | Mr. F S | South Melbourne | Hunan | CIM |
| Lloyd | Miss J | South Melbourne | Honan | CIM |
| Wallace | Miss | Malvern | Honan | CIM |
| Box | Miss F | Melbourne | Kiangsu | CIM |
| M'Culloch | Miss F | Melbourne | Kiangsu | CIM |
| Henry | Miss | Ballarat | Kiangsu | CIM |
| Parsons | Rev C H | Caulfield | Szechuan | CIM |
| Roberts | Miss | Warrnambool | Szechuan | CIM |
| Thompson | Mr. W L | Sydney | Szechuan | CIM |
| Southey | Mr. | Queens land | Szechuan | CIM |
| Southey | Mrs. | Queensland | Szechuan | CIM |
| Burden | Miss F | Adelaide | Kueichew | CIM |
| Reid | Miss S M E | Broadford Vic` | Uinan | CIM |
| Allen | Mrs. | Melbourne | Uinan | CIM |
| Goold | Miss | Kew, Vic | Kiangsi | CIM |
| Fleming | Miss K | Melbourne | Kiangsi | CIM |
| Fleming | Miss H R | Melbourne | Kiangsi | CIM |
| Martin | Miss L | Melbourne | Kiangsi | CIM |
| Blakely | Miss | New Zealand | Kiangsi | CIM |
| Westwood | Mr. W | Melbourne | Anhei | CIM |
| Clinton | Mr. T A P | Ballarat | Anhei | CIM |
| Entwhistle | Mr. W E | Melbourne | Anhei | CIM |

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

HISTORY OF THE MISSION

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

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

THE CAUSE OF THE MASSACRE A BLOOD-THIRSTY 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 blood-thirsty 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. Kang, 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.'

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

A VEGETARIAN PLACARD

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. 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

LETTERS FROM MISS [ELIZABETH] 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 coffin-man'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. 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895*

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 Cheong 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 Cheong 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.

Provenance: *The Weekly Times*, (Melbourne), 10 August 1895

`EDITORIAL
THE MASSACRE OF MISSIONARIES
Australian And British Martyrs In China

The appalling tidings of the horrible massacre of British missionaries in China has sent a wave of intensest horror all over the civilized world. And Australia mourns, not only in sympathy with the mother-land for the loss of heroic and devoted Christian workers, but also her own direct and immediate bereaving. Victoria has at least two martyrs of her own among the butchered victims of Chinese fanaticism; and more than two well-known and esteemed among her people have passed in blood and through fire to their eternal reward. At least ten lives have been sacrificed, and the cruel death roll comprises no fewer than eight Christian ladies. A ninth life, burnt cruelly out in the agony of fire, is that of a missionary's little child. The tenth spirit yielded up—amid the flames that also consumed the bodies of his wife and little one—is that of a noble and fearless servant of Christ in the mission field, the Rev

Robert W. Stewart, known intimately to many residents of Victoria by reason of a visit paid to the colony about three years ago. Mr. Stewart's terrible fate, to those who were fully acquainted with the man and the Christian, is as the martyrdom of a dear personal friend. But it is the atrocious slaughter of our own daughters that naturally most deeply stirs the compassion of Victorians. Almost this colony may claim three of the Christian heroines of Ku Cheng as her children—as the offering she has made to the great cause of Christian Missions in the semi-barbarous East.

It is true that Miss Mary Gordon, so foully slain, was a native, not of Victoria, but of Queensland, but she received her training for missionary work on Victorian soil, at St Mary's Caulfield, from the Rev. H.B. Macartney. She was sent to China from this colony by the Zenana Missionary Society about six years ago, and her good work in that distant and perilous field has been an admirable outcome of Victorian training and missionary zeal.

There are, however, two names in the martyr roll that belong altogether to Victoria—those of the sweet and self-devoted young Melbourne ladies, the Misses Nellie and Lizzie Saunders. They left this colony two years ago for China, as we are graphically told, “burning with Christian zeal” and strong in the hope of years of useful life amongst the Chinese. They were the only children of their mothers, and she is a widow. She sent them gladly forth from their happy home at Kew, with her fond blessing, to live and work for Christ among a people where they and she knew such life and work might bring the martyr's death of agony and the martyr's crown of glory. They went forth, these brave-hearted, pure-souled, high-minded, and heroic girls—the elder but 22 and the younger only 20, when they left for China—in the unflinching, self-sacrificing spirit of their Master. Their noble work—healing the bodies and caring for the souls of the Chinese, many of whom came to them and heard them gladly—has been cut short by atrocious savagery, but the Spirit that animated them prevails above death, and will assuredly conquer in China as elsewhere in the strife that has been persistently waged against evil and ignorance from the time the Cross of Christ heralded the triumph of the “kindly Light” over the fell powers of Darkness.

Not, happily, for many years has there been such a terrible record of Christian martyrdom as that furnished by Ku Cheng. Horrible murder, death by hacking to pieces, slow martyrdom by fire these fill not up the awful sum of atrocity. Horrors befell some of the lady missionaries which are but hinted at. They were “horribly tortured”, we are told, before being put to death. Even the children, poor little innocents, who escaped alive were impaled in hideous derision, and had their shuddering eyes savagely gouged out. The horrors, it appears, from trustworthy information, were inflicted by a Chinese rabble of lay-breakers and freebooters, who set the Mandarins at defiance and held the respectable Chinese population under a reign of terror.

The Chinese people, according to the Rev Cheok Hong Cheong, the Chinese missionary in Melbourne, are generally speaking inclined to be friendly to the missionaries; but there is a considerable section of the populace who belong to secret societies which over-awe the civil authorities of the country. The missionaries are hated by these people simply because they are foreigners, and in the race-hatred that exists rather than in religious antagonism, Mr. Cheok Hong Cheong finds a sufficient explanation of the present trouble.

That there is a religious element in the frightful affair is, however, evident from the proclamations issued at Ku-Cheng against the followers of Jesus and their doctrines. A Buddhist society known as the Vegetarians has been the moving spirit in the massacres and Great Britain may be relied upon to see that its leaders are promptly brought to justice. Swift and exemplary punishment will assuredly follow such atrocious outrages. The Salisbury Government is not likely to allow the supineness or impotence of the Chinese authorities to permit the escape of the murderers.

In the meantime no little anxiety will be felt lest the anti-foreign outbreak should spread, and thereby imperil the lives of the missionaries who are scattered over China. There are thirty-five Australians engaged in missionary work in different parts of the great Empire, including twenty-four Victorians, of whom as many as sixteen are ladies. The friends of all these will be intensely concerned and distressed for their safety for some time to come.

One thing, however, is certain—the precious blood spilt at Ku Cheng will not have poured froth in

vain. The massacre calls the attention of the Christian world to China, and it will be followed inevitably by developments that will surely clear the way for greatly increased missionary effort in that great field of labor, and will enable "more Light:" to be more freely and more safely carried by missionary heroes and heroines into those dark and cruel places of the earth.

Provenance: *The New Zealand Herald*, Wednesday, August 10, 1895.

**OUTRAGES IN CHINA
ATTACKS ON FOREIGN MISSIONS
THREATS OF THE VEGETARIANS
WAR OF EXTERMINATION AGAINST MISSIONARIES
THE KUCHENG MASSACRE**

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SHANGHAI, August 8

Yesterday a mob attacked the British and American mission houses in Fatshan, near Canton. The hospital was demolished. Some of the foreign residents have fled from the city. A Chinese gunboat has been ordered to proceed there.

The Vegetarians number 12000 and are well armed. They intend to destroy the whole of the missions in the Quang Tung province, and eject the missionaries.

It is reported that an outbreak against Christians has taken place in Ching Chow, Hupeh, Taiping, and Antiur.

Two hundred Sikh troops, stationed in Hongkong, escort Mr. Mansfield, the British Consul, to Kucheng. The attack on the missionaries there was, it is asserted, organised by the officials.

At a public meeting held here resolutions were carried denouncing the connivance of the officials. Complaints were made of the inadequate means of the British Government to protect its subjects in the East, and it was demanded that pressure be brought to bear on the Chinese Government to stop outrages.

The American Consul in Foochow reports that he has obtained the names of the leaders of the massacre.

SHANGHAI, August 9

Mabel Hartford, 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 the body.

Provenance: *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 August 1895

**MASSACRES IN CHINA
FURTHER OUTRAGES REPORTED
ATTACK ON AN AMERICAN MISSION
12,000 WELL ARMED VEGETARIANS
OUTBREAK AGAINST NATIVE CHRISTIANS
SIKH ESCORT FOR THE BRITISH CONSUL
MEETING AT HONGKONG**

(By Cable Message)

LONDON, August 8.

Further outrages upon Christian missionaries in China are reported. Yesterday a mob attacked the British and American missions at Fatshan, near Canton. The mission hospital was demolished and some of the missionaries have fled. A Chinese gunboat has been dispatched to the scene.

It is said that the 'Vegetarians' who are the authors of the recent outrages, number 12,000 and are well armed.

A telegram published by the Pall Mall Gazette states that there has been an outbreak against the Christians at Ching Chow, Hupeh, Taiping, and Anhui.

Mr. Robert William Mansfield, the British Acting Consul at Foochow, will have an escort of 200 Sikh troops to Kucheng, whither he is proceeding to make inquiries into the recent massacre of missionaries.

It is now known that the attack on the missionaries was organised by Chinese officials.

A public meeting has been held at Hongkong and resolutions passed denouncing the connivance of the Chinese officials in the outrages, and complaining of the inadequate means taken by the British Government to protect British subjects in China. The meeting demanded that pressure should be brought to bear on China to force the Emperor to give full protection to Europeans.

LONDON, August 9.

According to later information from China, Miss Mabel Hartford, one of the American missionaries at Fatshan [*Kucheng*], states that the attack on the mission station there was made at 7 o'clock in the morning. She herself was nearly speared and was severely beaten by the mob.

With regard to the recent massacre at Kucheng, it has been found that Miss Topsy Saunders, one of the murdered ladies, escaped from Dr. Stewart's house when the building was set on fire, and was killed, outside the house. Miss Gordon (the Australian lady) was not speared, as previously reported, but had her throat cut, her head being nearly severed from her body.

LATER

The Chinese Minister in London, and the members of the British Cabinet, are now consulting together with regard to the recent massacres in China.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 August 1895

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
THE OUTBREAK EXTENDING
A RISING NEAR CANTON
HOSPITALS DEMOLISHED**

LONDON, AUG 8

Latest advices from China state that a mob yesterday attacked the British and American missions at Fatshan, near Canton. The hospital was demolished. Some of the missionaries fled. A Chinese gunboat has been despatched to Fatshan.

The correspondent in China of the *Pall Mall Gazette* states that 12,000 members of the Vegetarian Secret Society are well armed, and are threatening the missions in Chingchow, Hupeh, Taiping, and Anhi.

It is also stated that Chinese officials are organizing the attacks on the missions.

Mr. R. M. Mansfield, the British Acting-Consul at Foochow, will proceed to Ku-Cheng to inquire into the massacres. He will be escorted by a force of 200 Sikhs from Hongkong.

A public meeting has been held at Hongkong, at which the connivance of the Chinese officials in the attacks on the missions was denounced. Grave complaints were also made of the inadequate means taken by the British Government to protect its subjects in China, and resolutions were passed demanding that pressure should be brought to bear upon the authorities at Peking.

AUG 9

An account of the massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheng has been received from Miss Mabel Hartford, one of the American missionaries. She states that the mission station was attacked by the mob at 7 o'clock in the morning. She was severely beaten and was nearly speared to death. She found that Miss Topsy Saunders had made her escape from the part of the compound in which she resided, and had fled to the Rev. R. W. Stewart's house for safety. She was, however, overtaken by the murderers, and killed outside the house. The body of Miss Gordon, one of the victims, was found to have been hacked about in a shocking manner, the head being almost severed.

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

Provenance: *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.

Provenance: *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 colliers 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

Provenance: *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 Pinyang, with the force will proceed in the American gunboat Petrel.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald, 12 August 1895*

**ANTI-MISSIONARY RIOTS IN SZEWCHEW
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 anti-missionary 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 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 yaamen, 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 Yaamen, 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 Yaamen as rapidly as chairs could be obtained. About 10.5 a.m. only six of the 11 adults had started for the Yaamen. 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 Yaamen 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.

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

LETTER FROM MRS BATHGATE TO MRS. SAUNDERS

FOOCHOW, AUGUST 12TH, 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

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 12 Aug 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 affairs 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.

Provenance. *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 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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 13 August 1895

**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-Ceng 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.

Provenance. *The Age*, Melbourne, 13 August 1895

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,

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 August 1895

**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-Chenghas 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.

Provenance: *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 *Baltimoe*, 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.

Provenance: Church Missionary Society East Asian Mission, (MS National Library of Australia mfm 1915 Toll 232b)

**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.

(8) 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.

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 13 Aug 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 wee. 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-Cheong. 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-Cheong, 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.

Provenance: Church Missionary Society East Asian Mission, (MS National Library of Australia mfm 1915 Toll 232b)

Extract from letter of 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 has 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 Kuliang, a summer resort, for his own pleasure, so that he was not in Foochow when our telegram arrived saying were bringing the wounded, and if 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.

**Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1895
Condolences from the Metropolitan Local Union of the Christian Endeavour Societies**

Provenance: *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 Masonic Hall, Castlereagh St, 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. Soo Hoo Ten (Church of England missionary), Rev. J. 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 in both the Chinese and English languages.

Provenance: *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 that can place beyond cavil the significance of these heroic and unselfish lives.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1895.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD

Sir, The letter of Mr. J. C. Nelld, M.L.A., opens up a very fair subject for calm 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 massacred for the cause of Christ? Certainly not: but because they belonged to the hated Ferringhee: and many a one has been butchered in China for the simple reason that he was a "Mo Pin Fanqui"—a "no-ail foreign devil" for that is its true meaning—but not being enrolled among the list of missionaries cannot be numbered in the "glorious army of martyrs." The great host who suffered under Pagan persecutions shed the 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 torture 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 not read of delicate ladies going forth among barbarians to preach Christ; and I think, with Mr. Nelld, 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 uncivilized barbarians, and are reaching those that men could not meet. Blood will now be demanded for the bloodshed—righteous retribution will be exacted, not for Christ's sake, but because the national honour has been ruthlessly violated. I am etc.

CROMWELLIAN

Provenance: *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 of Mrs. Stewart who in a frenzy fought until literally hacked to pieces.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 1895.

THE KU-CHEUNG MASSACRE MEETING OF CHINESE

A public meeting of Chinese resident in Sydney was held last night in the Masonic Hall, Castlereagh-street, to consider the question of raising memorials to those who lost their lives in the recent massacre of missionaries at Ku-Cheung. There was a number of ladies and Europeans present, besides a large gathering of Chinese, and two rows of seats near the platform were occupied by the rescued members of the crew of the *Cathethun*. There were present on the platform with Mr. Quong Tart, who presided, the

Rev. George Soo-Hoo-Ten (C.E.), Rev Young-Wai (Presbyterian), Rev. David Shing (Wesleyan), Dr On Lee, Dr Tin Hung, and Messrs. Ping Song, Mar-Sing, James Wing, T Lee, May Sam, Coy Hang, and others. After a hymn had been sung, and a prayer offered by the Rev. David Shing, the chairman announced that a number of apologies for non-attendance had been received and then addressed those present. He said it was a meeting of the Chinese residents of Sydney, some of whom were Christians and some of whom were not, but all of whom had the privilege of living in a Christian community, and therefore deeply deplored the fearful tragedy which had taken place at Ku-Cheong. They recognized the high character of the missionaries, and their desire for the welfare of the Chinese, and to extend the blessings of the Christian religion to others. They must all admire their courage in going to a country strange to them. While they were conscious of the ignorance and superstition which prevailed in their own land, yet they did not wish their country to be thought worse than it deserved, and they felt sure most of the better class among the Chinese would most strongly disapprove and detest this terrible massacre. Mr. Tart then gave a brief resume of the character of the "vegetarians" and their habits. It had been, he said, a case of religious intolerance of a most violent kind, and unfortunately there always had been and even now in all parts of the world, and in every religion in the world, too much intolerance. Though it was not his wish to suggest that there had been any want of caution in the present instance, China was not like New South Wales, and great care ought to be taken before sending female missionaries there. They had no railways, few telegraphs, and traveling was slow, consequently aid in any crisis was difficult to obtain. He felt sure that had the mandarins the power they would have suppressed the insurrection.

Several others spoke, and the following resolutions were put and carried unanimously: -"That the Chinese residents of Sydney desire to place on record their utter abhorrence of the massacre of Christians at Ku-Cheong."

"That letters of condolence be sent on behalf of the Chinese residents to the parents and other relatives of the victims of the atrocious outrage committed upon Christian missionaries at Ku-Cheong."

"That letters of sympathy be sent to the New South Wales Church Missionary Association and to the Church Missionary Society expressing the earnest hope of the principal Chinese residents of Sydney that the massacres of Christian missionaries at Ku-Chengwill in no way discourage that association or kindred societies from prosecuting their glorious work of planting the standard of the cross on every portion of Chinese soil."

"That a committee be appointed, with power to add to their number, to carry out the objects embraced in the resolutions passed by this meeting of Chinese residents of Sydney, and make such arrangements as they may deem best in regard to memorials to those who were massacred at Ku-Cheong, to consist of the Revs. Soo-Hoo-ten, J Wong-Wair, David Shing, Dr. On Lee, and Messrs. Quong Tart, J. Ah Long, T Lee, Suu Johnson and Wong Choy."

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 1895.

Special cables
From the *Herald's* London Correspondents
THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
BRITISH AND AMERICAN CONSULS GOING TO KU-CHENG

LONDON, AUG 14.

The British and American Consuls at Foochow have started for Ku-Cheng, escorted by 100 Chinese braves. The Chinese Viceroy refused to permit a foreign escort to accompany the Consuls.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA
GRAVE ASPECT OF AFFAIRS
THE GOVERNMENT INCAPABLE

LONDON, Aug 14

The *Times* special correspondent at Tientsin telegraphs that the Chinese Government is in a helpless state of confusion, and in incapable of taking decisive action with the view of carrying out its authority in an effective manner. The correspondent adds that serious results will probably ensue unless the Powers take

precautions to prevent such a contingency.

Provenance: (CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

15 Aug 1895 Wolfe to Baring-Gould

1. What is British Government doing about Kucheng (Gutian)?
2. Bring criminals to justice.
 - CMS Girls Boarding School, leased by Chinese government, to be deeded to CMS in perpetuity, free of rent.
 - Return property on Wushihshan..
3. No money compensation to be sought.
4. Free site in perpetuity to CEZMS in Foochow for a Memorial Girls Boarding School.
5. Wolfe has not consulted other missionaries.

Provenance: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 August 1895.

**THE MASSACRES IN CHINA
THE CHURCH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION**

A largely attended meeting of the general committee of the New South Wales Church Missionary Association, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, under the auspices of which the martyred missionaries went to China, was held in the Chapter-house yesterday afternoon. In the absence of the Dean through indisposition, the Rev. Canon Moreton was voted to the chair. There was almost a full attendance of members, those present being Ven. Archdeacon Langley, Revs. John Vaughn, M. Archdall, A.E. Bellingham, R. Noake, W. Martin (clerical secretary of the association), H. Martin, E. Claydon, and John Dixon, Dr. Houison and Messrs. J. Kent (hon. treasurer), W. Crane, W. E. Shaw, E. P. Field, C.R. Walsh (hon. Lay secretary), and H. M. Taylor (assistant lay secretary). The business of the meeting principally had reference to the recent massacres of missionaries belonging to the society at Ku-Cheong. A large number of letters expressing sympathy with the association in the loss it had sustained were received.

It was unanimously resolved that the heartfelt thanks of the committee should be conveyed to the various Churches and religious societies which had so kindly expressed their sympathy with the association in the trouble which had fallen upon it in China, and the lay secretary was requested to communicate the resolution accordingly.

A sub-committee, consisting of the executive committee, (the Dean, Rev. W. Martin, Mr. C. R. Walsh and Mr. J. Kent), together with other members of the general committee, was appointed to consider the best method for perpetuating the memory of the martyrs.

It was then resolved that, towards obtaining this end, a fund should be opened at once, and that contributions might be forwarded to the hon. Treasurer, Mr. J. Kent, of the Strand, or to the clerical or lay secretaries.

There was a general consensus of opinion that there should be a memorial, and it was felt that the best shape that such a memorial could assume would be the extension of the work of the association, with special consideration to the needs of China.

A number of suggestions were made, but it was thought advisable to await the report of the sub-committee before arriving at any decision.

The sub-committee will meet an early date to carry out the functions entrusted to it, and to give the movement a more definite shape.

The clerical and lay secretaries (Rev. W. Martin and Mr. C. R. Walsh) announced that since the receipt of the news of the massacre several offers of service had been received.

After the transaction of other business in connection with the association, the meeting adjourned.

Provenance: *Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 16 August 1895

CABLE NEWS
HOME AND FOREIGN
The massacres in China

LONDON, August 14.—England and America will form a joint commission to inquire into the Kucheng massacre.

The Times special at Tientsin says that the Chinese Government is helping owing to the confusion which reigns all over the Empire.

The officials are incapable of decisive action or exercising effective authority. Serious results will probably eventuate unless the Powers take precautions.

SHANGHAI, August 14.—The British and American consuls at Foochow have started for Kucheng escorted by a hundred braves.

The Viceroy refused to allow foreign troops.

Provenance. *The Bulletin*, Sydney, Saturday, 17 August 1895 EDITORIAL

The Ku-Chen Massacre

The periodical tale of missionary massacres arrives from China. In that country the missionary slaughter season comes much as the drought year does in Australia; it has no fixed date; there may be a long or short interval between the times of its recurrence, and its severity and duration and the area affected are all uncertain—but sooner or later its coming may be relied upon. Just now China is more disorganized than usual, and a faction known as the “Vegetarians” has been raging more bitterly than it generally does, and the latest missionary slaughter—as far as the daily paper accounts are to be relied upon—has been even more gruesome than it is at ordinary times.

Many of the victims are women—some of them Australian women, for the fanatics of this country have lately been seized with a craze for the conversion of the Chinaman; and, therefore, the take of outrage and horror is of much local interest. So far, it is only missionary side of the story that has been heard, and probably things will remain that way; the Chinese story, if there is such a thing, is never listened to. A discordant howl for vengeance has gone up in all directions, and in reply to the demands made for blood and retaliation the Mongolian authorities have promised the fullest satisfaction. Satisfaction, in such cases, mostly consists in the arrest of a number of the poorest and least influential inhabitants, who are tortured, probably along with their wives and children, until some acknowledgment of their guilt is obtained, and then executed by various shuddery processes.

The real criminals, as a rule, represent secret societies which the local mandarins dare not provoke, so when the representatives of European alleged Christianity demand justice, well knowing what manner of justice is to be expected and leave the details of it to the Chinese official intellect, there is very little to choose between them and the “Vegetarian” mob. The pious element of this country is hereby invited to seriously ponder this aspect of the case.

* * *

The periodical missionary slaughter is a subject which is generally regarded from one side only. Yet it is a question which has many sides and many aspects. The missionary is forced upon the Chinaman by brute force and insolent aggression. Because the Mongol is much more ignorant than the Western, therefore his religion is much more real—to himself; education breeds religious indifference, whereas ignorance and pious fervor go together. To him there comes an aggressive, black coated person to tell him that he is a fool and a mere heathen—that his religion is blank superstition—that his ancestors, whom he regards with a reverence wholly incomprehensible to the European, are probably in a new and awful variety of hell, and many other things. The missionary, because he is backed up by foreign ambassadors and foreign ironclads and foreign bayonets, is a symbol of conquest. If he is insulted or injured his country demands “satisfaction” which means butchery and torture, practically on his own unsupported version of the case; therefore, he is not only an insult to the Chinaman’s faith but an insult to his sense of justice and his national feeling—if he has such things. The Englishman, or Scotsman, or Irishman, in the

days when he believed sufficiently in his own creed to take any serious interest in it, would have probably been almost as murderous, if somewhat less brutal, under similar provocation. The history of the British Isles is dotted over with stories of religious wars and disturbances and persecutions and tortures, some of which compare not at all unfavorably with the recent doings in China. And it is a dead certainty that the Englishman, or Scotsman, or Irishman of today would rise in revolt against foreign missionaries who were forced upon him in the same fashion that he forces himself on the Mongolian. This is not intended to excuse the Chinaman, for that unspeakable heathen, in some of his aspects, is past all excuse: it is only meant to show that there is more than one side to this case, as there is to every other.

* * *

Australia, of recent years, has taken the Chinese missionary craze badly. Many enthusiastic young people, mostly female, have gone to almost certain death in some shape or other—probably a death of violence, torture and outrage—in the interior of that almost unknown land, and have been whooped on in their fatuous career by stout and comfortable pastors who have themselves carefully remained at home. *The Bulletin's* opinion of these pastors would be best expressed in tar and feathers; the conduct of the men who will cheerfully shed the blood of some foolish and misguided girl in a cause for which they will not adventure their own, can be better described in that way than in any other. And the cause itself is so pitifully, miserably, unspeakably hopeless. Europe and America and Australia are about as little Christian as Asia. The Gospel has been preached to the white races for nineteen centuries, and almost the only result is a contemptuous indifference. There was some semblance of real belief in the ignorant Middle Ages, and the Church was then a great and unsavory reality; now it is little more than a shadow. If the white races today believed in their own creed the whole fabric of their civilization would drop to pieces, for it is all built on greed and commercialism and strife and injustice and miscellaneous iniquity. And since the Church, after many centuries of opportunity, has failed to convert a respectable fraction of its own professed believers—since it has even failed to convert itself—it has exceedingly little hope of making an impression on the stupendous dead weight of Asiatic heathendom. It knows this fact well—it cannot but know it—and therefore its action in sending out helpless girls to be outraged and slaughtered by the unspeakable leper to no possible purpose, is all the more reprehensible. The man whose sister or daughter insists upon going on such an errand, if no possible form of dissuasion will prevail, is morally justified in shooting her to save her from the far worse fate which, sooner or later, will almost certainly befall her.

* * *

The whole scheme of missionary enterprise is based on that curious kink in human nature which makes the most distant field look the greenest, and the Chinese apostle, and the Paraguayan emigrant, and Soudan Contingent, and the differ who wanders to drought-stricken Coolgardie, are all cranks of the same order. Asia and Africa are dotted over with mission stations, and thousands of pounds are spent annually in offering to the Moslem and the Buddhist and the Brahmin and the Confucian those dogmas in which their own professors are steadily losing faith—and the really authentic converts could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. And meanwhile the ugly, prosaic, dingy, unromantic heathenism of Little Bourke-street and the Sydney “Rocks” and countless similar places, not to speak of the equally hopeless heathenism of torah and Darling Point passes unnoticed. In the desire to convert the man afar off who has a religion already and perhaps almost as efficient as that which is offered in its stead very little account is taken of the person near at hand who has no real religion at all. The sensational adult fanatic who desires to go to a strange, weird land of images and old traditions, and preach to a picturesque race with pig-tails, is after all, only an etherealised variety of the sensational small boy who reads penny dreadfuls and wants to go wildly forth and scalp the alleged Indian in Arizona. The people who subscribe vast sums for the conversion of the picturesque person with the pig-tail, and yet leave the hungry, sordid, dingy ruffianism of their cities practically unnoticed, represent the same order of mind at second-hand. The English-speaking races send out more missionaries than all the rest of the world put together, for the same reason that they explore more strange countries, and kill more Indians, and climb more tall mountains, and shoot more bears, and to to more prize fights, and are more anxious to find the North Pole than most other people. IN other words, they do it because they are a roving, restless, unsatisfied race with

the love of adventure and loot in their souls, and some of them take the Scripture along with them by accident.

* * *

This same spirit of missionary enterprise has been a curse to many lands, but to few, of late years, more than to China. The teacher who goes to the back blocks of that feebly governed land takes her life—for they seem to be mostly females nowadays—in her hand, and frequently loses it. Then the unspeakable mandarin, being ordered to do justice to the murderers, with whom he is generally in sympathy, indulges in wholesale butchery among the more friendless of the inhabitants, or among his personal enemies, with all manner of miscellaneous horrors thrown in. The converts are very scarce, and the butchery is generally very plentiful. Therefore, every Australian girl fanatic who wants to go on the Chinese mission, would do well to remember that she not only risks her own life but may be indirectly the cause of torture and death and unimaginable horrors to dozens of innocent inhabitants who will have cause to curse her memory, and that the missionary in China is remembered chiefly by the blood of the wrong person that is shed to avenge her death. Presumably every individual has a right to suicide as he or she may think proper, but the right to buy a gaudy martyrdom at the expense of others, even indirectly, is more than questionable.

* * *

The recent massacre will probably assist rather than discourage the Chinese missionary movement. There is an element of pathetic romance in the story which appeals strongly to a certain class of kind. Few people could read without genuine sympathy the tale told in the Australian daily press of the two sisters from Melbourne who were killed in that upheaval, and of their mother who looked with tearless eyes through her spectacles and refused to grieve over their “glorious death” as martyrs—adding that if she had more daughters she would gladly give them to the Cause. And, meanwhile, as likely as not, some yellow mother on the river Min looks out as steadily through her horn spectacles and refuses to weep for her sons who were executed for their share, or alleged share, in the massacre, because they also died in the good cause of religion. The good cause of religion covers a multitude of sins; and the relatives of those who died in trying to spread one set of incomprehensible dogmas, and the relatives of those who were executed for defending, in a crude and primitive fashion, another set equally incomprehensible, probably feel the same uplifting of soul. Also, each crowd regards the other as benighted heathens with the same pitying self-complacency, and the same stolid confidence, born of their own ignorance, in the ignorance of the other lot. All religions rest, more or less, upon ignorance; by the time one gets to know anything worth speaking of he has begun to realise how little he really does know, and then he hasn’t sufficient faith left in his own dogmas to obtrude them upon anybody. Therefore, there is about as much chance of the Confucian converting the Christian in the end as of being converted himself; the former, being the more ignorant of the two, is at least a great deal more certain of his Confucianism than the latter is of his Christianity. And there is very little chance of any nation being converted from one creed to another by modern methods; most, if not all of the nations which been converted owe their conversion either partially or wholly to brute force, and there is even one reliable instance to the contrary *the Bulletin* fails at the present moment to recollect it. Therefore, the Chinese side of the case for even so bad as this has a Chinese side which deserves a fair hearing, may be summed up in three sentences” (1) The sending of missionaries to the “heathen” is a supercilious result, inasmuch as no really knows for certain which creed is more heathen than the other; (2) the sending of missionaries to teach a creed which its own professors obviously don’t believe is an anomaly; and (3) The Chinaman is more or less human, like the balance of humanity, and when a superior foreign person, who tells him that his dogmas are mere folly and superstition is thrust on him by military force he resents it—just like the Englishman would under the same conditions, But, being a barbarous medieval sort of person, he resents it more brutally than the Englishman would do.

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 16 Aug 1895

FRENCHMEN TALKING FIGHT.

Paris, August 16—The Figaro today, discussing the recent massacres of missionaries in China, says, “We,

today, are nearer to a collective expedition of European warships to the far East than when the Japanese were marching on Peking.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 17 Aug 1895

**CHINESE RIOTERS ARRESTED
AUTHORITIES ACTING UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE COMMISSION.**

Hong Kong, August 17—The commission appointed to investigate the recent massacres of missionaries and their families at Ku-Cheng, which left Foo-Chow on Tuesday last, has arrived safely at Ku-Cheng. Important arrests have been made in connection with the massacre. The natives are quiet and appear to be much alarmed at the arrival of the commission.

The commission consists of R. W. Mansfield, the acting British consul at Foo-Chow; E.L.B. Allen, the British vice-consul at Podage [*Pagoda*] Island; the Rev. Messrs. Bannister, Gregory and Starr, and Lieutenant Evans of the United States warship *Detroit*, together with a number of Chinese officials of high rank. The commission is escorted by 100 Chinese soldiers.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 17 Aug 1895

**NOT VEGETARIAN RIOTS
CHINESE AUTHORITIES DISCREDIT THE CHARGES AGAINST THEM.**

Washington, D.C., August 17—The better class of Chinamen in this city, notably those connected with the Chinese legation, discredit the report that the recent riots in China have been committed by the vegetarians. Said one of these in discussing this report:

It is incredible. The vegetarians in all eastern countries are persons who abstain from the use of flesh as an article of diet because of conscientious scruples against the taking of any form of life. They are of Buddhist faith and do not believe in killing animals, much less human beings, and it is not to be believed that they would have let their antagonism to the Christian religion “betray them into any violence that would cause loss of life. They are more or less fanatical, to be sure, but they are regarded as of submissive disposition.” Discussing the matter further, the speaker said it was true that strong prejudice existed among the vegetarians against the missionaries because of the formers’ abhorrence of meat as an article of diet and because they believe that the practice of meat eating is a part of the Christian faith. Many of them think that if they should become Christian they will be compelled to adopt a meat diet, and some of the native converts to Christianity, between whom and he followers of the other faith there is always a sharply defined antagonism, have done much to intensify the feeling by performing acts specially calculated to shake the sensibilities of the anti-flesh eaters. But, intense as is the feeling on the part of the Buddhists on this account, the man quoted does not believe that it would have led them to commit an act in direct contravention of their primary doctrine. He thinks it more likely that advantage has been taken of the knowledge of this antagonism between the vegetarians and the Christians to lay the blame for the killing of the Christians at the doors of the anti meat eating sect, when in fact they were in no way responsible for it.

Provenance: *Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 21 August 1895

**CABLE NEWS
HOME AND FOREIGN**

The massacres in China

SHANGHAI, August 19.—Several important arrests have been made at Kucheng since the Commission of Enquiry arrived.

Port Darwin, August 19.—The China mail steamer brings very little fresh news regarding the Kucheng massacre.

The leader of the mob refused to show any clemency and urged on his men with the words, “You

know our orders, kill them outright.”

SHANGHAI, August 20.—The Chinese Government refuse to allow the British and American Consuls to take part in the inquiry at Kucheng.

More incendiary placards against the English have been posted at Canton.

Provenance: *Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 23 August 1895

**CABLE NEWS
HOME AND FOREIGN**

The massacres in China

LONDON, August 21.—The refusal of the Chinese Government to allow the Consuls to take any part in the Kucheng inquiry has created a serious difficulty.

Provenance: *Bay of Plenty Times*, (New Zealand), 23 August 1895

**CABLE NEWS
HOME AND FOREIGN
The massacres in China**

LONDON, August 25.—Great Britain and America will probably make a joint protest against the appointment of Viceroy Lien to inquire into the Kucheng outrages on the ground of his connection with the Chingtu riots in June. He is regarded as the originator of the Chingtu riots.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 9 Oct 1895

**THEATENED THE MISSIONARIES
THE SEZ-CHUEN HORROR NEARLY REPEATED AT LIN CHING.**

The New York offices of the American Board of foreign missions has received from Lin Ching, North China, an account of a meditated attack on its missionaries located there. Lin Ching is a city in Shantung, near the junction of the Grand Canal with the Wei river. It has a population estimated at fifty thousand. “On the evening of **August 17**,” says the missionary correspondent, “we had our first experience of mob violence in Lin Ching. During the ten years that this station has been opened we have felt that we had gained the good will of the people sufficiently so that we need not fear trouble from them; but our recent experience has shown us that we need to be more on our guard.

The report had been widely spread that the foreigners had opened the river dike, gongs were beaten and in a very short time many hundreds of men armed with guns, revolvers, knives, clubs, etc., had assembled in a temple court near by, ready for any deed of violence. Two of the foreigners, but standing in the gateway and talking to the people, were able to keep the compound clear, while a friend of ours among the gentry was doing his best to secure peace. We were willing to accept almost any terms, provided they were not dishonorable, rather than take the risks of being attacked by this excited mob (which everywhere is noted for its violence once aroused) with the three ladies and nine small children in our hands. A courageous woman in the neighbourhood came and offered the ladies and children a refuge in her house. A few necessary articles were collected and we were ready to take advantage of this kind offer if it should come to the worst. Thus the day was passed in suspense until the middle of the afternoon, when peace counsels prevailed.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 18 Aug 1895

**THE CAUSE OF THE MASSACRE.
A BROOKLYN MISSIONARY’S EXPLANATION OF THE CHINESE HORROR.
JUST HOME FROM THE EAST.**

The Rev. S. T. Wooden is of the Opinion That the Vegetarians Committed the Outrage for Revenge, Believing That the Christians Had Instigated the Authorities to Send Soldiers Against Them.

The Rev. S. F. Wooden has been a missionary in China for thirty-six years, under the American board [*of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*]. He is at home just now, with his wife, on a prolonged holiday. Coming as they do, almost from the sport where the horrible butchery of Christian missionaries occurred at the beginning of this month, a story of their experiences at this time is of unusual interest. Mrs. Wooden is an aunt of Frank Bailey, vice president of the Title Guarantee and Trust company of this city. The missionary was spending part of his holiday with his son, the Rev. H.P. Wooden, acting pastor of the Presbyterian church in Armenia. It was in the pretty little parsonage attached to the church that the reporter had his interview.

Yes, said Mr. Wooden, I have been a missionary in China for thirty-six years, and have had charge, all that time, of the district of Yung Fuh, sometimes called Ing Hok, which is distant from Foo Chow thirty-five miles. Foo Chow, again, is ninety miles, in a direct line, from the scene of the butcheries, but in a country of such vast distances as China ninety miles counts for very little, although traveling in the interior is very difficult and tedious.

Mr. Wooden has had his wife with him in China for many years. It was in that belated country that their children were born, although they have been in America for the last ten years. The missionary told of his work among the Chinese, first of all incidentally observing that under the American board missionaries are allowed a vacation once in every ten years.

Around Foo Chow, he said, there has been a great deal of success among the Chinese. There are three large missionary societies. One is the Church of England mission, another is the American Episcopal and the third the American board. The American board has been working Foo Chow since 1847, and were, indeed, the first on the ground. There are, besides those I have mentioned, two societies composed almost entirely of women.

How do the Chinese receive the work of the missionaries? asked the reporter.

There is a very friendly feeling among the Chinese around Foo Chow, and the friendship towards the missionaries has been increasing every year, the last few years particularly. This is true of all the missions in the district I have indicated.

Then Mr. Wooden talked about the vegetarians, the plundering, rapacious Chinamen who murdered the missionaries. He said that as far back as a year ago these vegetarians were making trouble among their own people. It was not at all a case of fanaticism, nor was it any particular cause of opposition to the missionaries or the gospel that they preached that urged them to a rising. They were looters, thieves by instinct and often by profession, and a feeling of revenge also had something to do with their depredations. Mr. Wooden believes, indeed, that it was revenge alone that inspired the rising of a few weeks ago and led to the brutal murder of the missionaries.

The missionary proceeded to Ku Cheong, the scene of the massacre, is an interior walled cit, and the magistrate is a county magistrate. Ku Cheng is the name of a city and a district which covers perhaps as much territory as Dutchess county. The city itself has perhaps a population of 40,000. the people are ruder and less civilized than the Chinese at Foo Chow, for the reason that they have not the same opportunity of mingling with foreigners.

The vegetarians lived beyond the walls of Ku Cheng, and a year ago when I was working at Yung Fuh they had trouble with their own people. Two of the ringleaders were arrested and beaten on the spot. As a result of this beating there was a great outcry among the vegetarians because the men were literary men, graduates of the first degree—we would call them bachelors of art—and, under Chinese law the literary men could be punished, but not by beating them.

The next day the vegetarians came in a body to the yamun or official residence of the offending magistrate and declared: We have come to give the magistrate a flogging and if he will not be flogged we will tear his house down. The magistrate temporized for a while, but the vegetarians were obdurate. A flogging must be met by a flogging. Finally a younger brother of the magistrate offered to take the flogging and he was accepted as a substitute. The brother was taken out and flogged in front of the house

with a long pieces of bamboo cane. He received 100 heavy blows. In spite of the substitute the magistrate lost his influence and authority and had to leave the district.

The story goes that on the deposition of the magistrate there arose a man among them who thought he would be emperor. This was in the fall. He set up a court, and in the summer the missionaries with their women and children, were obliged to leave, and Ku Cheng itself was threatened by the insurgent vegetarians. The reign of this self made emperor was as short as it was inglorious. It lasted, indeed, but a day and a half, and the missionaries had not been able to reach Foo Chow before they received information that they could return to Ku Cheng in safety, which they did. Nobody ever knew what became of the emperor. It is supposed he ran away. All this occurred only ten months ago, and the incident supplies some idea of the character of the vegetarians and their regard for law and order.

Hwasang, said Mr. Wooden, is the name of the place in the Ku Cheng district, where the missionaries were actually murdered. It is a little mountain hamlet not far from the city. The missionaries had not established themselves there, but it was a favorite resort in the scorching heat of the summer. The people of Hwasang themselves, Mr. Wooden says, are friendly to the missionaries, but were powerless to give them any assistance against the organized and superior force of the vegetarians. A native pastor in Ku Cheng heard of their threats and wrote a letter of warning to the missionaries at Hwasang. He delayed sending it till the next morning, however, and by that time, 3 o'clock on the morning of August 1, the butchery had been completed. None of the missionaries of the American board had been killed, although Miss Mabel C. Hartford, a young missionary for the American Methodist Episcopal society, was assaulted and considerably ill-treaed. Mr. Wooden knew the Rev. R.W. Stewart and is wife, both of whom were killed. They came from the north of Ireland, and Mr. Wooden says they were both splendid people. Mr. Stewart and his wife were killed on the spot, and their boys, aged 6 and 3, died a day afterward from the injuries they received at the hands of the vegetarians.

Buddhism, you know, said Mr. Wooden, is the religion of the Chinese and these vegetarians, as they are called, are simply a stricter sect of the Buddhists. They are comparatively secret in their gatherings; that is to say, ordinary people are not permitted to join them. They often meet together in secret outside the walls of Ku Cheng, for instruction, and these meetings furnish a convenient instrument for rebellion, their idea being to overthrow the government and seize the opportunity of the turmoil for purposes of plunder. They have among them the fiercer, more determined and more unscrupulous class of Chinamen.

The reporter asked Mr. Wooden what he thought was the real cause of the rising against the missionaries.

My idea is, he replied, that it was altogether for revenge. The viceroy of Foo Chow had sent up to Ku Cheng 210 soldiers to stop the depredations of the vegetarians against the rich people of the district. The vegetarians got it into their heads that the soldiers had been brought to Ku Cheng at the instigation of the missionaries and so, according to my idea, they got together and determined to kill the missionaries. It is very possible that the coming of the soldiers was the cause of the killing of the missionaries.

As Ku Cheng is an inland city, it could not be approached by boats, although it is fairly navigable to within thirty miles of its walls.

Most missionaries, observed Mr. Wooden, felt that the United States government was not efficient in protecting them. The English hurry up matters much more than we do because if their demands for redress are not complied with they threaten to fight right off. The Americans have never really used force in that region and on that account they are more popular among the people. The traffic in opium, too, is always thrown in the face of England. You know, by treaty, American ships are not permitted to carry opium. And then the *suaviter in modo*¹⁷ is true even in missionary matters in our favor. American missionaries, at least, think that among themselves.

Missions have been established in and around Foo Chow for ten or twelve years before there was any trouble with the natives. In 1864 there was an uprising and they tore down one of the chapels and two or

¹⁷ Definition of: *suaviter in modo*, *fortiter in re*: Gentle in manner, resolute in execution.

three churches, but none of the missionaries was subjected to any ill treatment. On that occasion, as in the recent outrages, the rising due to the vile stories circulated by the literary men.

As everybody knows the staple diet of the Chinese is rice, although in the country hill regions it is varied by a sort of sweet potato. The missionaries are able, in most places, to get good food, including flesh and fish.

With the natives, said the missionary, a great prejudice exists against killing anything. I doubt if you would get them to kill a mosquito, added the missionary, with a laugh. Around Foo Chow, however, the Chinese are beginning to learn to eat meat, chiefly through the introduction of Christianity and the spread of civilization.

Foo Chow has a population of 600,000 and, through the efforts of the missionaries, 8,000 or 9,000 of these have been converted to the Christian religion and are communicants in one or another of the Christian churches. Three or four thousand communicants are also to be found in Formosa.

According to Mr. Wooden the heartiest harmony exists between the different societies and the missionaries by whom they are represented. If one society is first in the field, no-one interferes with it. Their main idea is to Christianize all China and Mr. Wooden speaks hopefully of that being accomplished. I expect, he said, that China will be a Christian nation in time with the progress that has been going on within the last twenty years. There are missionaries now in seventeen of the nineteen provinces of China.

And there is another thing, the missionary proceeded. Over and over again where the salient histories of Christendom have been pointed out to them and the story told of their different governments I have found that the Chinese would jump at the chance of becoming American citizens, exclaiming when told of our American institutions, That's the best way!

Mr. Wooden says that the women who were killed in the massacre had been mostly in the habit of dressing in Chinese costume with the view of conciliating the natives. In Foo Chow, however, where the foreign trade dominates the town, the missionaries think it expedient to wear their own dress, and neither Mr. Wooden nor his wife has ever donned any other.

A little chat about the war followed. Mr. Wooden left Shanghai on his long holiday on May 4, and sailed from Yokohama on the 10th. The final treaty of peace between China and Japan was signed on the 8th.

The Chinese, observed Mr. Wooden, despised the Japs as dwarfs. They were tremendously slow in being woken up, but they have awakened, I think, at last. They have a wonderful amount of native ability. The trouble with them was that they had so much pride in themselves they did not believe they could learn anything from modern civilization, and would not admit it. The general feeling was that the foreign element and the foreign material could be kicked out of China and nobody be any the worse for it. The Chinese, as a rule, blindly follow the lead of the literary men, and these in turn are mostly followers of Confucius.

There is a singular lack of patriotism among the Chinese, the missionary concluded. As long as the war did not affect them personally they were not stirred up a bit. They got all their news about the war from the missionaries, and they did not appear to care till they heard that the Japs were on the way to Formosa. Since I left the taking of Formosa has occurred and, as you are probably aware, there is a good deal of travel between Foo Chow and Formosa. Foo Chow has not shown itself disturbed at all by the war.

No, the massacre did not arise out of troubles resulting from the war, because as I have told you the people of Foo Chow were not disturbed by it, because it did not affect them.

Mr. Wooden and his wife will return to China next year to resume their work among the Chinese.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 19 Aug 1895

The world mourns that Christian missionaries should be made to suffer at the hands of an imbruted mob in China, and it rightly demands that justice should be done. But did this Christian land to any justice when a gang of Western miners shot and killed the Chinese laborers in their town, not long ago? Were the protests of China against such conduct regarded? Would a Chinaman consider that the teachings that coupled prayers with revolver practice and hangings tended to a higher morality? It is proper that we should throw stones under certain provocations, but it is not to be forgotten that part of our own house is built of glass.¹⁸

Provenance: (CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

20 Aug 1895 Wolfe to Baring-Gould

1. Encloses copy of letter to British Minister in Beijing (See above)
2. ... Not approved by P C or other missionaries.
3. Banister/Star in Kucheng (Gutian) with British Consul.
4. Wolfe knows this is what Stewart would have wanted?????
5. "I have not an atom of confidence or faith in the Chinese government or the local authorities."
6. All Day School monies managed by Stewart. Not known what happened to account books.
7. Objects to reallocation of funds from his district.
8. Not discouraged. Support from other missions. Indignation meetings. Demands for savage retribution against Kucheng (Gutian) city and residents unjustified.
9. British Government must take effective action to prevent recurrence.
10. British Government has never taken effective steps to protect missionaries.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 21 Aug 1895

THE MURDERS IN CHINA

England demands that the foreign consuls in China shall be allowed to investigate the recent murders of missionaries in that country, since China has decided that she will conduct the investigation herself—in other words, she will defend the murderers. England demands that a large military force be sent to the scene of the troubles, for the protection of the examining officials. The United States might join forces with England on that. To be sure a dozen English were killed and only one American, but the principle involved is the same as if a thousand Americans had perished, and this country has the same right to march its troops into the interior of China that England has. It would produce a good effect if this was done. A combined array of red coats and blue coats in the hart of that foreigner hating and benighted land would bring the Chinese to a realizing sense of the enormity of their misdoings and of the peril of attempting any farther attacks on the white settlements. We have been over lax in the past in regard to the protection of our citizens abroad and it seems from sundry happenings as if the Americans did not stand as well in the estimation of some other people as he would if his flag always had a ten inch gun in its neighborhood.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 22 Aug 1895

AMERICAN MISSION ATTACKED.

¹⁸ Wilcox, W.P., ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS IN WASHINGTON (Reprinted from *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, No. 3) Seattle, Washington, July, 1929
Crone, Paul and Alfred Larson, THE CHINESE MASSACRE (Reprinted from the *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 12, Nos. 1 and 2) Cheyenne, Wyoming, January, 1940

**Chapel and School House Near Foochow Wrecked.
A FOREIGN TEACHER ESCAPED.**

The Assault War Made by a Large Mob of Infuriated Chinese Who Were Armed With Various Weapons. Four of the Native Scholars Wounded—A Strong Anti-Foreign Feeling at Foo Chow.

Hong Kong, August 11—Another outrage has been committed upon missionaries near Foo Chow. The American mission has been attacked by a large and infuriated mob, armed with various weapons. The chapel and school house of the mission were wrecked and four of the native scholars were wounded. The foreign teacher, however, escaped injury.

A strong anti-foreign local feeling prevails at Foo Chow and it is spreading among the populace, who are parading the public thoroughfares with cries of "Drive out the foreign devils."

London, August 22—A dispatch to the Times from Hong Kong, this afternoon, confirms the dispatch from Hong Kong cabled at an early hour this morning, announcing the attack upon the American mission near Foo Chow and a dangerous state of the populace in the city. According to the Times dispatch the American school was situated just outside of the west gate of Foo Chow. The dispatch adds "The situation at Ku Cheng is unchanged. Captain John S Newell of the United States cruiser Detroit and Dr. Hart have gone there from Foo Chow. More anti-foreign placards and pamphlets are being distributed at Canton."

Washington, D.C., August 22. The Chinese legation here had not been apprised of the latest attack upon American missions by the Chinese fanatics near Foo Chow, until shown the press dispatches bringing the news. The minister expressed regret at the occurrence through his interpreter.

It is freely admitted at the legation that in the present state of feelings in China growing out of the ignorance and prejudice of the natives, and especially because of the recent war, all foreigners in the interior of China are more or less in danger. The hope is expressed at the legation that the missionaries will recognize this state of things and will seek the treaty ports until the excitement subsides and normal conditions are restored.

The utmost confidence is expressed at the legation of the intention of the Chinese imperial government to protect the Christian missions as far as possible, and the last edict from the emperor, issued within the past ten days, is quoted as evidence of this intention. A quite full synopsis of this document as been received by cable at the legation.

It is entirely in the interests of the Christians and is directed especially to the high Chinese officials. They are asked to see that the lives and property of all Christians, both foreign and native, are protected at all times. The edict also commands the lower officials and the people generally to observe this behest and closes by saying that any violation of the order will be severely punished.

Confidence is also expressed at the legation in the thoroughness of the investigation into the recent riots, and it is believed there that as soon as the imperial will can be made known that American and English consuls will be admitted to the hearings.

At the headquarters of the Methodist board of foreign missions Dr. A. H. Leonard said this morning that so far no news had been received there from China relating to the reported massacre of the missionaries near Foo Chow. Dr. Leonard said that Dr. George H Smythe, who represents the Methodist missions in that part of the country, had been instructed two years ago to communicate with the home office as soon as anything serious happened. As Dr. Smythe has not been heard from, Dr. Leonard entertains but little anxiety regarding the missionaries in China. At the office of the Presbyterian and Baptist foreign missions it was stated that there was but little property belonging to those sects in the territory of the reported massacre.

Provenance: *The North China Herald*, 23 August 1895, p 324

To the Editor of the North-China Daily News

Sir,—Mr. R W Mansfield, H.B.M's Consul, left Foochow for Kutien, the scene of the massacre, on the 13th instant, and until his return I trust the enclosed "Express" will be a sufficient reply to the vindictive letter from the Rev. Geo. B Smyth published in Shanghai on the 12th instant.

I am etc. Alex W V Gibb, Foochow, 16th August.

Referring to Mr. Smyth's express of 10th inst., and his insinuation that H.M.'s Consul, when he heard the news of the massacre on his way to Kuliang, treated the matter lightly by continuing his way up the mountain instead of returning at once to Foochow, as I was the person who first met the Consul and communicated to him the sad news, I beg most emphatically to deny that he treated the matter either lightly or indifferently. We discussed the matter for some time, and his first impulse was to return at once to Foochow, but he was half way up the mountain when I met him, and had dismissed his coolies and sent his clothes on before him, and as he had neither sun hat nor umbrella, it was as much as his life was worth to return to Foochow, a distance of 7 or 8 miles, in the broiling sun. It was therefore agreed that it was best under the circumstances for him to go on and send off his dispatches from Kuliang by a post messenger to the Viceroy, and his telegrams to Peking and Foreign Office with a note of instructions to Mr. Pitzipios, and that he himself would return to Foochow at the earliest moment, which he did early in the same evening. John R Wolfe.

To the Editor of the North China Daily News

Sir,—As Mr. Consul Mansfield is at present absent from this port on a Commission of Enquiry at Kucheng in connexion with the recent atrocious massacre of English women and children in that neighbourhood, and as it is probable he may not be able to return to Foochow for some considerable time longer, it is only fair to ask your readers to suspend their judgement as regards the charges brought against him in a letter sent to Mr. Hykes and which was published in Shanghai on the 12th inst., till he returns and has an opportunity of answering for himself. In the meanwhile, with reference to this charge insinuated against him of his having treated the melancholy news of the massacre lightly and with indifference I should like to say that I believe it to be absolutely untrue, and I trust no reasonable man will give credence to so cruel an accusation. This charge is founded on the unfortunate circumstances of his not being to return at once to Foochow receiving the sad news. The simple facts of the case are as follows:—Mr. Mansfield left Foochow on the Saturday early, in order to get up to Kuliang in the cool of the morning, and before he heard a word of the cruel murder. I was the first to receive the news by special messenger at Kuliang late on Friday night. I started as early as I could on Saturday morning for Foochow, and met the Consul coming up the mountain, and communicated to him the news. His first impulse was to return at once to Foochow. He had already dismissed his chair coolie and had sent all his things up the mountain beforehand, and as he had neither hat nor umbrella it was thought an absolute risk of life to walk back to Foochow, a distance of seven miles, without any protection, in the broiling sun. He decided therefore that under the circumstances, the best plan was for him to go on to Kuliang as he could from there more readily send off his dispatches to the Viceroy, and his telegrams to Peking and to the Foreign Office, than he could, even if he were able to return at once to Foochow, and having done this and sent instructions to Mr. Pitzipios whom he left in charge at the Consulate, he would himself return to Foochow as soon as possible. This he did early the same evening. These are the simple facts of the case, and they are presented here in fairness to the Consul.

I am, etc. John R Wolfe. 17th August.

P.S.—The sentence in Mr. Smyth's letter, 'They told him, but he would not turn back.' Is a gross misrepresentation of the real facts of the case, as I have presented them above. The request for a launch to meet the wounded was made early on Saturday by H.M. Consul and no doubt this request, backed up as it was in person by the U.S. Consul, had the effect of placing the launch at our disposal. The insinuation therefore that he did not ask for a steam launch to meet the wounded is untrue. The Consul wrote to the Viceroy appointing Monday not Wednesday to meet his Excellency. I have no doubt H.M. Consul, when he returns, will be able to answer for himself but in the interests of justice and fair play I send you this during his absence. J.R. W.

Provenance: *North China Herald Supplement*, 23 August 1895, p. 324

THE KUCHENG MASSACRE
A LETTER FROM ARCHDEACON WOLFE

In the course of a private letter, which has been kindly placed at our disposal, Archdeacon Wolfe writes to a friend in Shanghai:—

This terribly atrocious affair came us like a thunder-clap in a serene sky! Everything was as quiet as possible, and it was *only the day before* that Stewart was congratulating himself and the Mission that the Vegetarians had been giving them no trouble of late. They were all resting quietly at Whasang for their summer vacation, expecting no danger, when suddenly, before they were dressed on Thursday morning, 1st August, they were brutally murdered. It appears they first cut off Stewart's hands and legs, and then set fire to the house. Mrs. Stewart was found, or rather her charred bones were found, lying close to Mr. Stewart's charred remains. Miss Codrington is progressing favourably. Mildred Stewart, the eldest girl here, is also getting better, but she will ever carry with her in a maimed leg the token of this horrible affair. Poor children! The other two are quite well now, though much frightened. Their aunt, Miss Smylee, is on her way out to take them home. The man who killed Mrs. Stewart has been caught, and forty others of the sect or society. The [Chinese] soldiers are scouring the country and the people everywhere are warm in their desire to put down the Vegetarians. > >

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)
Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 24 Aug 1895

1. Acknowledges resolutions etc.
2. Pleased that replacements will be sent
3. Banister in Kucheng (Gutian) with Consul.
4. Banister and Light will move to Kucheng (Gutian) as soon as possible unless P C disagrees.
5. Wants resident missionary for Hok Chiang.
6. No truth about riots in Fukien. Telegram repeats this message on 2 September 1895.
7. 'I think it right to tell you that 3 of our catechists from Hing Hwa came here yesterday and told me that it was reported all over Hing Hwa that the foreigners in Ku Cheng deserved to have been killed as they were spies, men dressed in Chinese women's clothes. . . "
8. Foreigners hated all over China.
9. Britain needs to make it clear that it cannot be insulted or we are all at risk.

Provenance. *The Bulletin*, Sydney, Saturday, 24 August 1895

Chinese Missions

Apt corroboration of *the Bulletin's* views regarding Chinese missions is found in a book to hand by a recent London mail—Dr. G. E. Morrison's "An Australian in China." Dr. Morrison is son to Dr. Geo. Morrison, of Geelong (Vic) College, and is the young man who tramped across Australia from Carpentaria to Melbourne, and told the story in *Melb. Age*. His book is about a trip made from Shanghai up the Yang-tse-kiang as far as Chungking, whence he tramped it to the Burma frontier. He had no Chinese, had no interpreter, and had for companions only low-caste coolies, and he made the journey in Chinese dress, with a pigtail fastened inside his hat, and without arms. His very interesting book of travel notes will help Australian readers to get rid of many false impressions. He says himself: "I went to China possessed with the strong racial antipathy to the Chinese common to my countrymen, but that feeling has long since given way to one of lively sympathy and gratitude, and I shall always look back with pleasure to this journey, during which I experienced, while traversing provinces as wide as European kingdoms, uniform kindness and hospitality, and the most charming courtesy. In my case, at least, the Chinese did not forget their precept, 'Deal gently with the stranger from afar.'"

* * *

Dr. Morrison's experience only confirms what is, for those who care to know it, a well known fact—that is, that in every part of the vast empire of China a foreigner is at least as safe as a Chinaman is in, say,

Australia or America—if only he will refrain from needlessly . . . they did not at once abjure all their old beliefs and espouse his new one they would infallibly go to hell, too. How would that missionary be likely to fare if his audience, for example, was composed of ardent Wesleyans with a sprinkling of hard-shell Baptists and Salvationists? Would he escape with a sound bone in his body? Yet *some* European missionaries in China are guilty of an exactly similar outrage on native feelings—intensified by the fact that the Chinaman invests his parents with a sacred character hardly intelligible by foreigners. Dr. Morrison quotes B. Broomhall, secretary of the China Inland Mission:—

The missions of Chinese (who have never heard the Gospel, what is to be their condition beyond the grave? Oh, tremendous question! It is an awful thing to contemplate, but that they perish: that is what God says.—

“*Evangelisation of the World*,” p. 70.

* * *

“Ancestral worship,” says Dr. Morrison, “is the keystone of the religion of the Chinese; the keystone also of China’s social fabric.” And ‘the worship springs,’ says Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., of the Tang Wen College, Peking, ‘from some of the best principles of human nature. The first conception of a life beyond the grave was, it is thought, suggested by a desire to commune with deceased parents.’ (‘The Worship of Ancestors—a plea for toleration.’) But Dr. Hudson Taylor, the distinguished founder of the China Inland Mission, condemned bitterly this plea for toleration. “Ancestral Worship,’ he said at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of May, 1890, ‘is idolatry from beginning to end, the whole of it, and everything connected with it.’ China’s religion is idolatry, the Chinese are universally idolatrous, and the fate that befalls idolators is carefully pointed out by Dr. Taylor—‘Their part is in the lake of fire.’

* * *

Yet people wonder that the Chinese refuse the consolations which a belief that their friends and relations are burning in hell-fire is so eminently calculated to bestow! The faith of the missionaries (whom Dr Morrison invariably found occupying the most comfortable houses in every town, but chiefly collected round the treaty ports, where there is no risk and plenty of pleasant society) is an astounding thing to contemplate. Says Dr. Morrison:—

During the time I was in China, I met large numbers of missionaries of all classes, in many cities from Peking to Canton, and they unanimously expressed satisfaction at the progress they are making in China. 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 helpers are added to the numbers of missionaries, 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. There are 1511 Protestant missionaries laboring in the Empire; and, estimating their results from the statistics of previous years as published in the *Chinese Recorder*, we find that they gathered last year (1893) into the fold 3127 Chinese—not all of whom it is feared are genuine Christians—at a cost of £350,000, a sum equal to the combined incomes of the ten chief London hospitals.

Nine-tenths of a Chinaman per annum for every worker in the vineyard! At that rate, supposing the numbers of Chinese and missionaries to remain stationary, the whole Chinese nation (barring the few thousand millions who die before the glad tidings have a chance of reaching them) will be more or less converted in exactly 100,000 years. Glorious prospect!

* * *

Consider the amazing variety of hunters for Chinese soul-scalps. At Hankow (where “every visitor is pleased to find that his preconceived notions as to the hardships and discomforts of the open-port missionary in China are entirely false) the Chinaman who clings to the religion of his ancestors has to dodge missionaries of the following denominations:—

London Missionary Society; Tract Society; local Tract Society; British and Foreign Bible Society; National Bible Society of Scotland; American Bible Society; private Quaker; Baptist, Wesleyan, and Independent missionaries; Church Missionary Society; American Board of Missions; American High Church Episcopal Mission; French Mission; Franciscan Mission (Italian); Augustine Mission (Spanish); Scandinavian Mission; Danish Mission; and China Inland Mission.

These all preach more or less different brands of gospel; and each, for the Chinaman, represents the emissary of a different god. And yet the nett result for all emissaries of all gods is only nine-tenths of a convert per emissary per annum! Blind, ignorant, besotted China! A little further inland, at Wanhsien, there is a branch of the China Inland Mission, established since 1887.

There are, unfortunately, no converts, but there are three hopeful “enquirers” whose conversion would be the more speedy the more likely they were to obtain employment afterwards. They argue in this way; they say, to quote the words used by the Rev. G. L. Mason, at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1890, “if the foreign teacher will take care of our bodies we will do him the favor to seek the salvation of our souls.” The idea is universally present in China, says the Rev. C. W. Mateer, “that everyone who enters any sect should live by it. . . . When a Chinaman becomes a Christian he expects to live by his Christianity.”

Hence the numerous breed of ‘Rice Christians,’ to which probably 99 percent of all Chinese converts belong. They are those who, in the Chinese vernacular, “love Jesus because they eat Jesus’ rice.” Those who have rice of their own stay outside the fold and make sarcastic remarks about the shepherds. Of one of the three Wanhsien missionaries who have preached the Gospel with such success that they have gained no converts in six years (*the Bulletin* hopes it isn’t the one from Sydney), Dr. Morrison remarks that nearly all the Chinese in Wanhsien have heard his doctrine described with greater or less unintelligibility, and it at their own risk if they still refuse to be saved. The method of this particular soul-catcher has been pleasantly likened by the Chinese to that of “a blind fowl picking for worms.” Brutal, debased China!

* * *

And this is the picture of Chinese mission work which recurs in Dr. Morrison’s book with dismal iteration. At Suifu—

There is an enthusiastic young missionary who was formerly a French polisher in Hereford. He is helped by an amiable wife and by a charming English girl scarcely out of her teens. This missionary’s work has, he tells me, been “abundantly blessed”—he has baptised six converts in three years.

Members of the China Inland Mission—

At Yunnan the mission is Conducted by Mr. and Mrs. X, assisted by Mr. Graham, and by exceedingly nice young girls, one of whom comes from Melbourne. . . . After Mr. X. has labored here nearly six years, he has no male converts, though there are two promising nibblers. . . . There was a convert, baptised before Mr. X. came here, a poor manure-coolie, who was employed by the mission as an evangelist in a small way; but “Satan tempted him, he fell from grace, and had to be expelled for stealing the children’s buttons.” It was a sad trial to the mission. The men refuse to be saved, recalcitrant sinners! But the women happily are more tractable. Mr. X. has up to date (May ’94) baptised his children’s nurse-girl, the ‘native-helper’ of the single ladies, and his wife’s cook.

Three ‘rice Christians’ for six years work! Obstinate china! In the whole of the province of Yunnan are 18 Protestant missionaries, who have opened since ’81 five stations, and have altogether achieved 11 converts. Says Dr. Morrison:

The problem is this: In a population of from five to seven millions of friendly and peaceable people, 18 missionaries in eight years (the average time during which the mission stations have been opened) have converted 11 Chinese: how long, then, will it take to convert the remainder?

And the missionaries echo. ‘How long, O Lord, how long?’

* * *

These are samples of the facts and statistics with which Dr. Morrison’s book bristles. And he is only one of the innumerable cloud of witnesses who make it clear that the British Bible, like British opium, is thrust upon the Chinese at the point of a bayonet; that the chief result of missionary work in China is the provision of a comfortable living for the treaty-port shepherds—only the women and zealots going to take risks inland; that the other results are the debasement of a few Chinese, the occasional massacre of a missionary or two, and the subsequent massacre of many Chinese to glut the revenge of the followers of Him who said: ‘Lord, forgive them; they know not what they do;’ and that the whole business is the natural harvest of a diseased fanaticism, which now, as in all ages, is never content till the sacrifices to its

idol are soaked in human blood.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 25 Aug 1895

The Chinese Outrages

China has resolved on an investigation under a blanket of the outrages recently perpetrated on the Americans and English who have been living in that country. Had these people gone to China for any aggressive purpose there would have been some excuse for the attack, but they went there solely to do good. They did not compel the people to be good, nor to accept their faith. They merely opened their doors and invited them to come in and be instructed. There have been times in the history of our republic when there would have been no inquiry or negotiations in cases of this kind. A squadron of ships would arrive before the town in which the crimes had been committed and an officer would go ashore with instructions to the authorities to hand over the assassins in six hours, for hanging, or their town would be blown off the face of the earth. Under that form of urging the officers of the fleet generally obtained satisfaction.

It is believed that even one of our ironclads would enable the Chinese to see certain things in the same light in which they are viewed by the rest of the world. It is no part of our government to defend the religion that is taught by the missionaries in China and other lands. We are under obligation to no religion and to all religions. The Mahometan and the Confucian and the Brahmin have equal rights under our flag with the Baptist and the Catholic, but it is a duty to ourselves and to civilization to protect our citizens from causeless insult and robbery and injury. China has just had a lesson in the disadvantages of ignorance and barbarism. But some of her people have got to have it drummed into their thick skulls all over again. ships would arrive before the town in which the crimes had been committed and an officer would go ashore with instructions to the authorities to hand over the assassins in six hours, for hanging, or their town would be blown off the face of the earth. Under that form of urging the officers of the fleet generally obtained satisfaction.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 26 Aug 1895

THE CHINESE VERSION OF THE ATTACKS UPON FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

According to a Native Paper the Riots were Caused by Unscrupulous Interpreters Who Impose Upon the Ministers—Bandits Join the Rabble.

Chicago, Ill, August 26—Sam Moy, a prominent Chinese merchant of Chicago, says that a Chinese paper which he has just received gives the Chinese version of the attacks upon the English and American missionaries. According to this paper the attack developed a serious state of affairs. It was found that the basements of the missionary houses were closely guarded by the disreputable Chinese hangers on the missions. No decent Chinaman will have anything to do with the missions. The missionaries cannot talk the language. The Chinese in the interior who can talk pigeon or any foreign language are almost always young men who have run away to avoid punishment for petty crimes or to shirk the support of their families. They go to some treaty port instead of to the mountains, as the fugitives from justice for more serious crimes do. In time the petty crime is forgotten or compounded and the fellow comes back, but is regarded as a social outlaw and does not find or want to find anything to do in the way of work more than enough to keep him alive. The advent of the missionaries opens a new field for the unscrupulous linguist. The missionary has to have an interpreter. The outcast is ready to act and also to become a convert. IN fact to do anything for an easy living. He becomes a member of the missionary staff and the household. The missionary wants converts; the hanger on wants some luxuries. There are only two ways to get converts in China. One is to hire them, and then you have converts just as long as they are paid; the other is by kidnapping children and keeping and teaching them. Hiring converts and buying children are expensive, but the better class of missionaries, well supplied with money, who understand the Chinese usages, hire and buy and show results. Good missionaries do not allow any kidnapping, but most of the

missionaries, while good people themselves, do not know how bad their native staff is. It is the native staff under the lead of the tough interpreter which does the kidnapping and the missionaries are fooled.

This is the way it is done: One of the interpreters sees a child, a girl 10 or 12 years old, and finds out that she is not particularly well watched and cared for, or that her parents are poor or careless people, who are not likely to make a fuss at her disappearance. He coaxes the child to visit the mission and often force has to be used. The missionary sees the child and is told that the child wants to live in the mission and be instructed, or some other invention which seems plausible to the ignorance and zeal of the missionary. Something is added to show the importance of guarding the new candidate from recapture by the heathen relatives, who, he missionary is assured, would do so to prevent the perversion of the child's faith. As the missionary cannot actually talk to the child he trusts his interpreter, who practically makes a slave of the girl, and he plays the missionary to keep her safely and out of sight until he can sell her and get the money for her. Then the missionary is fooled again, and the process is repeated as frequently as possible. It is a great industry for the unscrupulous interpreters, who live better, have more pleasure and make more money under the protection of the mission than most of the good people of their town.

The burning of the missions freed some of the girls, who told the stories of their kidnapping, confinement and the indignities to which they were subjected. The stories spread and aroused the ferocity of all good people. This started the great riot and the mob attacked the missionaries and interpreters indiscriminately.

The governor of Fo Kien sent 1,000 soldiers up to Min River to quell the riot and restore order, but the bandits joined with the rabble and whipped the soldiers. The soldiers lost half their number and had to retreat. At the time the paper was printed it was said the whole section was in the control of the mob.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 27 Aug 1895*

Four leaders of the Ku Cheng mob that murdered the missionaries have been put to death.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

**Rev. Lewis Crosby, Sec. Dublin University Fukien Mission, Trinity College Dublin
to Baring-Gould, 27 Aug 1895**

1. We are looking for men for Kucheng (Gutian).
2. Stewart was head of TCD and we feel special responsibility.
3. "Mr. Stewart had taken a large part in the founding of our Mission, was the chief cause of its being located in Fuh Kien and has always been a liberal supporter of it", and as also the ladies being sent out have been allocated to Kucheng (Gutian).
4. Hibernian Auxiliary of CMS, and DUFM arranged Public Meeting

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 28 Aug 1895

**Rev. G.T. HOLCOMB PROTESTS AGAINST THE CHINESE VERSION OF THE MISSION
RIOTS.**

Baltimore, Md, August 28—Rev. Gilbert T. Holcombe, who has traveled extensively in China in the interests of the American board of missions and of the American Bible society, protests against the Chinese side of the recent disorder, as given in Chicago dispatches quoting a prominent Chinese merchant. Mr. Holcomb said, "It is perfectly ridiculous to think that our missionaries are unfamiliar with the Chinese language, and as reported, at the mercy of disreputable natives, who use the missionaries as tools for their own dishonest practices. As a matter of fact, our American missionaries in China are known the world over for their linguistic abilities. Every interpreter in the United States legation has been, until Minister Denby's administration, a missionary. The greatest authorities we have on Chinese English are Americans. All our treaties with China have been drawn up by American missionaries.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 28 Aug 1895

CHINESE RIOTERS BEING PUNISHED.

Hong Kong, August 28—It is reported here that all the members of the Ku Cheng commission are in good health and it is said that the Chinese officials are assisting actively and thoroughly in the investigation being made into the recent massacre of missionaries. Ten Vegetarians, it is added, have already been convicted and the trial of others is proceeding. There is said to be no damage of any fresh disturbances in that district during the sitting of the commission.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Rev W Banister to Baring-Gould, 28 August 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I have not written anything to you since we arrived here to hold an inquiry into the terrible circumstances which have filled us all with grief.

We have been here a fortnight—the members of the Commission of Enquiry. The English and American Consuls, Lieutenant Evans of the USA Navy, myself, Mr. Star, Dr. Gregory. Later we have been joined by Capt Newell of the Detroit, Am Navy. And S Hart of the American Mission.

Some of the murderers have been arrested but there are still some at large. Three of the leaders have been caught. In all we are certain of the guilt of 17 persons in custody. The deed seems to have been planned by the leaders at a general meeting of the body at a fastness in the mountains near to Ang Cheng where we have a chapel. It is possible that the real object of the expedition was concealed by the leaders until the cruel . . .

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould, 29 Aug 1895

1. Personal Progress Report as distinct from above written for general publication.
2. About 150 men at Huashan.
3. Killers all now in custody.
4. Kucheng (Gutian) Christians frightened that Vegetarians will return.
5. Will take a long time to get over events.
6. Re British Government. "Every resident in China simply laughed when the telegram said that Lord Salisbury had demanded punishment of the murderers and protection of the missionaries and that the Chinese had promised this would be done."
7. Impossible for Banister to return to Kucheng (Gutian). Presence on Commission ends the question.
8. Executions coming. Men implicating each other daily.

Provenance: *The Messenger, Diocese of Melbourne, Aug 1895, pp 138-139*

"Each diocese," says the historian Sozomon, "had in old times a Martyrology of its own." This week the Diocese of Melbourne has opened a roll for herself, and the names that head the list are those of Harriet Eleanor and Elizabeth Maud Saunders, of Kew, late missionaries at Ku Cheong, in China. The tragic story of that mission has for many reasons a thrilling interest for Churchmen and Churchwomen in Victoria. The Rev. R. W. Stewart had visited Melbourne two years ago in company with Mr. Eugene Stock as one of the delegates from the Church Missionary Society to these colonies, and had left the impression on all who met him as an able and modest clergyman, devoted to his mission, and full of information as to China and its needs. All the other ladies who perished in the massacre—the Misses Marshall, Gordon, Newcombe, and Stewart—were well-known personally, or at least by name, to many residents in this city; but the Misses Saunders were daughters of the diocese, the offering of our Church in Melbourne to that noble but most dangerous sphere of duty, the Zenana Mission in China. Born and brought up in Victoria—confirmed, the older by Bishop Moorhouse in 1885 at Holy Trinity, Kew; the other at St. Columb's Hawthorn, three years later, by Bishop Goe—they seem both of have been early impressed with the conviction that they were called to take up evangelistic work for Christ among heathen abroad. Their mother, who still lives in Kew, and who, in the depth of her grief, still exults in the glorious death of her children in their Master's service, was strongly minded to accompany them, but arrangement could not be made for her to do so. The two girls, however, at the respective ages of twenty and eighteen, addressed themselves with enthusiasm to the task of preparation for their future labours, putting themselves in the hands of the late Canon Chase and the Rev. D. M. Berry for their divinity training, and the elder going through a six month's course at nurse in a Melbourne hospital, a discipline which proved of special value to her in her work in China among the poor. In their choice of a life-work, they seem never to have wavered, every letter of theirs from China bearing witness to the delight they took in their duties, and to their skill and success with their women's classes, dispensaries, and children's schools. Two happier, more useful, or more devoted missionaries it would have been impossible to find in the whole field of missionary labour. In recent letters some uneasiness had been expressed at the conduct of a troublesome faction—whether influenced by religious fanaticism or revolutionary ideas, or an anti-European craze, it is difficult to say—known as the Vegetarians, who attitude for a time had seemed threatening, but the mandarin of the district had shown himself friendly to the mission, and the trouble was thought to have passed away. But in reality a plot was hatching that was to destroy them. The mandarin was as weak and false as most of his fellows, and the murder of the missionaries had been planned with his knowledge and consent. Then one night the storm of cruel murder broke upon the devoted company. A furious band surrounded the Ku Cheng mission-house, in which were quartered, besides Mr. Stewart, his wife, and four children, the seven lady missionaries. The poor girls entreaties for life were met with savage cries of "Kill!, Kill! The house was fired over their heads, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and one of their children, with Miss Nellie Stewart, perishing in the flames; while over the horrible

butchery of those who tried to escape, and the cruel tortures to which the other four children were exposed, for humanity's sake we draw a veil. Heathen blindness and racial hatred had risen up and banded together to drive the Gospel from China, and to quench in blood the light that had sprung up for her millions lying in darkness. But if there is one lesson that Church history teaches us, it is that the light of the Gospel cannot be put out by violence, or quenched in blood. If anything was ever wanting to give an impetus to missionary work in China, it is supplied at last. If any motive was ever lacking to attract English and Australian women to volunteer for this Forlorn Hope, it is found in the tragic fate of the Misses Saunders and their heroic sisters in suffering. Greater precautions, indeed, will have to be taken by our missionary societies in the present perilous state of Chinese Missions that previous lives be not thrown away; and in view of the certainty that numbers will be found to offer themselves in an enthusiasm of self-sacrifice for a mission consecrated by the martyrdom of its founders, the decision should be arrived at not to allow girls and children to be sent to the front but to keep the posts of special danger to those who have passed a certain age or have fulfilled their apprenticeship in mission labour. But if it was ever possible for the church to withdraw from the Chinese Mission, the ground, wet with the blood of our proto-martyrs, has become sacred soil to us, which we can never abandon. We shall not indeed, as in Churches of old, read the acts of our martyrs in our public worship; but as often as the xi, chapter of Hebrews, with its list of those of whom the world was not worthy, is read in the congregation, our thoughts will turn to our murdered sisters in Ku Cheng. Some monuments of our grief and admiration for Nellie and Lizzie Saunders and their brave companions in death we should bestir ourselves to raise while public sympathy is at its height; but when tablet or cenotaph has been cared for, we must not forget that the memorial above all to which this week's history has pledged us, is the carrying on of the mission which they served so well, and for which they gave their lives.

P 175 A volume from the pen of Canon Berry, containing the full story of the Ku Cheng mission, mainly collected from letters by Misses Nellie and Topsy Saunders, is in the press, and will shortly appear.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 31 Aug 1895

MARRIED MISSIONARIES.

AN ENGLISH OPINION OF THE MEN IN CHINA.

The Chinese are not likely to be converted to Christianity when they see the great majority of so called Christians who come to trade in their country violating almost every tenet of this faith. They do not believe in the sincerity of missionaries who are living amongst them in comparative affluence, and who receive salaries to enable them to maintain wives and families. Moreover, the Chinese are not uneducated savages. They are cultured in a civilization older than ours, and can give a reason for their faith or the want of faith that is in them. Generally speaking, the missionaries are men, no doubt possessing zeal and not wanting in many excellent qualities, but intellectually their inferiors. If really it is deemed desirable to make any efforts to convert the Chinese in provinces where we cannot protect our citizens, the task should be placed in the hands of men, wifeless and childless, ready to live in poverty, and to die, if needed, as martyrs, but above all things, of approved intelligence and discretion. A person should not go into missionary work as a profession in which he can keep himself and his family, as goes into the church. It was not in this way that Christianity first made its way. London Truth.

Provenance: *Chinese Recorder*, September 1895, pp 450-452
Diary of Events in the Far East.
August 1895

Huasang (Whasang), Fuhkien Province
Includes text of Chinese Imperial Decree-Proclamation on toleration.

Provenance: *Church Missionary Gleaner*, September 1895,

Eugene Stock—*In Memoriam*.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 1 Sep 1895

JAPAN MUST FIGHT FOR COREA
Russia's Attitude Sure to Bring on a Conflict.
THE NEXT WAR IN THE ORIENT.

Only the Lack of Ironclads Prevented the Mikado from Opening Hostilities At the Time of the China Peace Negotiation—Chester Holcomb Talks of the Situation in the East—Massacre of Missionaries.

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

No one knows better than I how narrowly Japan escaped war with Russia when she got through her war with China. The Japanese were so incensed at Russia's attitude in the matter of the cession of the Liao Tung Peninsula that the Japanese officials talked seriously of engaging in a squabble with Russia. I was in Japan at the time and heard it all. A certain member of the Japanese cabinet, whose acquaintance I made when he was sent to Peking as the Japanese minister to China, said to me at the time, 'Russia has six ironclad battleships. We have but one, and that we captured from the Chinese. If we had but four ironclads, or only three, we would defy Russia.'

This is just what Russia wanted them to do. Russia will yet so aggravate the Japanese that they will declare war. Then Russia will attempt to drive Japan out of Corea, where they are now masters of the situation. The Japanese are dictating affairs in Corea, for while the king remains on the throne, he does nothing that counts in authority. The fight between Russia and Japan will be over Corea and it will come just as soon as Russia finds that she wants an open port on the Pacific."

Mr. Holcomb traces the persecution and killing of missionaries to the China-Japan war. He says:

"At the commencement of the recent war between China and Japan, it was generally feared that the lives of foreigners in China would be in great danger as long as the war lasted, but as a matter of fact, there was practically no danger as long as the war lasted, and it is only since the hostilities ceased that the danger has commenced. We had proof of that in the recent massacres, and I think I can explain the reason. In the first place, the great mass of Chinese are disappointed with the result of the war and are taking revenge on the foreigners whom they can kill with impunity.

In the second place, the killing and pillaging receives great encouragement by reason of the depredations committed by hordes of disbanded soldiers all over the country. The Chinese government has a peculiar method of disposing of its troops at the close of the war. When the soldiers are no longer needed they are discharged from service at the place where they happen to be at the time.

The fact that an army may be several hundred or a thousand miles away from home when it is disbanded, and the fact that the soldiers may not possess any means of getting home, does not interest the government in the least. The troops are turned loose, and to use an American expression, they have to 'beat' their way back to the place from whence they came. That they should pillage and commit depredations is, therefore, natural with such people under such conditions.

Just before I left Japan I learned that an American missionary who has been laboring near Peking since 1890 had been assaulted and severely cut by a knife. His name is D. S. Sheffield and I have known him quite well for years. It is only fair to say, however, that the assailants were arrested and will be tried for their offense. If such prompt action was taken in the cases of other offenders the wholesale killing of missionaries in China would be speedily stopped. It is almost impossible, however, to mete out justice to offending Chinese in the interior provinces and the assault is the fault of the government.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 4 Sep 1895

1. Trouble at Hok Chiang—attempt to shift focus from Kucheng (Gutian) (Gutian)
2. Proclamation by magistrate not to attack foreigners
3. Hok Chiang people rejoice at deaths.
4. Rumour that Viceroy ordered all foreigners to be killed and “native Christians exterminated.”
5. Claim that forty Yamen men levied \$2 for temple activities. Christians refused but names taken.
6. Attack on Christians in nearby village by yamen men taking everything of value.
7. Following day seized eight Christian houses and beat Christians.
8. Mr. Yek, native pastor, appealed to magistrate unsuccessfully.
9. Attacks now happening across District.
10. Consul refuses permission to Wolfe et al to visit.
11. Consul’s appeals to Viceroy ignored.
12. Consul says he is powerless.
13. “There cannot be a shadow of doubt that we foreigners are hated by the Chinese mandarins and that the evil-minded and proud literati are spreading malicious reports against missionaries.”
14. No expressions of regret over Kucheng (Gutian) (Gutian)
15. **RE BRITISH CONSUL**
“I feel very sorry that what I think to be undeserved censure has been liberally meted out to him by some people here.”
16. All missionaries called in to Foochow and Consul will not permit return inland.
17. Banister has refused Kucheng (Gutian). He is “taking a very gloomy view of the whole business.” Nervous system has been shaken and altogether overwrought. Banister is unquestionably the best experienced and qualified. PC to ask him again.
18. Kucheng people all friendly and helping police.
19. The Sect or Society will be eliminated from Kucheng (Gutian).
20. Now realised that society was in very small numbers. Not thousands.
 - a. Time for Fukien bishop.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Stock to Wolfe, 4 Sep 1895

1. Are all ladies safe? Relatives anxious.
2. Whereabouts of Miss Codrington. On way home?
1. Irritability obvious over Wolfe’s inaction.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 4 September 1895

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

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

The willingness of the envoys to accept a Chinese escort for the English and American commission to

Ku-Cheng is more severely blamed than any other of the reputed misdeeds. In the opinion of the foreign community, a strong body of marines was essential to the dignity of the expedition. Many Englishmen believe that the governor of Hong Kong should be required to provide a detachment of troops from the Colonial garrison. It is evident that at present nothing that diplomats can do will satisfy their countrymen.

The governments at Washington and in London are urged to take direct action and exact reparation without consulting their representatives at the Chinese capitol. Several of the American missionaries appear confident that this appeal will be granted and that the regular course of procedure will be set aside. When they find themselves disappointed their rage against Mr. Denby will be greater than ever, but time will probably show that the present censures were never warranted by the actual circumstances. The idea that an American minister in Mr. Denby's position could deliberately repudiate his responsibility and betray his trust is too monstrous to be long credited in any quarter.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould (From Kucheng/Gutian) 11 September 1895

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I wrote to you a fortnight ago and still we are here, with our task of trying these murderers unfinished. We have now had 11 sittings of the court in the City Yamen. Up to the present date, 12 men have been condemned and they will be executed in a few days by having their heads cut off and which will afterwards be hung in cages and exposed for a certain period to the public gaze.

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

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

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

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

I do not forget that I am a missionary but this has been an awful task.

I will not go into details as I have sent a report of the trial to Mr. Stock from day to day.

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

You will have seen from my telegram that I suggest either Martin or Collins . . . other members of the Mission you will have objections urged against each one. For myself I think Martin possesses the qualities most needed in Ku Cheng at the present crisis, and I would urge his appointment as the most suitable. He could begin work at once. On the other hand, Collins is more in sympathy with the line of work taken up by dear Stewart and all his connections are with Ireland. In this case, the district would have to be left to the native brethren for some months in a year until Collins can come out again which will be in the autumn of next year. This would not make any great difference to the district, and would probably help the natives to stand alone better. It is now the middle of September, and it is not in the least probable that any missionary work can be done until next year.

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

I think it is important that the Committee decision be sent by telegram. Much delay and much misunderstanding will be then avoided. At the present moment I gather from letters received that the Mission atmosphere in Foochow is in a disturbed condition, and much patience and forbearance is needed . . .

Will you pray most earnestly for us that we all may act up to the highest ideals of our callings,
I am yours, very truly
W Banister.

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

- (1) My position as assessor with the consuls, and principal advocate against some murderers, sitting side by side with the officials entirely destroys my missionary character in the eyes of the Chinese marks me for the future as a man ostensibly a missionary but actually an official with a great deal of political power.
- (2) That this political character would give me great influence with the Chinese, both Christian and heathen, but would lead them to think that it would be a good thin to be associated with a person possessing such power. This would undoubtedly work against the spiritual growth of the Church and also give me an equivocal position.
- (3) The object of my association with the Consuls and officials is to bring these murderers to punishment, and without my aid it would have been difficult for the Consuls to do this. The heads of these men will hang on poles in cages at he gates of the City of Ku Cheng until they decay. I shall ever be associated with these executions and just and right as the punishment of these hardened criminals is yet I feel that my position here as a missionary would be unendurable.

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 15 Sep 1895

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

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

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 16 Sep 1895

TWO GUNBOATS DISPATCHED CHINESE OFFICIALS TO BE STIRRED UP IN THE MASSACRE INQUIRY

Foo Chow, September 16—It having been reported that the Chinese officials at Ku Cheng are not pushing the inquiry into the massacre of the missionaries on August 1, with the zeal that the occasion demands, two foreign gunboats are said to have been dispatched up the river to stir the officials to greater activity. Washington, D.C., September 16. No word has been received at the state department of a cessation of the inquiry now being conducted by the British and American commission into the Ku Cheng outrages, and the officials are at a loss to understand how any question as to he punishment of persons found guilty can have arisen in advance of the conclusion of the inquiry.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 18 Sep 1895

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

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

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

Since the opening of international commerce with Western countries foreigners have always resided in the inland districts, at peace and harmony with their native neighbors, and we in our imperial love for both natives and foreigners alike, have time and again commended our high provincial authorities to pay extra heed constantly to protect the latter from harm. Judge of our extreme indignation, then, upon hearing recently, first of the riots in the capitol of Szeccuen, where chapels have been destroyed and burned down by the rioters, thereby fanning the flames of destruction far and wide, in so much that a number of sub-prefectures and sub-districts simultaneously followed in the footsteps of Cheng Tu, and now to receive news from Fu Kien, reporting that evil characters have murdered a very large number of foreigners at Ku Tien going so far in their ruthless ferocity as to murder even women and infants. With reference to the Szeccuen riots, a number of rioters have already been arrested and will undergo trial, but the chiefs and heads of the Fu Kien murderers are still at large, and we commanded Pien Pao Chuan and Chin Yu (Tartar general of Foo Chow) to set to work without delay at the head of the military and district officials, and speedily arrest those wicked characters, for shall any be allowed to escape the meshes of the law? Indeed, it is the manifest duty of the local mandarins throughout the empire to be always on the alert and prevent such worthless characters from manufacturing scurrilous tales and exciting the populace. They should crush all incipient risings at the slightest sign. What sort of frivolity and indifference to duty is this, then, that has been done about all the recent serious outrages? We would also therefore command the various tartar generals, viceroys and governors of the empire to impress upon all their subordinates the necessity of granting thorough protection of all the chapels, etc., in their districts. They are also to issue proclamations exhorting the people to abstain from listening to scurrilous tales which excite unfounded suspicions in the breasts of all. If there be any who shall dare to raise disturbances in the future they shall be at once punished with the utmost severity of the law, and as such in local offices as may use subterfuge and craft to avoid their duties, they are to be most severely punished, and no leniency shall be exercised in their cases. Let these commands be known to all within the empire.

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

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, September 1895

1. All quiet in Foochow.
2. Presence of English gunboat in Foochow caused some anxiety for Chinese.

3. Fear of British seizure of Foochow—good to show Britain is not asleep.
4. Chinese authorities did all possible to impede Commission of Enquiry.
5. Officials have no fear of England or appreciation of British power.
6. Treat Huashan as street brawl in which missionaries came off worst. Reports that missionaries had attacked Vegetarians who had simply retaliated. Repeats earlier comments about troubles in Hok Chiang.
7. Anti-foreign feelings strong. Anti-dynasty feeling very strong.
8. Keep sending CMS ladies, urgently needed.
9. CHINESE COSTUME mentioned. Wolfe links it to deaths of ladies at Gutian. Claims it is a source of offence to officials. But see comments of Nellie and Topsy Saunders re dressing up for mandarin's wife.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Stock, 19 September 1895

1. Refers to Stock's irritable note of 9 August.
2. In effect, busy answering messages from home, America, Australia. Etc.
3. Trouble at Kien Ning. BUT note earlier all quiet claims.
4. Viceroy told many times but did nothing to protect foreigners or Christians.
5. "the Viceroy now transferred to Canton ought to be held deeply responsible for the Hwa Sang massacre, and the present Viceroy also though in all probability in a less degree, the Subordinate official at Ku Cheng during the reign of the old Viceroy . . . took no doubt his cue from this superior of his, and issued, when the trouble first commenced at Ku Cheng from these so-called Vegetarians, a proclamation denouncing the Christians as troublesome people, and the Vegetarians as good and virtuous men."
6. Chinese generally are quiet and friendly disposed, but there is a class among them which hates foreigners, ie literati.
7. Emperor has little or no real power. 'Corrupt and effete government.'
8. Christianity alone can change China. We need thousands of missionaries from Empire.
9. We will keep lady workers safe in Foochow.
10. Those so-called Vegetarians have only assumed this name in order the more effectively to conceal their evil designs. They had no horror of taking life alas! They had no scruples against eating beef and pork and other animal foods. . . The day after the massacre at Wha Sang (Huashan) they changed their assumed name of Vegetarians and inscribed upon thier banners the name "Paik Kwa Kau", e.e., the Sect of the Eight Diagrams.¹⁹

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 22 Sep 1895

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

"The messenger who brought the news reached Mr. Banister's, one of the English mission, who has lived at Kucheng. Friday night, August 2, and he and Archdeacon Wolfe started Saturday morning for the English consulate at Foochow and met Mr. Mansfield, the consul, on his way up the mountain to spend Sunday. The told him the errand and he would do nothing; said he wouldn't till Monday, but kept on up the mountain. They went to the American consul and, in an incredibly short time, he was knocking at the viceroy's gate in Foochow. He demanded an interview though

¹⁹ Archdeacon John R Wolfe to Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary, CMS London, 18 September 1895, CMS East Asia Archives, National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915.

he was told the viceroy was sick. He insisted on an interview, and asked for a launch to bring down the wounded from Chui Kau, which was granted. The launch went with Mr. Hixson, Colonel Hixson's brother, Archdeacon Wolfe and Mr. Banister, and they were none too soon, for the wounded reached Chui Kau before the launch did. All the living missionaries and those connected with them, nurse and children, reached Foochow about noon of Sunday. Dr. Gegory and Mr. Phillips not injured, Miss Hartford not seriously injured, Miss Codrington badly bruised, two of the Stewart children badly hurt, one slightly bruised and one not hurt—eight in all—and remains of ten in eight coffins arrived today (Monday) before noon, and are to be buried tomorrow at 6 o'clock, if graves can be dug. It all seems so terrible we cannot realize it at all.

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to CMS London, 27 September 1895

Cable from Foochow

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 28 September 1895

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

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 28 Sep 1895

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould, 28 September 1895

1. Telegram a few days earlier re anxieties.
2. Justice must be done.
3. Local magistrates must be held accountable.
“The real and most culpable criminals are the officials who have presided here for the last two years, and who have permitted a band of organised ruffians to terrorise the country and oppress innocent people.”
4. Viceroy ignores directions from Beijing.
5. Anti-Christian proclamation yet to be repealed.
6. Fear of Vegetarian resurgence.
7. Consuls have exhausted powers of persuasion.
8. Firm action needed from British Government.
9. Bp Burdon’s resignation creates chance to “give FuhKien a Bishop of its own.”

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to CMS, 29 September 1895

London, Cable

Vegetarians again aggressive situation daily becomes graver enjoin foreign office banister.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to CMS, 29 September 1895

London, Cable.

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

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 30 Sep 1895

SZECHUEN VICEROY DEPOSED.

China Yields to the Ultimatum of Great Britain.

EDICT SEVERE IN ITS TERMS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provenance: *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, Oct 1895, pp 150-151

The anxiously looked for mail from Fuh-chow, with details of the sad events at Ku-cheng, arrived at mid-day on Saturday, Sept 14th. Although the telegraphic events are substantially confirmed, a good deal of light is thrown upon the exact incidents. For one thing, the Native Christians in the district and their houses and churches, were not touched; which is a matter for deep thankfulness, and an unmistakable sign that in the case, the outbreak was against the missionaries as “Foreign devils,” and not against Christians as such. For another thing, it is clear that no tortures or mutilations took place. The dear missionaries were just killed; and the two who have really suffered are the two who were badly wounded but escaped with their lives, Miss Codrington and the Stewarts' eldest girl, Mildred. Moreover, those whose bodies were found burnt were not burnt alive; they were killed, and their bodies left in the burning house.

It seems that the attack occurred early in the morning. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart were not dressed, and the former had not even arisen. Three children were up, and out, but ran in when the visitors approached, to their own room, where the nurse Lena and the two little ones were. The murderers rushed into the house, and killed Mr. and Mrs. Stewart in their room. The two Misses Saunders were in the same house; the elder was killed trying to save the children, and the younger outside; and the nurse in trying to protect the baby. After cutting at the children, the rioters set fire to the house, departed, and quickly disappeared. Then came the heroic conduct of the second girl, Kathleen, in rescuing here four brothers and sisters from the burning house. This is described as follows in a Hong Kong paper:—

“The story told by Kathleen Stewart, one of the surviving children of the missionary, Mr. Stewart, is to the effect that on Aug. 1st, this being the birthday of her brother Herbert, she and the two elder children went out early to the hills to gather flowers. Hearing horns and drums they ran to see the procession, as they supposed it to be, and met the crowd. One man seized Kathleen by the hair and beat her; the others ran away screaming. Kathleen got away and ran home. She saw her father enter her mother's room. This was the last seen of either of them. Kathleen hid under the bed. Mildred, unable to do so, lay upon the bed and was attacked and wounded in the knee. Kathleen was not discovered. She heard a rushing sound, and found the house was burning; dragged Mildred out, and went to the nursery, pulled the baby from under the body of the dead nurse and carried out to safety one by one her two wounded brothers. Taking the four children one at a time she started for Miss Hartford's. Half-way she met a Native, and inducing him,

after some trouble, to help, they reached the house.”

Meanwhile, other rioters had attacked the houses where the five CEZMS ladies were. They got out at the back, and nearly escaped, and even when surrounded were nearly spared by the mob, but the leader cried, “Kill them! You know your orders.” Four were killed, and Miss Codrington severely wounded.

The Rev. H S Phillips was in a native house a few minutes off. On arriving he saw the house being plundered, but no English people, and supposed they had escaped. Then he found Miss Codrington and the children in a sad condition in another house where Miss Hartford, an American missionary, was staying. How the former got there is not clear; the children had been conveyed there by the bravery of Kathleen. On hearing from Miss Codrington what had occurred, Mr. Phillips rushed up to the two houses that had been attacked, and found the nine bodies. All this took place high up on the mountain, at Hwa-sang, where they were resting in the hot weather. A message was sent down to Ku-cheng, twelve miles below in the valley, and Dr. Gregory, the American medical missionary, came up with the Chinese magistrate and some soldiers in the evening. Next day he and Miss Hartford, and Mr. Phillips, with the wounded and the dead bodies, started for Foo-chow. Little Herbert died on the way, and the baby a few days later.

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 1 Oct 1895

China Yields

The determination of the British government to protect its citizens is well known. If an Englishman is maltreated in a foreign country that country is made to feel the power of the British arm. So the announcement from Peking that the British minister had demanded that the Peking government issue a proclamation degrading the viceroy of Szechuen was not surprising. The missionaries murdered at Kucheng were English subjects and under the protection of this viceroy. He is suspected of complicity with the murderers, or at least at winking at their acts. The demand for his degradation indicated that the English do not propose to allow treaties to be disregarded. A British subject is a British subject whether he is missionary or merchant. The Chinese government has agreed to protect both merchants and missionaries. It cannot be brought to understand the necessity of respecting its promises except by an exhibition of force. The demand for the degradation of the viceroy was accompanied by the announcement that unless he was punished the British admiral in Chinese waters would take action. The Orientals understood what this meant. They have had previous experience with gunboats. The European powers also knew what it meant. It is not improbable, however, that serious European complications will arise if England limits herself to a demand for the immediate and summary punishment of all those implicated in the massacre. There are Frenchmen and Germans in China as well as Englishmen. The safety of every Caucasian in China is at stake. If the murderers of Europeans are to escape punishment life will not be worth anything in the country.

The seriousness of the menace against China seems to have been appreciated in Peking, for the offending viceroy has been summarily removed from office and made ineligible ever to hold office again. If this thing had happened in Europe its significance would be fully appreciated. But they do things differently in China. The wily Orientals have a way of punishing officials who offend the Europeans and later restoring the officials to all their honours and rewarding them for accepting punishment so meekly. Then, too, they are frequently rewarded for the acts which have provoked the demand for punishment. But even under the circumstances that exist in China the moral effect upon the masses will be good. The degraded viceroy is the brother of Li Hung Chang and is influential. The Chinese appreciate the force of gun boats as arguments and respect them.

There is no danger that intelligent people will think that an attempt is to be made to Christianize China at the mouth of cannon. She may have to be civilized by force. She may have to be taught to respect life and property after a severe chastisement at the hands of Europeans. But her acceptance or rejection of Christianity is not at stake. The missionaries are protected by their home government because they are British subjects, engaged in a lawful and peaceful occupation. They have chosen to live in China and do the work which pleases them. In that respect they do not differ from the merchants. There are not two

opinions as to the wisdom of the commercial invasion of the East, but there are many different opinions as to the wisdom of the religious invasion under present methods. Many of the missionaries have narrow ideas of Christianity and still narrower notions of morality. They frequently mistake the uses of convention for the moral laws. Convention in China differs from convention in China. They also fail to respect the sincerity of the belief of the natives in their own religion, forgetting that a man may earnestly strive for the truth in a way different from that which they follow. But it is unfortunate that none of these issues was involved in the British ultimatum.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 5 Oct 1895*

TRAINING MISSIONARIES

IMPORTANT WORK CARRIED ON AT THE WAVERLEY PLACE INSTITUTE.

The Union Missionary Training institute of this city, which is situated at 129-131 Waverly Place, is now actively at work. Its faculty is composed of twelve competent teachers, most of whom are prominent pastors of this city and New York. The medical department has a faculty of eight leading physicians of this city. Persons of any evangelical denomination who desire to prepare for missionary work are welcomed as students. Bible study, literary and medical instruction, the Eastern languages, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, history, geography, mental and moral science, music, elocution, church history, theology, ethics, comparative religions and medicine are taught, the Bible being the most prominent study in all departments. The medical department is designed to supply the knowledge and training so important in missionary work in foreign fields.

In addition to these studies students are given practical knowledge in such lines of industrial pursuits as household economy and printing. City mission work is also part of their training for their work as missionaries. Lectures are given on various subjects during the academic year. No charges are made for board, and the fees for tuition are but \$50 per year. No worthy young person need stay away. The expenses of the year are met by the small sum of \$25 and even less than that in cases where applicants are without sufficient means. The school is dependent, in a large measure, upon the voluntary offerings of the friends of missions, individuals, churches and societies of women and young people in the churches. All donations of books, maps, library supplies, furniture, coal, table supplies, and clothing are gratefully received.

Forty-one persons have gone forth from this institute as missionaries to Africa, India, Burmah, China, Japan, Bulgaria, Mexico and the West Indies. Five others are now under appointment, while others are pastors and evangelists here at home. Those who have gone are Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Baptists, and are the appointees of nine different missionary boards. These missionaries are preachers, teachers, doctors, nurses, printers, carpenters, farmers, etc. The present school year opens encouragingly and with increasing promise.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Stock, 7 October 1895

Ku Cheng, Foochow, Oct 7/95

My dear Mr. Stock

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

Foochow they are not doing anything to capture them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elsie Marshall was the last speaker and she spoke on Luke IX 29, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whomever will lose his life for my sake the same shall find it.'

Prophetic words soon realised and fulfilled for them all. 'For His sake' they yielded up their lives and now know what it means. NO more mists and clouds, no more doubts and fears, all all known in eternal light and glory. Their faithfulness unto death will be forever a blessed memory for the Fuh Kien Church.

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, October 1895

My Dear Mr Baring Gould

Things are perfectly quiet here at Foochow. The people all over the city and neighbourhood are civil and friendly and we have as good opportunities as we ever have had for preaching and teaching in the city and Surrounding Valley and neighbourhood. It was only this very week that I had an invitation to open a Station in a large place about 4 miles from Foochow. I accepted the invitation and was most cordially received and listened to with much respect and attention. The presence of the English man of war in the Foochow harbour has caused some agitation amongst the people of Lieng Kong and other outside cities because they suppose the intention of the English is to take possession of Foochow on a/c of the Ku Cheng murders. But there is no cause at all for alarm, and as we can now see, our friends need have no anxiety. We are perfectly safe here at Foochow. Our chapels and preaching halls are crowded with attentive listeners when we open the places for preaching . . . (unclear marginal addition)

There is certainly at the present time a very wholesome dread, on the part of the people generally of the Government however slow they be, & of the British Lion. It was quite time to make some sign that England was not asleep or regardless of the lives of her children that were murdered at Hwa Sang. The Chinese have come to the conclusion since that England did not care and that she could be . . . of mollified by a few thousand dollars for the lives of her subjects. This is the only way the Chinese account for the extraordinary conduct of the Viceroy and his subordinates in connexion with the Ku Cheng Massacre of British Subjects. The conduct of the Chinese officials all through the . . . has been disgraceful. They have done everything they could to impede the Commission of Enquiry in their work. They have secretly released some of the murderers and have refused to re-arrest them. They have endeavoured to screen some of the guilty leaders and have refused to execute some who have been found guilty of murder. These high officials evidently think they can, with impunity, disregard the demands of England. They do not seem to comprehend the gravity of the situation. It is hard to believe that these mandarins from the way they are going on care an atom for the power of England or realize what they may be bringing upon themselves or on their country. But their conduct in connexion with the Commission is characteristic. They have now placed the murder of our dear friends in the category of a street row in which both parties were to blame, and in which one party happened to get the worst of it. They have most industriously reported all over the country that the our martyred friends had attacked the meetings of the Vegetarians who in return attacked the missionaries and killed a few of them. No justice can be expected from such officials as this Viceroy and his subordinates. When under the very eyes of the Consuls at Ku Cheng they issued a most criminal proclamation against the Christians . . . and in favour of the Vegetarians, and when the nature of this proclamation was discussed by the Commission these officials apologized and promised to remedy the evil they had done by issuing another, the draughting of which they submitted to Consuls for their approval, which they . . . As they left the presence of the Consuls they threw aside the draught (draft) approved by the Commission and issued again the obnoxious one with only a few unimportant characters altered. It is absolutely sickening to note their duplicity and dishonest dealing all through the melancholy business. We who know them of course are not surprised but it is difficult to convey to people at home the depth of their cunning and deceit and the facility with which they can lie!

The feeling against the native Christians is great but I trust the Lord who is mighty will cause even the wrath of man to praise Him, and enable the Christians to hold their way despite the hate and the fury of their persecution. I know you will all earnestly pray that they may be kept faithful. I am sanguine when this Ku Cheng business is settled, if settled satisfactorily, that the persecution of the Christians will cease and that we shall all be able once more to resume our various duties all over the country.

The feeling all over the foreign community here, and the whole of China, is strong, I regret to say, against the employment of lady missionaries outside the treaty ports, and I believe a strong representation will be made to Government by Officials of all sorts on the subject. I hope the CMS will not be influenced by such pressure is brought on them to cease sending ladies missionaries to Fukien. A mission without a large staff of devoted lady missionaries, I have no hesitation in saying, after 34 years of

experience, is a mission destitute of the most potent agencies for the conversion of China. The vast majority of Chinese women, half the population of China, can be reached only by lady missionaries. Even our Christian congregations on account of the ignorance of the wives and daughters of the men, are sorely lacking too often in devotion. The presence of lady missionaries is the only answer for this state of things, and I can bear testimony with deep thankfulness to God for the improvements seen everywhere in our Christian congregations which have had the privilege of the presence and teaching of these lady missionaries.

If there is one objection which I am sure will be urged by the officials here against them, and that is practice of going about in Chinese costumes, and it would be wise on the part of the two Societies, to at least advise their ladies agents to dispense with the practice. It is not really worth all the talk which it gives occasion for among all parties, especially when a lady in her own English dress will be just as useful. Some of us say more useful and certainly without exciting evil remark or giving occasion to evil disposed persons to raise reports which may result in riots or something worse. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the other provinces of China to say whether the practice is beneficial or otherwise, but from my experience of this province I can say without a moment's hesitation that it is harmful in more ways than one, I think it is a delicate matter and speak about just now because it was the practice of those devoted martyr sisters at Ku Cheng, and no one admired their devotion more than I have, but no sentiment of this sort prevent one in pointing out what may possibly result in future trouble, I am persuaded as I said it will be made a cause of offense by officials and others in the reports to Government. For myself if ladies will still persist in the practice I shall honour and respect them all the same though I shall feel they are mistaken in their view of the matter. And hope no argument or . . . of any sort will cause our Society or the Committee to cease sending in lady missionaries to this mission.

Yours very sincerely
John R Wolfe.

Provenance: The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, New York, 7 Oct 1895

THREATENING THE MISSIONARIES THE SEZ-CHUEN HORROR NEARLY REPEATED AT LIN CHING.

The New York office of the American board of foreign missions has received from Lin Ching, North China, an account of a meditated attack on its missionaries located there. Lin Ching is a city in Shantung, near the junction of the Grand canal with the Wei River. It has a population estimated at fifty thousand. "On the evening of August 17," says the missionary correspondent, "we had our first experience of mob violence in Lin Ching. During the ten years that this station has been opened we have felt that we had gained the good will of the people sufficiently so that we need not fear trouble from them; but our recent experience has shown us that we need to be more on our guard.

The report had been widely spread that the foreigners had opened the river dike, gongs were beaten and in a very short time, many hundreds of men armed with guns, revolvers, knives, clubs, etc., had assembled in a temple court nearby, ready for any deed of violence. Two of the foreigners, by standing in the gateway and talking to the people, were able to keep the compound clear, while a friend of ours among the gentry was doing his best to secure peace. We were willing to accept almost any terms, provided they were not dishonorable, rather than take the risks of being attacked by this excited mob (which everywhere is noted for its ferocity when aroused), with the three ladies and nine small children on our hands. A courageous woman in the neighbourhood came and offered the ladies and children a refuge in her house. A few necessary articles were collected and we were ready to take advantage of this kind offer if it should come to the worst. Thus the day was passed in suspense until the middle of the afternoon, when peace counsels prevailed."

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring Gould to Wolfe, 10 October 1895

Expressing concern at And Wolfe sending copies of letters to Brit Minister in Beijing without first seeking clearance from the Committee.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 10 Oct 1895

RECENT EVENTS

The British and American consuls report that everything has been done to obtain an inquiry into the Kucheng massacre of the missionaries, short of using force.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 11 Oct 1895

US sends gunboats to Turkey to defend American missionary interests among Armenians.

Provenance: *The Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, New York, 15 Oct 1895

THE MISSIONARY MASSACRES.

EIGHTEEN OF THE CONVICTED PRISONERS TO BE EXECUTED.

Hong Kong, October 15—Information received here from Kucheng appears to justify the belief that the deadlock between the Chinese authorities and the commission which has been investigating the massacre of missionaries there has been ended.

The British consul has had an interview with the viceroy of Fu-Kien, which has resulted in an agreement that eighteen more of the convicted prisoners are to be executed and that the remainder of the prisoners in custody are to be tried by the present commission, which is empowered to impose the sentence of death.

The satisfactory result of the negotiations is considered to be due to the ultimatum which the British admiral, Buller, is reported to have delivered to the viceroy of Nankin.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould, 16 October 1895

House Boat, River Min, Oct 16th/95

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

My last letter was written to you from Ku Cheng. From my reports . . . you will see that we progress in the work of investigation. . . has been interrupted by the willful opposition of the Chinese Officials. After waiting patiently for some time, hoping that the Minister at Peking would be able to bring the Viceroy at Foochow to a better mind the English Consul, Mr. Mansfield felt it his duty to proceed to Foochow and have a personal interview with the chief obstructionist then Viceroy.

He and I therefore left Ku Cheng last Friday Oct 11th and arrived in Foochow on Saturday, just 2 months since our departure. It so happens that without the Consul's knowledge the English Admiral also arrived in Foochow on Friday afternoon. His arrival brought up the strength of the British ships at Pagoda Anchorage to four, and one at Foochow near the foreign settlement. This coincidence has had a very salutary effect upon the Viceroy for when Mr. Mansfield paid his visit to him in the city on Monday morning, he had ceased to desire further obstruction.

He gave way completely and entirely and granted all the Consuls demands. We are now returning to Ku Cheng with the earnest hope and expectation that peace will be restored to Ku Cheng and that the demands of justice will be fully met. I have only time and space just to give you the barest details of the process proposed by Mr. Mansfield and granted without hesitation by the, I suppose, repentant Viceroy. I thought to let you know as soon as possible.

With the exception of 4 leaders who are to be retried by the provincial authorities in Foochow where they will be executed, all the other chief criminals will be executed at once on our return to Ku Cheng.

All the remained criminals will be . . . and all those who are still at large, those who are guilty in the

first degree will be executed on capture. The 100 persons whose names we have given in to the officials will be arrested but if any remain for sometime uncaptured they will be proclaimed as outlaw and forbidden to return to Ku Cheng. In order to secure this result and see that other measures promised by the Viceroy are carried a Consular Official will visit Ku Cheng periodically to inspect and report to his superior. Soldiers will also remain in the district.

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

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

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

Will you pray that every member of the Mission both male and female may have this gift of patience. I am, yours very truly
W Banister.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 18 October 1895

1. We fell absolutely secure in Foochow. Blamed 'Reuter' for confusion over cables.
2. Refers to Mr. Stock's "somewhat sharp letter to me". See HUA096.
3. Re Miss Goldie.
"She takes a most gloomy view even in ordinary times of matters generally to the great discomfort of everybody. She was not like this ever. I have no doubts the climate has had something to do with her gloomy views."
4. Ladies show great courage, etc.
"I must say that all our ladies, CEZ and CMS, have shown more bravery and courage in connexion with the trouble than most of the men."
1. "I am fully persuaded from long experience that lady missionaries are just as useful as men, and in some respects more useful, and indispensable in the work of teaching and saving the Chinese women. These latter can never be reached or saved except by lady missionaries"
2. Still wants Banister in Kucheng/Gutian. Perhaps he will rethink after a year.
3. Does not see Collins as suitable for Kucheng/Gutian. Better without a missionary at all.
4. Martin next best, then McClelland. McClelland "one of the best" but wife not happy and in continual ill-health. Going on furlough and unlikely to return.
5. Eyton-Jones on furlough later in year and unlikely to return.
6. Consul will not permit reoccupation of Kucheng?Gutian for one year.
7. Kucheng/Gutian OK but ladies should not itinerate freely as before.
"Every is quiet in all the Stations outside Kucheng. The troubles even there of late have been greatly exaggerated. It was entirely false that the Kucheng Church and Station had been burned down. There was not, and is not now, the slightest sign of trouble there." But acknowledges there have been problems. Individual attacked Eyton-Jones, trouble in Hok Chiang (see above) etc.
8. No momentos of Stewarts available. Some watches, rings etc may be recovered from plunderers. Elsie Marshall's Bible, in small wooden case, is lost.
9. Wolfe to take furlough in California in 1896.
10. **CMS vetoes Wolfe's scheme for compensation by obtaining land on Wushihshan. See above.**

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd (Fujian) to Baring-Gould, 24 October 1895 ²⁰

I don't agree with Archdeacon resending women to Fujian.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Banister, 25 October 1895
Re Commission of Enquiry

My dear Mr. Banister

On the 22nd instant we sent a telegram to Archdeacon Wolfe to the following effect. "Brethren must not act as members of commission." The history of the telegram is as follows:— on the appointment of the Commission in the *Times* your name with that of Mr. Star appeared as members of the Commission. On receiving a telegram from you informing us of the proceedings of the Commission being delayed, we went to the Foreign Office and informed the authorities of the terms of your telegram, and remarked that there was special weight to be attached to your telegram in-as-much as you were a member of the Commission. The Under-Secretary at once demurred to my statement, and from that day to less than a week ago some of us have been cherishing the thought that neither you nor Mr. Star were members of the Commission. Subsequently your diary (Banister's Reports), and especially the letter from Mr. Star, again threw doubts upon your position in connexion with the commission, and at the same time we sent you the telegram above quoted. Most fully do we sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you found yourselves placed. On the one hand it was evident that if the Consul claimed your assistance on account of your personal knowledge of the dialect and your intimacy with the people and country around Ku-cheng, in the interests of justice it was exceedingly difficult for you to decline to serve, on the other hand for you Missionaries to be directly connected with the transactions of the Commission would obviously prove very detrimental to any subsequent missionary work being undertaken by you in that neighbourhood. Today we learn from the Foreign Office that our Government do not understand that you were asked to act as members of the Commission of Enquiry.

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

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

Ever believe me, Very sincerely yours

B Baring_Gould, Secretary, CMS.

20 Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd was appointed as Corresponding Secretary of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in replacement of Rev. Robert W Stewart.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 25 October 1895

Dear Archdeacon Wolfe

Herewith I forward a copy of a letter which I am sending this mail to Mr. Banister and Mr. Star. It will put you in possession of the facts which prompted our telegrams of . . . and 22nd.

With respect to the proposal to found a CMS Hospital in Foochow, exception has been taken to the scheme. We are told that the proposal was brought up two years ago in the Conference and was strongly negatived by it. We are informed that already four American Missionary Hospitals exist in the city and suburbs, including the Community Hpsital, viz. Dr. Kinnear's; Miss Woodhull's; Dr. . . . (for women) (. . . Mission), and Dr. Carleton's in the city and Dr. Danniels. We are told further that Dr. . . . the resident in Foochow felt so strongly on the subject that he woulditif any attempt to open a CMS Hospital was made in or near Foochow. Will you kindly give us full information with respect to the above. We earnestly trust we may have some deliverance from the Conference on the subject. It is obviously impossible for us to urge this matter upon our Committee if the above facts are correct.
Ever very sincerely yours, B Baring-Gould, Secretary CMS.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Rev. William Banister, 2 November 1895

My dear Banister

Since our conversation on Friday about this CMS telegram forbidding brothers to take part in the Commission I have been thinking the matter over again, and I feel quite sure the Committee would not send out such an order without having some good reason for doing so. I think therefore we are bound to obey whatever our own personal feelings may be on the subject. I fully see and appreciate all the difficulties the new Consul may have in getting at the truth without a competent interpreter, but my advice would be now that the real criminals have been tried and are about to be executed that at this stage we withdraw from taking any further part in the matter. Of course it will be easier down here for the Consul to get on with the examinations with his own staff than it would have been at Ku Cheng, and you can get out of it now without any blame from the Consul, by throwing the responsibility upon the telegram from home. The Consul will see this at once, as they too are under authority and would be bound to obey orders from their superiors whatever their own feelings may be in favour of a contrary course.

This of course is only my view of the case, if you wish to act upon your own responsibility you can do so. I do not know what the other brethren might say, but I feel the Committee order should be obeyed, however important I may think your help would be to the Consul in getting at the truth.

I gave the two cheques from Bennett to Mr. Banister yesterday. The amount I got for poor Stewarts for School . . . return home this time was \$510.00. I understood he had paid you \$20 as his Subscription towards the new Wing of the Conference Hall. Is that the case? I am sorry I was out when you called last evening

Yours very truly
John R Wolfe

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 5 November 1895
Relationship with English Presbyterian Mission in Fujian Province

1. Discusses disagreement with English Presbyterian Mission over transfer of CMS work and then resumption at request of local Chinese.
2. Restaffing Kucheng. Wolfe rejects Collins urges Banister but see Banister's reasons for not returning to Kucheng.

3. Wolfe's views on final states of Commission and Banister's role.
4. Wolfe on Mansfield response to initial news. Somewhat different to his two letters to NC Herald Foochow, November 5th, 1895

My dear Mr. Baring Gould

I was not able to send you the information you requested in reference to the subject of Mr. Campbell Brown's letter addressed to Mr. Baylis. Ist, because I had not the time by the mail that went out the day after I received your letter, and 2dly, my visits to my district has occupied all my time till now. I returned a couple of days ago, and thankful I am to say that I had a most pleasant and encouraging time of it in Hok Chiang, and the people everywhere were exceedingly quiet and civil. I had not an unkind word addressed to me in any part of the district during all the time was away. I am glad Mr. Campbell Brown's letter to you breathes such a spirit of liberality and kindness and goodwill towards C.M.S. work and workers but somehow or other the climate and atmosphere in China do not appear always at least, to have this kindly influence on people's minds, or correspondence that is shown in the extract which you have sent me from Mr. Brown's letter. I would have liked it much better if in Mr. Brown's communication with some of us on this subject, he had shown a mind free from prejudice and had manifested confidence in brethren of the C.M.S, which he says he admires so much.

The particulars of the case to which Mr. Brown refers are as follows; about 8 or 9 years ago the Fukien Sub Conference decided in consequence of the refusal of the P.C. [*Provincial Council*] to send Missionaries (foreign missionaries) to superintend the work that had been commenced more than 20 years ago in the Hing Hwa district, Yung Chien (we call this place Ing Chung) and the other places mentioned in Mr. B.'s letter, to abandon these districts, and hand over our property there, either to the American Episcopal Methodist Mission, or the English Presbyterian at Amoy, and with the hope that the converts (some hundreds in number) belonging to our Church and Mission would join one or other of the Protestant Communions. By arrangement with the A.M.E.M. we sold our principal church in Ing Chung to them. The English Presbyterian Mission took possession of another of our rented places of worship at PiHu or Pi Po and we notified to our people in all these places that we had abandoned work in these districts, and exhorted and advised them to join one or other of the Communions above mentioned. Some did actually join one or other of these Missions, and we absolutely withdrew from these districts and left them, as we thought, permanently.

I personally visited Hing Hwa with the object of handing over our work there to the Methodists, and bringing back with me the C.M.S. agents at work there to Foochow. Though I did not personally, at that time, visit Gung Chug etc, I sent orders to our agents there to retire and return to Foochow, which they did in a short time.

The great majority of our converts in Yung Chung and the other places mentioned by Mr. Brown, and the entire body of our converts at Hing Hwa, absolutely refused to join any of the other Communions and determined to carry on the work in connexion with the Church of England at their own expense and actually followed some of the agents on their way returning to Foochow and possibly brought them back to their stations and supported them there. We were not responsible for their refusal to join the other churches. We were compelled however, after some considerable time, to take up the Hing Hwa (not the Yung Chung district) work again but only on the condition that the converts would still continue to support themselves, whilst the C.M.S. provided them with a foreign missionary to superintend and guide them. We took no steps then to re-occupy the region mentioned in Mr. Brown's letter. On the contrary, we persistently refused to do this, though the converts from this region ever year presented petitions to our provincial council, begging us to visit them for the purpose of baptizing them and administering to them the Lord's Supper, and whenever the Bishop visited Hing Hwa or Kok Chiang several of them followed him from Station to Station begging for confirmation at his hands.

Still we refused to acknowledge them lest they should think that we might be induced to re-occupy that region (Ing Chung) again. This state of things continued for years. On the last occasion of the Bishop's Visitation at Hing Hwa for confirmation, accompanied by Mr. Lloyd, several of these old Christians followed him begging to be confirmed. The Bishop now felt he could no longer refuse and he confirmed several of them at Hing Hwa.

We did not even now contemplate re-occupying Ing Chung nor any part of that region nor did we hold out the slightest hope of doing so to these Christians. At length, seeing there was no hope of persuading these people to join one of the other Protestant Missions working in these neighbourhoods, Mr. Lloyd it was, I believe, as he had charge of the Hing Hwa district at that time, communicated with the P.C. asking for advice on the subject as to whether under the circumstances the region in question should be re-occupied by us or not.

The communication was made, as far as I am aware, entirely on Mr. Lloyd's own responsibility. The answer received from Salisbury Square was to the effect, that we should consult with the Methodist Episcopal Missionaries who were working there, and hear what they had to say on the subject of our re-occupying the . . . district. That was done, and the answer from their Bishop in Conference to us was to the following effect; that under the circumstances, "They would neither invite us to re-occupy the place nor would they object, but leave it entirely to our own godly wisdom to decide." The subject was then submitted by Mr. Shaw, who by this time took charge of Hing Hwa, to the Bishop and Archdeacon, and it was felt by them and by all, that under the circumstances these Christians could not be left any longer without some sort of superintendence, and that as Mr. Shaw now resided at Hing Hwa, "our godly wisdom" led us to give them the Superintendence which they asked for, and so far re-occupy the old mission. Accordingly Mr. Shaw and the native clergyman at Sieng Fu have visited during this year, from time to time, and opened a few village schools amongst them which were partly supported by money collected by the late Rev. Mr. W Stewart. This the whole history of the case. All this has been explained to Mr. and Mrs. Brown, but instead of manifesting that beautiful unprejudiced spirit and love for the C.M.S. workers which seems to come out in his letter to Mr. Baylis, unworthy suspicions, underhand dealing, and insincere professions have been flung at the Archdeacon in connexion with the subject by dear Mrs. Brown, and of course therefore by Mr. Brown, who writes so charmingly to Mr. Baylis.

Thouse we have ostensibly withdrawn from the region in question we have, especially the Archdeacon, so the Browns say, privately encouraged the Christians to hold out and not to join the Presbyterians, and that they know for certain that Archdeacon Wolfe had been supplying them all these years surreptitiously with funds to enable them to hold out and resist all the efforts made to win them over to the Presbyterians. Of course I cannot fathom the mystery which enables Mr. and Mrs. Brown to know for certain a thing which never existed, either in thought or in fact, for it is absolutely certain that Archdeacon Wolfe has never given the people in question a single cent either surreptitiously or otherwise, either for the purpose alleged or for any other purpose since the moment it was decided that we should withdraw from that region and district.

All this was told our dear friends, but indeed Mrs. Brown knew better than her informants, and would not believe but that the Archdeacon had all along some dark designs for the destruction of Presbyterianism, I suppose, in that region. This is the uncharitableness which I complain of, and which seems so inconsistent with the charitable and liberal spirit expressed in Mr. Brown's letter to Mr. Baylis.

You have now all . . . charge of the district now. This unfortunate, as Banister is the only man who can best take charge of Kucheng. Collins would never do for Kucheng. He cannot settle down to any organizing work and this is just what Kucheng needs. I shall deeply regret if Banister will still persist in not going there. It will do much injury to our work everywhere if Kucheng is left unoccupied for any time, as the Chinese will see that their plan has admirably succeeded in frightening the missionaries away and the same plan will be carried out in other places, and the Chinese Authorities will care little how many poor miserable coolie heads may go provided they gain their ends of keeping Missionaries away. It is highly important therefore that Kucheng be occupied at once. There can be no danger in the city though it is advisable to let no ladies go into the remote villages of Kucheng just yet. I think unless there is some serious reason against it, Banister might be allowed to help the new Consul, at least privately, in the examination of the other Criminals that may be caught and brought down here, though I don't believe the officials will exert themselves to arrest any others. All these reports of the Consul's conduct are grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. I was the only person who met him on the morning in question, and though he did not return at once he did what was necessary in a much shorter time by going to the house on the hill than he could have done by returning to his office. The letter written by Mr. Smyth, an

American, and a most excited individual, was truly an atrocious one, and altogether misrepresented the case. Our own dear Brother Phillips too lost his head and too violently spoke against the Consul. After all his not returning till evening is a very small mistake if a mistake at all, to hand such a load of false and cruel charges against h.M. Consul who has ever shown himself an able and firm official, and ever willing to help the Mission in all that was fair and just.

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

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

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 12 November 1895

1. Pre Sub-Conference note.
2. "The execution of the so-called leaders in connexion with the Ku Cheng massacre has taken place here at Foochow on Thursday last and so far all is finished here. We do not know of course what the English Government will do further. The Minister has left Peking on his way to Russia to his new appointment and H.M. Consul is leaving Foochow for England in a week from the present time. All new hands are coming into office. It seems to us here rather contradictory that the Minister and Consul are not kept here till this affair of the Ku Cheng difficulty is all settled and finished but I suppose the Government have good reasons for their action. So we must be content and wait. The Chinese have promised to exterminate the so-called Vegetarians from Kucheng. This is evidently now a very easy matter if the officials are really sincere in their profession, but this is not expected of them. . . . But after all said about the Vegetarians their power was really nothing and the pressure of a few hundred Soldiers was sufficient to enable the wretched police to scour the country and arrest the leaders of this miserable lot. It only shows that all this trouble could have been put down long since if only the officials wished it to be put down. But they did not wish it and one would wish to know now the reason why. . . . I am convinced from all that has happened that this was the object that the officials and gentry had in view and that this Vegetarian movement was made the means of carrying out their designs. The idea of it being a rebellion seems to me too ridiculous to be entertained."
3. "Mr Banister is now willing to take up KuCheng if the Committee will ask him to do so. . . ."
4. Martin has returned.

John R Wolfe.

Provenance: *Chinese Recorder*, November 1895, pp 526ff

In Memoriam: The Rev. R S and Mrs. Stewart by Rev. H S Phillips.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Dr John Rigg to Baring-Gould, 21 November 1895

6 Walton's Parade, Preston

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould

As I expect shortly to return to China I wish to ask your Committee to revise the relationship of your

missionaries in the Kien Ning Prefecture to Archdeacon Wolfe.

While yielding hearty respect and affection to Archdeacon Wolfe and recognizing him as the 'father' of the Fuh-Kien Mission which owes a very great deal to his energy and pertinacity in past years, yet recent experience has deeply impressed me with the fact that personal dealings with him are seriously complicated by his strong personal bias, forgetfulness and unbusinesslike methods. Therefore I ask that in every possible detail we Kien Ning missionaries may be subject to the guidance and judgment of the Foochow Sub-Conference rather than to the control of the Archdeacon personally. I am sure that such an arrangement will make for the peace of mind of everyone, including the Archdeacon, and also will further the prosperity of this work.

I also wish to draw your attention to the fact that reference of matters to the Foochow Sub-Conference has of recent years, been much impeded by the May meeting of that Conference having been suspended and now from November to November the only way of getting any matter considered by the brethren is by circular letter, a course which I believe has proved unsatisfactory.

I wish also to suggest that with regard to the minute of Committee of Correspondence dated March 2 1895, communications to her Majesty's Consul be forwarded to Archdeacon Wolfe and by him or in his absence by the next senior missionary in Foochow be submitted to the Foochow Local Committee and under their direction forwarded to the Consul (preferably by the Secretary of that Committee) and that the Secretary of the Committee send a copy of the communication to the missionary in whose behalf the Committee have acted. Such a course would not only minimize friction with the Archdeacon but would also provide for the action of the Foochow Local Committee in matters of urgency in the frequent absence of Archdeacon Wolfe from Foochow in his districts of Hok-Chiang, etc.—it being understood that the Committee so act in the Archdeacon's absence.

In conclusion I would again ask you to believe that in making these proposals I am actuated by a desire to further the progress of the work and the peace of the Mission.

Believe me, Yours Sincerely,
John Rigg.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Minutes of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Fuhkien Sub-Conference was held at Foochow on the 21st and 22nd November 1895.

Present: The Rt Rev Bishop Burdon (in the Chair)

Ven. Archdeacon Wolfe; Revds. W Banister; J Martin; C Shaw; H S Phillips; H M Eyton-Jones; W Light; T McClelland; L H Star.

1. McClelland elected Secretary.
2. Star and Light, having passed language exams, admitted members of Conference.
3. Kucheng Massacre.

'The members of the Fuhkien Church Missionary Society at this their first meeting of Conference since the melancholy occurrence of the massacre of the dear friends and fellow-missionaries at Kucheng desire to place on record their deep sense of the great and mournful loss which they and this FuhKien Mission have sustained by the cruel murder of the Revd R W Stewart and Mrs. Stewart and the other devoted ladies who were martyred with them while resting during their summer vacation at HuaSang. . . etc etc.

4. Complaint from English Presbyterian Mission that some of the CMS converts at Ing Chung had left Pres with encouragement from CMS in Foochow. CMS delegates Shaw to arrive at an agreement with Eng Pres. Actual help was subsidy for schools.
5. Martin to take charge Kucheng.
6. Light and Star to take Lo Nguong and Ning Taik working under supervision of Banister.
7. Lloyd to work in Foochow, English chaplain and business-manger.
8. Rev. T E Bland to Boys Boarding School, Foochow.
9. TCD Scheme. Memorandum approved. Fuh-Ning except Ning Taik) exclusive to TCD. CMS

- regulations to apply. WOLFE DISSENT.
10. Banister to replace Stewart in managing private donations to schools.
 11. Phillips to take furlough.
 12. McClelland. Wife ill, they will return to England.
 13. “The question of what should be done with the furniture belonging to the late Rev. R W Stewart now in the CMS house at Kucheng was discussed and the following resolution passed:
“That the Revds. W Banister and J Martin value the furniture belonging to the late Rev. R W Stewart and that the Society be asked to pay to his Estate the amount they agree upon, the furniture to remain in the CMS House at Kucheng for the use of the Missionary for the time being living there, who shall not be granted any furniture allowance.”
 14. Annie Wolfe taken on as missionary in local connexion.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould, 23 Nov 1895

1. Remarks re Sub-Conference
2. Report of Kucheng(Gutian) Commission of Enquiry.
 - Initial purpose to keep Parent Committee informed.
 - Written with full consent of Mansfield.
 - Copy sent to CMS; North China Daily News; the Times, London. (Times printed in full).
 - Need to guide ignorant public in UK.
 - Generally viewed as ‘official’ report.
3. Banister’s personal situation.
 - Accepts PC decision not to send Banister to Kucheng.
 - With one exception (Wolfe) Sub-Conference agreed that Martin should go to Kucheng. Martin is not Stewart but is sincere and godly.
 - Archdeacon wants to concentrate on Hok Chiang and Foochow. Did not want Light and Star as recommended by Sub-Conference.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Petition from Chinese Christians in Foochow re Fukien Bishopric. Foochow 1 Dec 1895

Nominating Wolfe as first Bishop of Fukien. .

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 2 December 1895

Proposes end to ‘dual control’ of CMS/CEZMS lady missionaries.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Minnie Boileau to Baring-Gould, 13 December 1895

1. In Hok- Chiang.
2. Ladies working in Hok Chiang briefly but not inland.
3. Nine new ladies expected in February.
4. Everything seems very quiet.
5. FES (Miss Ryle—cousin) working in Hong Kong.
6. Bishop Burdon very aged.
7. Visited Huasang graves in Foochow.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 23 December 1895

1. Re transfer Ning Taik, Lo Nguong, Lieng Kong Church Council
2. Is to Banister.
3. Wolfe not resigned Lieng Kong Wishes to retain position for another year.
4. Banister insists that resolution of Sub-Conference is final and binds all.
5. I go anyway to all districts in my role as Archdeacon.
6. Asks Parent Committee to overrule Sub-Conference.
7. Basis of his objection is the DRESS issue.
8. Banister will not introduce Chinese dress nor will he oppose those ladies who wish to adopt Chinese dress even if the local Chinese leaders objected.
9. Wolfe's basic argument is that established custom should be retained unchanged.
10. "Banister is making a great noise and will probably send home a loud noise about it."

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Wolfe to Baring-Gould, 24 December 1895

1. Seem to have done nothing since Hwasang (Hausang) disaster except write letters to England, Australia, etc.
2. Persists in arguing for CMS Hospital in Foochow. No objections in Fukien Province or from other missions.
3. CMS Foochow Committee supports hospital. Van Sommeren Taylor supports hospital
4. Opposition must have come from Collins who "has ever shown since he came here that his sympathies are more with Methodists and China Inland people and methods than with Ch of England Missions and principles and methods." Hints that Collins is disloyal to CMS and Anglicanism.
5. Wolfe rejects high church for unique Anglican evangelicalism.
6. Need for CMS to build sanitarium at Kuliang.
7. Funds needed for reprinting hymn and prayer books.
8. Buildings needed in several places.
9. Location of new CMS ladies.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould. 26 Dec 1895

Chinese dress, Lieng Kong, Commission of Enquiry. Amy Oxley.

House Boat, River Min, Dec 25th, 1895

Dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

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

As you will have seen from the Conference Minute which will have reached you ere this, it was decided that in view of the changes in the Mission, I should take the chairmanship of the Church Councils in Ning Taik, Lo Nguong, and Lieng Kong (Mr. Light and Mr. Star working the districts). Lieng Kong, as you know, was the Archdeacon's District, and it was included in the arrangement because the Archdeacon had repeatedly and strongly expressed his desire to be relieved of this charge. Otherwise it would never have been included in the proposition made at the Conference. As you know, the Archdeacon had another proposal before the Conf. which was not carried—but when this proposal was passed he raised no objection and seemed satisfied. We all took it for granted that this was the case, and I heard nothing to the contrary till three days ago, Dec. 23rd. On this date there was a meeting of members of the Mission

then in Foochow, to discuss some matters of formal business—and there were present the Archdeacon, Mr. Loud, myself, Mr. McClelland, Mr. Light, Mr. Star, and Mr. Bland. We met at Two p.m. and discussed business matters until Three o'clock when Mr. Star and I left to attend a meeting of the Committee of the North Fuh-Kien Tract Society of which we were members. We arranged to return and proceed with our Mission Meeting at Four o'clock—but unfortunately we could not finish our Tract Soc Meeting by that time, and it was not until Five p.m. that we were able to return to the Archdeacon's house. We met the other members just leaving—the Archdeacon, however, said he wished to speak to me and I entered the house with him and sat down in his dining-room. He then said, "Look here, you do not intend to introduce the Native dress in the Lieng Kong district, do you?" I replied that I really had no 'intentions' at all on the subject and did not mean to say anything about it. I said I thought he knew exactly what I thought on the subject and that I could not speak for others. I said my view was that I would be no party to coercion either one way or the other, and that anyone who was, or who should be, associated with me, should have perfect liberty to use any kind of dress they liked. Miss Oxley was then mentioned, and I again repeated in substance what I had already said—that if she, or anyone else, asked me about the dress I would tell them to decide the matter entirely for themselves. He then said he was not satisfied, and I thought the matter at an end, and that this was only a casual conversation between us.

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

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

I was now over a month since the Sub-Conference was held, and on the assumption that the Conf resolutions would be carried out Mr. Star, Mr. Light and I had been making arrangements for carrying on the work of next year. We had arranged the dates for the Meetings of Church Councils, and the parts of the districts that should be the sphere of influence for each of the two brethren. It had also been arranged that the native clergyman of Lieng Kong, Mr. Ting Sing Ong, should be the vice-chairman of the Lo Nguong Church Council. I naturally felt, therefore, and I still feel, that I ought to have been the first to be put in possession of the Archdeacon's views, and that what he had now stated publicly in the meeting should have been told to me as openly. I felt the matter could not be left in this condition of uncertainty. I therefore addressed the following Circular Letter to the Brethren.

Dec. 23rd

My dear Brethren,

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

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

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

I therefore ask the members of Sub. Conf. to guide me in this matter. I would advise that the Lieng

Kong district be left in the hands of Archdeacon Wolfe until the reply of the Committee to the Conf. resolutions be received. Though up to the present moment the Archdeacon has not expressed to myself his views on this subject I must assume that what he has stated to other members of the Mission does express his feelings on the matter.

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

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

Yours, etc.

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

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

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

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

I am intensely troubled and pained.

I would beg you to leave Lieng Kong in the hands of the Archdeacon until his return home on furlough, which I ham told he intends to do at the end of 1896.

Something is due to his position and long-standing as a missionary in this field but I cannot promise, even for him, to use coercion in such a matter as this of dress.

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

Mr. Star and Mr. Light will still go to reside at Lo Nguong, and we have decided that until we have the final decision, respecting Lieng Kong, from you, Mr. Star shall have Ning Taik district as his field of work and Mr. Light, No Nguong.

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

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

Mr. and Mrs. Boyd arrived on Christmas Day. We look on him coming as a God-made appointment for Ku Cheng. Things seem quiet but it is unwise to prophesy and one shrinks from making statements about the future.

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

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Banister (and Star), 18 December 1895

My dear Mr. Banister

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

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

We are anxiously waiting to hear the results of your important conference [sub-conference] last month. Ever believe me, very sincerely yours,
B Baring-Gould.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Rev. John Collins to Baring-Gould, 10 January 1896

C/- Rev. G W Healy, St Fin Barre's, County Cork, Ireland

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

I received yesterday a copy of a letter from Mr. Banister which he sent you with regard to Conference and the transfer of the Lieng Kong District.

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

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

I am not sorry that the difficulty has arisen because it has brought to light the very irregular proceedings of little meetings held in Foo Chow immediately after Conference, when some of the members have already left, and which for the past 3 years or so have been used to nullify the deliberate decisions of Conference.

I have know most important matters discussed and changed when certain men had gone back to the

country.

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

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

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

I consider "the Dress question" merely a pretext on which to harass Mr. Banister, but if that is discussed I should particularly like to be present as I have hitherto avoided the subject, being under the impression that the matter was decided already.

Yours very truly
J S Collins.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

**Banister to Baring-Gould, 15 January 1896
Disagreement over Mission management**

CMS College, Foochow, Jan 15 1896

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I am just writing one line with the enclosed circular letter. I have already said to you all I care to say on the subject. The meeting referred to in the letter was held and that is the meeting mentioned in my letter to you as having been held on Dec 24th.

I am yours very truly

W Banister.

P.S. Miss Oxley arrived yesterday (14 January 1895).

RESPONSES FROM THE BRETHERN

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

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

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

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

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

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

I fully endorse Mr. Martin's remarks. There is not the slightest reason to apprehend that the CMS will do anything but ratify Sub-Conferences arrangements in re Lieng Kong; no sort of protest having been at the time entered on the minutes. While contrary to usage, I await CMS confirmation of minutes (vide Ku Cheng), Lo Nguong and Ning Taik rearrangements to date) where no unusual course has been taken. I can see no better course may under the circumstances than to await their reply. It should be distinctly understood, however, that this does not include further waiting afterwards until replies to further correspondence have been received. If this be contemplated, it would be much more satisfactory to have another subsidiary Sub-Conf meeting at once for guidance of CMS as to local opinion. Unsigned.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Banister to Baring-Gould, 23 January 1896
Disagreement over Wolfe's attitude to CEZMS

I am writing upon two points which require some consideration from you and the Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In writing to General Robinson last week I also sent him a copy of Mr. Martin's letter to H.B.M. Consul. Will you kindly ask him to let you see it. I wanted very much to send you a copy but there was not time before the mail closed. I sent it to Gen. Robinson because I felt it would reassure him of Mr. Martin's most kind and friendly attitude towards their ladies. I hope you will not mind my sending it to him first under these circumstances.

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

I also send you a copy with the same notes made. I also send you suggested regulations for the CMS ladies. I am sending the same to Mr. Martin and asking him to write his views upon the question to you. I do this because when Mr. Martin was at home he saw the secretaries of the CEZ and made some suggestions in the direction of change in certain things. Gen. Robinson wrote to me on the subject, and then it was that I found Stewart's suggestions. I showed them to Mr. Martin, and he said they exactly met his views and he could heartily recommend the change. I have therefore no doubt that the CEZ regulations for FuhKien will be amended in accordance with Mr. Stewart's last suggestions. I think they ought to satisfy everybody. But what about the CMS ladies, can you not also issue similar instructions to

CMS ladies. In the suggested regulations I send herewith you will see that I have only substituted CMS Conference for the Corresponding Secretary in the CEZ. This is needed all the more just now when 10 new ladies have been added to the list of workers under the CMS, and perhaps two more in a short time.

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

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

If the Consul's proposals to Peking are placed in a safe pigeon-hole in the Legation and remain there, all will be well, but if there is any chance of changes having been made in the direction indicated then I think FuhKien will lose some of its workers.

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

In the neighbourhood of Foochow, we are all much encouraged by the very decided and widespread interest in the Gospel in all directions. We are receiving enquiries almost daily from different parts of this district.

I wrote the first draft of this letter in bed, but I am downstairs for the first time today. In response to the urgent request of my dear fellow worker the Rev. Ting tingki I have sent out the students in eight bands of four each to take advantage of this widespread interest in the island of Nantai to engage in a preaching tour in the crowded villages near us. I am looking for a report full of encouragement when they return.

I am dear Mr. Baring-Gould,

Yours very truly,

W Banister

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

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO ARCHDEACON WOLFE.

Dear Archdeacon,

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

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

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

The Missionaries of the C\$EZ have sent home a signed protest to their Committee. I write to inform you of this because the Consul gave you generally as the source of his information, and also that you may have an opportunity of making such explanations as you think fit to the Committee of the CMS, to whom the matter will be referred. I am yours very truly, W. Banister.

ENCLOSURENO 1

COPY OF MEMORANDUM SENT TO REV. W BANISTER BY MISS BURROUGHS AND MISS NEWCOMBE.

Monday Eve, 18th January 1896

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

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

The propositions were:

- (i) That all ladies coming to the Fuh-Kien Province should reside in Foochow while learning the

- language and becoming acquainted with the customs of the people;
- (ii) That all missionaries should wear the English dress. He considered that Chinese dress would tend to excite the suspicions of the people.
 - (iii) That all CEZ ladies should be entirely under the control of the Archdeacon as (the Consul said) CMS ladies and gentlemen were. The Consul said that the Archdeacon should be a complete Pope over the CEZ ladies.

Signed F M Burroughs, M Newcombe.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

**Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 31 January 1896
Disagreement over Wolfe's attitude to CEZMS**

- 1. Wolfe urged (2 Dec 1895), a letter to CEZMS ending 'dual control'.
- 2. CEZMS advised not aware of any difficulties.
"Will you kindly give me carefully selected instances of cases in which what you term dual control has caused strain on the Mission Field, with names and dates, , ,
- 3. Second daughter (Annie) accepted as CMS missionary in local connexion.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to S D Wong and Chinese "Friends", Foochow. 13 February 1896 (

- 1. Acknowledges Petition signed by 306 Chinese clergymen, preachers etc.
- 2. CMS not able to endorse Bishopric for Fujian.
- 3. Reflects high esteem in which Archdeacon Wolfe is held.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Banister, 28 Feb 1896

Acknowledges Banister's of Nov 23; Dec 26/95 and Jan 15 and circular letter to brethren.

- 1. Copy of a letter to Wolfe 28/2/95.
 - (i) Wolfe's letter of Jan 14 and report on visit to Hok Chiang.
 - (ii) Re ladies working under Chinese married catechist (where no European married resident missionary available) should be referred to brethren.
 - (iii) No movement of ladies inland until all brethren endorse.
 - (iv) Miss Power has arrived in England via Australia.
 - (v) Rev H S Phillips married Miss Rankin on 18 Feb.
 - (vi) *The Banister appointment to Ning Taik; Lo Nguong, Lieng Kong—Chinese Dress, etc.*

Wolfe 23 Dec and Banister 20 Dec.

- (a) Parent Committee understands Wolfe's reservations.
- (b) Wolfe's Foochow workload increased due to extra ladies.
- (c) "Under all the circumstances of the case (the parent committee) would ask you very kindly to waive your own natural feelings, and carry out the Resolutions of the Sub-Conference, which have indeed been approved by our Committee, and pass over the charge of Lieng Kong to the brethren, Mr. Banister being the superintending missionary, The committee feel that this will free you from the responsible work involved in the superintendence of the other districts remaining under your charge."
- (d) "With regard to the adoption of the Native Dress by European Missionaries in Lieng Kong, the Committee are well assured that both you and Mr. Banister desire to act with absolute loyalty to the Resolution of the Parent Committee which was adopted on January 23, 1894, to the following

effect: 'That the Committee consider that Missionaries have absolute liberty in regard to the question of Chinese costume, and they are not prepared to issue any instructions in the matter.' It is hardly necessary for us to add that the Committee heartily appreciate the expression of your readiness cheerfully to abide by their decision with respect to this matter.'

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe and Banister
WOLFE & CONFLICT WITH CEZMS MISSIONARIES

1. Acknowledges Wolfe's of Jan 30.
 - (i) Banister should have first discussed issue with Wolfe re contact with Consul and letter to British Legation in Peking.
 - (ii) "You would, as you assure me, have been able to assure him that you had never made a single one of these suggestions to the Consul but that he (the Consul) was absolutely responsible for every one of them. On the assumption that I am right in the conclusion to which I have been driven I have told Mr. Banister how deeply I deplore the fact that neither Miss Burroughs, Miss Newcombe, nor he himself took an early opportunity of a personal interview with you in order that you might explain to them the facts of the case. Had they done so I fully believe that the misunderstanding would have been swept away and the Consul would not have had the opportunity to seeing independent members of the same mission maintaining conflicting views of duty. At the same time, I fear it is possible that you, my dear friend, fell into the same mistake in connection with the visit of Miss Burroughs and Miss Newcombe when they went into the country, apparently with Mr. Banister's permission; I gather that you did not in the first instance go to Mr. Banister, but feeling that the consequences of the action of these two ladies might seriously compromise other workers, went direct to the Consul.. If I am right in this suppositin, I greatly deplore that you did not in the first instance consult Mr. Banister.
2. Acknowledges Banister's of Jan 23rd.
 - (i) New Regulations for CMS ladies promulgated. Will review Stewart's notes on CEZMS regulations.
 - (ii) Refers to letter. Baring-Gould regrets Banister saw Consul before consulting Wolfe. You and ladies should have spoken to Wolfe. Archdeacon denies Consul adopted his views although he was consulted.
 - (iii) Should be more openness and trust between colleagues.
3. Despite statements to Wolfe and Banister, letters are not identical.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 11 Mar 1896
INLAND MISSIONS REOPENED BY CONSUL

1. Acknowledges Wolfe's of 20 & 25 Jan re Burroughs, Newcombe and Consul.
2. Wolfe advised on Jan 30 that Consul will allow ladies to return inland all stations after 15 February 1896.
3. Committee approves but Consul's rulings will be final guide.
4. Every care and competent escorts for ladies.
5. All housing to be sanitary and suitable.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 11 Mar 1896
INLAND RESIDENCE OF MISSIONARIES NOT SECURED BY TREATY

1. Re Wolfe's quer of Jan 25th concerning Treaty Rights.
2. Extract from Curzon, George Nathaniel, Marquis Curzon (NLA Asian Collection BRA822) that CMS regards as accurate and stating that British Government does not want to raise the issue of rights outside the Treaty Ports.
3. EXTRACT FROM CURZON INCLUDED:
 "The only passage in Lord Elgin's Treaty of Tien-tsin in 1858, relating directly to the missionaries, is that commonly known as the Toleration Clause, which was copied without substantial alteration from the Treaties already signed by China with Russia and the United States. Article VIII of the English Treaty runs as follows:—

The Christian Religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese Authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with.

A later clause in the same Treaty (Article XII) was subsequently appealed to as giving English missionaries the right to rent and own land and buildings in the interior:—

British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places desiring to build or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably and without exactions on either side.

But it was then explained, and has always been held by the British Government, that the words 'at other places,' upon which alone the interpretation rested, had never been intended to confer, and could not be construed as conferring such a right, Lord Elgin only having introduced them in order to cover the case of places such as Whampoa, Woosung, and Taku, which are situated respectively at the distance of a few miles below Canton, Shanghai, and Tientsin, and where it might be found desirable, instead of or in addition to the Treaty Ports, to establish Foreign Settlements. Indeed, if the words had meant places in the interior promiscuously, there would obviously have been no necessity for subsequent treaties opening fresh Treaty Ports, which concessions have only been procured as a compensation for outrage, or with immense difficulty.

The British Treaties, accordingly, while they secure to the missionary full protection everywhere in the pursuit of his calling, and in the possession of house and church property in the Treaty Ports, do not give him the right either of residence or of ownership in the interior.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Rev. Llewellyn Lloyd, 29 Apr 1896
Re language examinations.

1. Rules for language examinations in Fuh-Kien.
2. Advice on marking scheme.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Rev. W Light/Rev. Leonard Star. May 1896
Liaison with Consul

1. Misconceptions re wishes of Parent Committee on official communications between CMS missionaries and Consul.
2. Committee wish all official communications to go through Wolfe but that he transmit exactly what is given to him.
3. Wolfe to send a copy of all communications with Consul to individuals affected.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 15 May 1895

1. Received Wolfe's of 27 Mar.
2. Consul has approved Miss Little to go to Ning Taik.
3. Consul has approved Miss Clemson to go to Fuhning with Miss Clarke.
4. Wolfe wishes all other ladies, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Boyd, to remain in Foochow.
5. Miss Oxley and Miss Searle have been appointed to Lieng Kong.
6. Parent Committee can include any lady in Ladies Conference i.e. Wolfe sisters in local connexion are eligible.
7. All communications with Consul to go through Wolfe who is to send copy of his communication with Consul to individuals involved.
8. Wolfe's view endorsed that he should pass on to Consul missionary's original with comments negotiated with individual before despatch to Consul but letter should be sent by Wolfe and the answer through Wolfe to missionary involved.
9. SPCk being asked for 1000 prayer books in Hok Chiang dialect.
10. Endorses continued use of circular letters between meetings of Sub-Conference, Appears that idea of a Standing Committee was rejected by Fujian missionaries.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

**Memorandum regarding Trinity College Dublin Fukien Mission
role in CMS work in Fuh-Kien Province. 15 May 1895**

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 21 May 1896

1. "And now, my dear Archdeacon, let me assure you with what real sorrow I gather from your letter that you feel that the action of the committee has been in any sense a vote of censure upon you, this certainly is the very last idea that would cross any of their minds. IN order that I may endeavour to reassure you of their confidence I herewith enclose a copy of a paragraph of my letter to you of February 28th. The Committee, I can assure you, felt that it really was not fair to lay immediately upon you the burden of more than the charge of the work in Foochow and in Hok Chiang.
"The Committee have carefully considered the recommendations of your late Sub-Conference relative to the appointment of Mr. Banister in charge of Ning Taik, Lo Nguong and Lieng Kong, together with your letter dated December 23rd and a letter from Mr. Banister dated Dec 26th. The Committee gratefully appreciate all your valued services during a period of many years, in which you have been in charge, amongst other districts, of Lieng Kong, and they do not in the least marvel at your shrinking from your being severed from a district over which you have watched with no such solicitude a long time,. On the other hand they cannot but feel that in consequence of the considerable reinforcements of Lady Missionaries whom will be sent to Hok Chinag and in Foochow, the strain which will be laid upon you must necessarily be very largely increased. Moreover they are greatly influenced by the strong recommendations of the Sub-Conference, hence under all the circumstances of the case they would ask you very kindly to waive your own natural feelings, and carry out the resolutions of the Sub-Conference which have indeed been approved by the Committee, and pass over the charge of Lieng Kong to the brethren, Mr. Banister being the superintending missionary. The Committee feel this will free you for the responsible work involved in the superintendence of the other districts remaining under your charge."
2. Wolfe had not replied to query over "Dual Control" and names and dates of any difficulties so that there can be discussions with CEZMS.
3. Miss Bushell (FES) is seeking relief in work with CMS Girls School. Can a CMS lady be spared to

give some help?

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Bennett, Hong Kong, 4 June 1896

1. TCD accept responsibility in Fuhning as agreed 21 Nov 1895.
2. Will be CMS missionaries and follow CMS regulations.
3. Will be under Fuh-Kien Sub-Conference.
4. 2 more CMS ladies, one a medical doctor, for Fujian to be located in Hok Chiang.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 12 June 1896

Most Favoured Nation. Re Banister

1. Re undated letter from Wolfe in reply to above of Mar 10. Wolfe's letter recd on 8th June 1896.
2. "With respect to the "Favoured nation" Clause I regret to say that our interview some months ago with the Authorities at the Foreign Office led us to feel that the Consul at Foochow is fully justified in declining to claim rights for British subjects under that clause, at all events they told us that they did not conceive that it would be right for us to claim our rights under that clause at the present time hence I regret to say we must be content to be without privileges which rightly or wrongly are claimed by, as you tell me, the Americans and the French.

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

Pray do not hesitate to take Mr. Banister into your fullest confidence whenever matters arise which give you cause for anxiety regarding the work of Ladies under his immediate charge. You me rest assured that I will strongly urge him to act on similar lines with regard to yourself.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Banister, 12 June 1896

1. Re Banister's of 27 April.
2. London aware of stress over months, Not surprised to hear of fever.
3. Continuing problems between Banister and Wolfe. Similar letter to that to Wolfe.
4. Details of administration of CMS/CEZMS ladies in Fujian. See below.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Miss Goldie, 12 June 1895

Details of administration of CMS/CEZMS ladies in Fujian. See below.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)
Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 12 June 1896
Re Huasang.

Cc Bennett, HK and Martin.

1. Memo re administration of work of lady missionaries in Fujian.
2. A response to Banister's notes 23 Jan 1896 with notes made by Stewart and also approved by Martin.
3. All brethren in England have been consulted.
4. CEZMS consulted.
5. CEZMS lady missionaries in England.
6. Future of CEZMS/CMS ladies in Fuhning to be negotiated with TCD.
7. HUASHAN—FOREIGN OFFICE
“We have been in correspondence with the Foreign Office with regard to the payment of Dr. Rennie's bill for attendance on the wounded, and cost of rebuilding the premises at Hua-sang (Huashan), and the government were willing to apply to the local Chinese authorities for payment in consideration of the above, but our Government has been informed that our Committee are still of opinion that for them to make any claim might be detrimental to their missionary work in the future, and they therefore abstain from doing so themselves or asking others to claim compensation on their behalf, and information has just come in from the Foreign Office that in view of the consideration put forward, Lord Salisbury does not propose to take any further steps in the matter, and Her Majesty's Minister at Peking has been so informed by telegraph.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Bennett (CMS Corresponding Secretary, East Asia Mission, Hong Kong)
3 July 1896 General business matters involving finance in Fujian.

1. Fujian to handle own financial administration from this date.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Lloyd, 3 July 1896

1. Fujian to handle own financial administration from this date.
2. Lloyd invited to act as Financial Secretary, Fujian.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Wolfe, 3 July 1896

1. Fujian to handle own financial administration from this date.
2. Lloyd invited to act as Financial Secretary, Fujian.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)
Baring-Gould to Wolfe re furlough, 3 July 1896

1. Furlough in California approved.
2. Wolfe needed to do deputation work in England for six months.
3. Has not visited England since 1881.
4. Some information on principles of payment to local evangelists and pastors developed for India but more widely applicable.

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Lloyd, 17 July 1896

1. TCD sending Dr Synge to Fuhning. Synge is a fully qualified medical doctor and first clergyman ordained in Ireland for mission field.
2. Mr Woods for Kucheng to work schools under Martin.
3. Miss E Tyson for Foochow.
4. Dr Mary Harmer, medical doctor with sister to Hok Chiang.

Provenance: *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1896. pp479-483)

THE PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CHRISTIANS IN THE FUHKIEN PROVINCE

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

We would therefore present to you the following points:—

1. All should understand that embracing Christianity implies a purpose to seek and practice personal holiness, to honor and serve God, to be filial to parents, to be loyal subjects and to love others as ourselves.
2. It is the duty of every one to be a true Christian, and it is possible to be such under whatever human laws or in whatever circumstances he or she may be placed.
3. Persons who have violated the civil laws by committing murder or theft, by gambling or counterfeiting, or who are guilty of any other crime, should not be received into the Church unless they have given good evidence of repentance and conversion, and should they be received they must still remember that they are amenable to the laws of the land for such crimes, and have no right to expect exemption from punishment because they become Christians.
4. We have no right to expect that foreign governments will interfere and compel the Chinese government to alter its ordinary laws or their regular mode of execution.
5. The treaties with Christian nations now give the sanction of the Imperial government to any person, official or citizen, to embrace Christianity and guarantee to him religious liberty, so that he cannot lawfully be compelled to contribute money for idolatrous or immoral purposes. For many years the officials at Foochow, from District Magistrate to Viceroy and Tartar-General, have proclaimed the right of Christians to be exempt from local taxation for such purposes.
6. Aside from cases involving religious liberty Christians should not as such claim discriminating legislation on their behalf.
7. In cases where religious liberty is at stake every effort should be made by those concerned to settle them amicably, and thus avoid appealing to the courts. Where this cannot be done they should appeal to the officials in the ordinary way, paying the usual fee. In no case should they look to the missionary to take the initiative.
8. Although there seem to be hardships in poor people securing their rights under the present Government yet Chinese Christians should remember than in the providence of God they are Chinese, that the regular government taxes are light comparatively, and that in the present untrustworthiness of the people the system of yan-en fees for services rendered is unavoidable. As the people become Christianized then gradually Christian laws and methods

- will become possible and can prevail.
9. At present foreign missionaries and Consuls in appealing to the officials can exert only a moral influence on behalf of the native Christians to assist them in their troubles and reforms, and it must lead naturally to hatred of Christianity and of the Christians themselves on the part of the officials for the foreigners to be too forward in undertaking the lead in prosecuting cases for the Christians.
 10. As a general rule missionaries should appeal to the officials in behalf of Christians through their Consuls only in cases of severe persecution. The collecting of old debts, claims for fields and other property formerly taken from them by extortion and all similar civil cases should be left for the natives to manage themselves, and in all such cases they should be instructed to seek only for what is just and right. The Chinese method of magnifying one's own wrongs and of taking advantage of other people's ignorance should not be indulged in or allowed among Christians. We should remember the apostle's declaration that it is better to suffer injury than to do it to another.
 11. With respect to property shared year by year in rotation we recommend that the Christians in the several prefectures, or in the entire province, unite and present the case to their officials, showing the injustice that must result in case the Christians on account of moral inability to perform ancestral worship should be deprived of their share in their patrimony. To aid in the matter it could be suggested that the money for the sacrifices and feasts should be divided among those entitled to it, and the balance belong to the party who has the control of the property for the year. Or the proposition might be made that the expenses for the repair of graves should be provided annually and the rest go to the manager for the year, or that the property be equitably divided among the heirs. The last course would naturally be the rule if all the heirs become Christians. In such application to the officials it should of course be shown that Christians are not wanting in filial piety, though they refuse to sacrifice to their ancestors.
 12. With respect to reforms in marriage and social customs, such as the protection of widows from the power of their late husband's relatives; the daughter's right to share in her father's property; the matter of infant betrothals; the selling of daughters to be slave girls, and other questions which may arise, the same general method may be followed as suggested in No. 11. According to the present genius of the Chinese government this is the only way open for Christians to secure any reform in their civil rights that may be desired.

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

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

We are, fraternally yours,

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

P W Pitcher, American Reformed Church Mission, Amoy.

Jas Sadler, London Missionary Society, Amoy.

G M Wales, English Presbyterian Mission, Amoy.

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

W Banister, Church Missionary Society, Foochow.

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

We further plead with you:—

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

Charles Hartwell, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, missionary, Foochow.
W Banister, Church Missionary Society, Foochow.

Jas Sadler, London Missionary Society, Amoy.

P W Pitcher, American Reformed Church Mission, Amoy.

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

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

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

Wehrle (1966) pp 62-63 comments:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provenance: CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, mfm 1915, Roll 232b)

Baring-Gould to Banister, 20 November 1896

1. CMS has referred pastoral letter to Foreign Office.
2. Foreign Office demurs with 3 paras.
 - (i) objects to superstitious beliefs and practices of the heathen.
 - (ii) objects to use of term 'idolatrous' and would prefer more euphemistic mode of expression.
 - (iii) object to use of term 'immoral' as being possible of misunderstanding.
 - (iv) object to 'the Chinese method of magnifying one's own wrongs etc is regarded as a discourteous mode of expression.
3. These are political objections offered in an unofficial and friendly spirit.

4. An extract from Consular Intelligence Report for June 1896 refers to cases brought by junior missionaries claiming persecution and seeking consular intervention. One missionary had to be threatened with loss of internal passport.

Provenance: *The Chinese Recorder*, November 1896

Rev P W Pitcher (See above HUA120) 'The Present Status and Prospects of Missions in the Fuhkien Province, China.'

1. Commemoration of 1 Aug 1895 at Huasang.
2. Claims increase in conversions as result of impact upon missionaries of Huasang.
3. Statistical Table of missions in the Fuhkien Province, China, for 1895.
4. 2nd part provides statistics for 1896.

Provenance: North China Herald, 20 September 1895, pp 484-489
CMS East Asia Mission, (National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915, Reel 245)

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION
REPORT 1

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

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

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

The English Consul was the first to awake and at 3 a.m. we roused up the launch men and as soon as steam was up we proceeded. Our progress was exceedingly slow as the launches were very poor and weak and we had quite a flotilla of native boats behind us, containing our escorts and chair bearers. After a while a breeze sprang up and with the house-boats sails up we went on very well.

The next night we spent at a riverside port near the *hsien* city of Mingchiang. At daybreak we were off again, and soon got a good wind which enabled us to get into Suikou, the river port, where the long journey to Kucheng begins. Here followed some interviews with the officials who were waiting to receive us, and who had been instructed to prepare for our land journey. The afternoon was spent in arranging the loads for our journey and dispatching coolies with those things that ought to go first.

Long before daylight on **Friday morning, 16th August**, we were all up and astir. The soldiers who had been guarding our boat armed with Mauser rifles, aroused us by calling to their comrades on shore. After breakfast by lamplight we started just as daybreak began to come. We were a long cavalcade. Soldiers in front, soldiers behind us, chairs and coolies and baggage spread out our company to a great length. August is about the hottest month of the year and we anticipated a terrible broiling day, but for many hours the sky was cloudy and the sun obscured and so we did not suffer until between 2 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon and then everyone felt the effects of the fierce sun which made everything burning hot.

We drew near to our Church at Choyong, about eight miles from Kucheng, at a little after 3 o'clock and were met by a company of our Christians, who showed by their sad faces how much they felt the calamity which had befallen the Church.

We arrived within sight of Kucheng city about 6 o'clock and great crowds of people, Christian and heathen, met us as we passed through the city streets. The people crowded out to see us. They knew our errand and we have heard since that the whole population is very pleased that we had come to see the murderers punished and this wicked sect suppressed. Please God this will be done if the Consuls are supported by the Home Governments. We were all very weary when we retired to rest the night after our 30 miles march.

We are all living together in the houses of the American Mission so as to be close at hand in case of emergencies.

The next day, **August 17th**, we received a short visit from the Prefect, a mandarin who rules over the whole of the Foochow prefecture which includes ten counties of which Kucheng is one. He is responsible to the government and well-being of these districts and directs all subordinate magistrates. The Consuls informed him why they had come and what they intended to do. Their proposal included the investigation of each case of capture, and in the *yamen* or office of the officer. He objected to this and after pressure by the Consuls declined to agree to this without orders from the Viceroy. This was unpleasant and led to

delays in beginning the examination of prisoners. The Consuls sent off telegrams to the Ministers and Governments at midnight on Saturday.

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

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

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

On Sunday evening the Consuls prepared a dispatch for the Viceroy informing him of their plans and requesting that orders be sent to the Prefect, to fall in with their wishes. This was taken down to Foochow on Monday morning by Mr. Star whom we hope to see again on Friday or Saturday. On Monday we went down to the *yamen* to pay our respects to the Prefect and the other magistrates. We first visited the Prefect who received us with respect and seemed disposed to cooperate with the Consuls more fully than at first. The Consuls insisted upon the actual culprits and all the leaders who are captured being taken down to Foochow and retried there and executed; to this the Prefect agreed, the general question of the suppression of the sect being left to the native authorities. After further conversation we left and went over to the local magistrate who did not treat us so well, but took us into a very poor apartment. He brought into us one of the prisoners upon whom we found a number of articles of clothing belonging to the children.

He was a young man of 25 years named Wong Si-tie. Upon his capture he had tried to commit suicide by cutting his throat. He had a great gash in his throat which was dressed by Dr. Gregory. He declines to confess and says that he was deceived as to the real object of the expedition and did not kill anyone. Many say this, but some openly confess that they killed the foreigners and boast of it; they say it is a very unimportant matter to kill foreigners. It does not matter.

We have the names of the men who say they killed the foreigners and one man declares he killed Mr. Stewart. We hope to have these men captured before very long. The Prefect has sent in a report to the Viceroy in which he attempts to throw the blame of this Vegetarian rising upon the Christians and Mr. Stewart, but he had heard that this has been reported to us and that we know the contents of his report which is abominably untrue and he has sent special messengers down to Foochow to bring it back before it gets to the Viceroy.

The Christians report that he is highly incensed at this and threatens if trouble arises between the countries that the Christians will suffer. We pray that this may not be true and that trouble will not arise.

Today, **20th August**, we are engaged in preparing a list of the men who we are informed went to Whasang to kill the foreigners. This morning the American Consul received a telegram in reply to his of Saturday from his Consul-General in Shanghai telling him to enforce his rights in this case. The Prefect seems to have made a mistake through ignorance and confessed that he had not much knowledge of the treaties.

The investigations may take a long time and we cannot tell you long we shall remain here, but the Consuls say they will remain until it is finished.

This afternoon the Prefect sent word that he is prepared to do whatever the Consuls wished. This was only a verbal message and in reply they sent a dispatch informing the Prefect that on the next day, Wednesday, they would present themselves at the *yamen* at 10 o'clock to proceed with the investigations.

This produced a dispatch in reply from the Prefect informing the Consuls that he had received telegraphic instructions from the Viceroy to do exactly as the Consuls wished.

Wednesday. The effects of dear Stewart and the Sisters start down to Foochow this a.m. under the charge of eight soldiers and two of our catechists.

This morning at 10 o'clock we began our investigations. Information has just come in that the original head of the Vegetarians has been captured at Kioning Fu. This is the **Kiangsi man Lau Ing-cheng, the original propagandist.**

Provenance: North China Herald, 20 September 1895, pp 484-489

CMS East Asia Archives, National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915, Reel 245

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION REPORT 2

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

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

DRAWING INCLUDED

The first man to be brought before us was a man from the village of Siohchong, about 50 *li* from Kucheng. His name was Sia Kwok-sting, 40 years of age. We heard the clanking of chains and then the prisoner appeared. He had already been examined by the magistrate and his depositions were before us.

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

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

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

The next man Wong Nong-tie, was a native of a village called Tingyong. He is a young man aged 25 years, with a sheepish expression of countenance. After his apprehension he attempted to commit suicide. He acknowledged going to Whasang and being present at the massacre, but says he himself did not kill anyone. He says that he got no spoil at the division, and fought with 'Long Finger Nails' because of this.

(Several other prisoners at their cross-examination testify that he killed more than one). He says that he entered the house after the others, and saw Mr. and Mrs. Stewart lying on the bed, and the blood running down on to the floor. He saw the little children huddled together, and also saw four of the ladies dead together. The oil in the house was used to saturate the floors and fire the house. He also saw that another prisoner Yek King-nik, stabbed some one, but he did not hear that the prisoner A Nong killed any one. He did not know the prisoner Siu Kuok-sting. He did not see Wong Cheng-hok or Ik Wong-seng, but knew they went. He said that a man from the village of Cheutak, named Ting Huang-kiang, killed two persons, and that Tai Mi-long confessed to having killed one person. He did not know Sih Kai-tai.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This man says he started on the road to Whasang, but did not know what was to be done. He was called by his local leader Chiu Neng-tien personally. He did not get to Whasang but deserted at the village of Tahsie. He was not told where they were going. He first joined the Vegetarians to be cured of opium smoking and thought it was a good business. At Tahsie, by the country road side, there were two men

were taking the numbers of the expedition as they went by. (He bears testimony to To Chio-hi, Tiong-chiah, Lau Ing-cheng, Ming Chiang-shek.) About bedtime he deserted at Tahsie, to which place he had gone after being called by his leader, who after calling him, went on to call other members in the neighbourhood.

The next prisoner was a poor-looking wretch, ill-clothed and ill-fed. He said he was married and had one child. He is a farmer. His name was Yek Ming-nik. His leader was the same as the above, Chiu Nong-tien.

‘He called me,’ said the prisoner, ‘to take paper and ink and go to the fastness to have my fortune told, and I should find peace and plenty for myself and family. I do not know how many men went to Whasang. I went, but I remained on this side of the hilltop as I was hungry. I knew Wong Nong-tio when he was young. He is my nephew.’ (This is the man who is reported to have killed Herbert Stewart, he denied on examination that he did so, but others say he himself boasted that he had killed on little foreigner, about six or seven years old.) He says that A Nong was his nephew, and went with him to fastness but he did not see him at Whasang. He denied killing anyone.

The next prisoner was an intelligent and fairly respectable looking young man of 26 years. He was clothed in good blue cotton clothes. He surrendered himself. He is a farmer. His name is Chiu Seu-huak.

He said that owing to sickness he entered one Vegetarian body about nine months ago, hoping thereby to get well. He was for a short time a Christian, or enquirer, but getting sick, he joined the Vegetarians as above stated. He called, and went with a company, as far as the village of Ngingyong, where he remained and returned home at daylight. In all five men went from his village to Whasang. He saw the next day Ping Ing, Ming Sing, Hok Chiu, Keuk Siah. He was compelled by these men to join the expedition. He did not get any plunder and the bundle which he had with him was his own clothing.

The next prisoner who had only been arrested the previous day, and bore traces on his legs of his examination by the magistrates, was the local leader, Chiu Neng-tien, a horrid looking demon. He said

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

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

W Banister CMS

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

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION
REPORT 3

August 23rd.—Today the two Consuls paid a visit to the Prefect with the object of arranging a certain form of procedure with reference to the execution of the persons implicated in the massacre. They have come to the conclusion that it will be better to send only the really head men to Foochow for further trial and execution there, and that the real and actual murderers should be executed at Kucheng. This the Prefect agreed to and at once sent off a telegram to the Viceroy for permission to dispense with the formality of confession of the crime which is necessary by Chinese law before a man can be executed. There has been no sitting of the Joint Commission today as the magistrates are waiting for the arrival of the chief criminal and head of the Vegetarians who has been captured near Kingyang, the station of the Rev. H S Phillips, and whom we expect in a day or two. Yet when the Consuls went down today they found the entrance to the *yamen* densely packed by an excited crowd. They thought at first that a riot was impending, but found that the excitement was caused by the arrival of one of the head criminals, a man called Tiong Chiah, and a desire to get a share of the large reward which has been offered for his apprehension. This amounts to the large sum of \$900—\$100 paid for information leading to his arrest, and \$800 for his apprehension. This amount has been offered for the four heads, and has actually been paid for the five already arrested. The magistrate Ho who visited us today informed us that more than two loads of silver had been taken away from the *yamen* in rewards. This is encouraging and shows what the magistrates can really do under pressure. They know of course that unless this thing is settled promptly, there will be serious consequences for the country.

The other members of the Commission have been engaged in writing. I have been assisting in various ways, and today, **August 24th**, we have been writing and translating an additional list of names of persons who have been implicated in the Whasang massacre. Today telegrams arrived informing us definitely that Lau Ing-cheng has been arrested and was being sent down for examination. The prisoner Tiong Chiah has shown a disposition to tell or give information. One only of the head men now remains at large. The man who commenced the attack upon our friends, and who seems to have been the most bloodthirsty of the whole gang is still uncaught. We are hoping that the large rewards offered will stimulate the members of the native guards to action.

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

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

Monday, the 26th of August, 3rd day of examination.—This morning the Commission again proceeded to the *yamen* at 9 a.m. Before we began business **the Chinese and Europeans as they sat in the Court were photographed by Dr. J Gregory.**

The first prisoner examined was the man Ling Tie-kiang, who in his previous examination denied being at the scene of the massacre, but said he deserted about half way to Whasang, although he was incriminated by others. He was afterwards compelled by the native mandarins to confess that he had been present. He is the youngest of three brothers, the eldest being dead, and is a general labourer. He became

a Vegetarian about six months ago on account of opium smoking. His leader and introducer to the association was the head man, Lau Ing-cheng. He said,

‘I bound myself not to leave the body under promise of being willing to suffer transformation after death into an animal. I went on the 6th day with 304 others to the fastness; Sia Cho-giang, Sia Suk-kiang, In Paik-chiong went first. I saw ‘Long Finger Nails’ at the fastness. We went to Whasang on the evening of the 10th. To Chio-hi was the leader and carried a flag in his hand. I saw ‘No 7’ and Lau Ing-cheng, and two Tiao men were the first to begin. I was a little behind and did not see clearly who began first. The men I saw going in were the men above mentioned. I heard others say this, but it did not see it myself. I was not with the prisoner Sia Kwoh-sung. The first to enter was ‘No 7.’ I did not go inside the house. I do not know who killed the foreigners, nor do I know who set fire to the place. After the slaughter we returned to the fastness. The leaders took the loot but I got nothing. They said the command had been given by the leaders and therefore the command of the spoil should be their also, and that it should go for food and support. I returned to my house on the afternoon of the 13th. I do not know when Lau Ing-cheng left. I had nothing to eat and therefore I returned to my own home. Lau Ing-cheng was still at the fastness. I was caught on the 21st by the soldiers. I can recognize Sia Kai suk and Sia Kai-tai and Kwoh Sung. I do not know A-Nong. The orders were not given at the fastness but on the road.’

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

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

(Contrary to all the evidence, this prisoner said that Lau Ing-cheng did not go to Whasang.)

Over 100 men went to Whasang and also some men from Pingnang. Their route was via Teukling, Chiendchio and Langyeu. On our return we came via Tualkiang. At the start there was about 200, but only 100 came to Whasang. I was behind and did not see all, and so I cannot tell who knocked at the doors, but I think they were already open. When I arrived they had entered the house. Chio Hi arrived a little late with the flag. ‘No 7’ killed but I did not see any others. I heard ‘No 7’ say this myself. I heard of a Tinggong man taking plunder but I did not see that ‘No 7’ took any. I was about 100 steps away on the ridge. I took this loot because it was left behind by the others. I had only a spear. I know that Ting Mi was present. We returned in the early morning and had our dinner on the hillside by Tuaikiang and arrived again at the fastness in the evening.

I cannot tell all the names of those who took plunder. Tong Kiao, Lang Tau-kiang, Nu Long, Pai Chion, A Nong, Ming Mink certainly did. I do not know Kuok Sung. I did not get any loot beside the things I picked up on the hill. The plunder was taken by Chio Hi and ‘Long Finger Nails.’ I did not enter the house.

(Here it was stated that the prisoner had given in all about 20 or 30 names. There was some difficulty. Here the Consuls insisted that the names should be forthcoming but for some reason or other the officials did not seem to care to produce them. He only gave the following verbally:—Tiong chiah, ‘No 7,’ Chio Hi, Lau Ing-cheng, Lang Tau-kiang, Yek A Nong, Yek Ming-nik, Iu Paik-chiong, Tai Nu-liong, To Huang-kiang, Tieng Yeu.)

After the pursuit I went to ‘No 7’ to Min-chiang. He is a tall man and rather thin with a mark on the left side of his face. When I left him he said he was going to Suka. I do not know his family name. I hear that his village was in the 12th township. I was caught in the village of Wngde in the *hien* of Kingyang in Kiongningfu.’

No 11. This prisoner is named Ting King-suk and is native of Angchieng. His Vegetarian name is Pwo Su and his leader’s name Ting Yeu. He confessed to having been at the fastness, but not at Whasang.

Afterwards when he was examined by the magistrates again he confessed that he had gone to Whasang, but alleged that his leader Ting Yeu compelled him to go, but did not tell him what he had to do. He got no plunder.

Tiong Chiah, a notorious leader, was the next examined. He had been brought in the previous day, and a reward of \$900 had been paid for his capture. He is a fairly tall man and wicked looking, with a fiercely intelligent countenance, strong looking, with prominent eyes and large protruding forehead. He is a native of Angchiong and is 41 years of age. His parents dead and he has three brothers. He is a general labourer but was formerly a *yamen* runner. He has oppressed people by acting without authority as *tipao*. He has been a Vegetarian two years. He was introduced into the organization by a man from Kienning named . . . , who is the leader at Kiongning. He is a boatman.

‘I spoke to him about being a Vegetarian and he admitted me. I was present at the district meeting at which members are recognised at Sengleng.

(The prisoner has furnished a list of prominent men amongst whom are Ik Wong-nong, Chin Pang, Chiu Neng-tieu, A Nong, Ming Nik, Ming Sing, A Ngung)

‘Wong Non-tie and four others went with me to Mepwoang in the Kienning Prefecture. I did not return until the 11th month last year, but Nong Tie and the others returned sooner.’

I think the magistrate’s object in eliciting this answer was to get at some proof of the organization being a political one.

‘I received a letter from ‘Long Fingers’ on 1st of 6th moon (letter was written in mysterious language and refers to a command to come on some important business to Ngutaul Liang. I know the man who gave me this letter but I did not know his name.

The general testimonies corroborate this man’s statement that he did not go Hua Sang, but that he had a dispute with ‘Long Finger Nails,’ and threatened to kill him. He was asked to take a letter to Foochow but refused. This letter purports to have been one to the head of the Vegetarians in Foochow asking for support in provisions and weapons. The result of the dispute was that he refused to go to Whasang and then the others threatened to kill him. He did not go to Whasang but informed a Christian, Pang Kie-ming, of the intended attack. This man sent the information to Mr. Ling Sing-mi and he at once sent it to Mr. Stewart but the letter never reached him, as the messenger got only half-way up the mountain when he met the fugitive people from the house to told him the awful tragedy. This exhausts the evidence up to date. Commission meets again this a.m. Aug. 27th, Tuesday.

W Banister

Provenance: North China Herald, 20 September 1895, pp 484-489

CMS East Asia Archives, National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915, Reel 245

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION REPORT 4

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

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

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

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

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

The 16th prisoner. The next prisoner brought before us, was Kiu Kiu-su, alias, Lang Tau-kiang, a native of Tongkio in the Pengnang district. Rather tall, with an intelligent face, but his clothes were poor and ragged. Aged 31 years. A dealer in opium—a notoriously bad character—was concerned in the former trouble with the Kucheng magistrate. He said,

‘I entered the sect to be cured of opium smoking. My local leader was Ting Ching-hwai. I went to the fastness on the 6th of 6th moon. I was sent with a letter to a man at Kikkau, who is a tailor, to call him to the gathering at the fastness. I went to see ‘Long Finger Nails,’ who I knew was there. ‘Long Finger Nails’ said the coming of the soldiers would not matter, they had come to settle the Toyong affair, but we would have no trouble with them. I went with the rest on the 10th to Whasang. I took a small sword and a spear. The first on the march was ‘No 7’ and To Chio-hi with the flag. At first there were about 200 or 300 men but many dropped out and only about 100 reached Whasang. When I arrived they had begun to plunder. I struck and killed a small foreigner.

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

The 17th prisoner examined was a man brought in only the previous day, Ting Hung-kiang, implicated by almost all the other prisoners. This man confessed quite freely, and gave the following evidence. He was called to the fastness by To Chio-hi, and was informed the business was in connection with the bringing of soldiers to Kucheng to deal with his body.

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

The prisoner Lung Nung-ming was then reexamined. On his previous examination he denied all complicity with the actual crime or its plan—he now confessed that it was true that he was present. He said,

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

The 18th prisoner was a man from the village of Lieng seng, 21 years of age. He said—

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

Provenance: *North China Herald*, 20 September 1895, pp 484-489

CMS East Asia Archives, National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915, Reel 245

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION REPORT 5

The 20th prisoner Sia Kai-tai was a short and wretched looking man, with bent legs, a native of Siochong, a coolie, 23 years old. (The first prisoner examined, Sia Kwok-sung, said Kai Tai had himself boasted at the fastness that he had stabbed two persons.) He said—

'I went to the fastness on the 8th of the moon, and saw the leaders, 'Long Fingers,' Tiong Chiah, Lang Tau-kiang, Hwang-kiang, Kwok Sang. I refused to go to Whasang and they scolded me and threatened to kill me. They did not tell me the nature of the expedition until we were getting nearer to Whasang. I had a wood-chopper. When we started they told me not to trouble but to march straight on. There was a small flag which we all saluted before starting. Our names were also taken. The leaders were all present. Lang Tau-kiang took the numbers, and Ting Hwang-kiang was also present. When all had saluted the flag it was taken by To Chio-hi. We arrived at Whasang early in the morning. I heard a horn blown but did not hear any other signal. There were 20 or 30 men at the houses first. I saw Ting Hwang-kiang go in, and I went in myself. I saw a lady come out of one of the rooms and I stabbed her once. After that I seized plunder and rushed out. All the men were taking plunder but I do not now remember who they were. Sia Kwok-sung was outside. He carried food. I saw Ming-nik, Lang Tau-kiang, Lieng Sung, Nu Long. Prisoner also affirmed to same general statement as other prisoners.

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

The prisoner Ting King-suk, 'Blind Eye' was here re-examined. He at first denied his guilt, but was convicted by the testimony of other prisoners and then confessed. He said,

I stabbed a lady in the arm (either Miss Hessie Newcombe or Elsie Marshall.) A man named Hu Cheng of Whasang took part in the outrage, also Ho Tiek, Ting Hwang-kiang, Ting Ping-ing, Hung Hwa. I saw Ming Eung come out of a room carrying a box.'

Yet Ming-nik was now re-examined. Though he first denied being at Whasang, he now acknowledged that the testimony was true; he was there and took part in the murders. He said,

'I cut a lady on the upper part of the face, and again on the lower jaw (probably Miss Codrington who has so wonderfully recovered.) I saw the four ladies come out and stand together. There were about 12 of our band around them. After we speared them they all fell together.

The 20st prisoner was Yek Ming-sung, a young man from Tingyong. He said,

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

21st man examined was Tai Nu-long, a tall wild looking fellow, 24 years old, of Sengsaupang. He was caught at Hilwang in the Ningtaik district. He testified as follows:—

I joined the body two years ago under Lau Ing-cheng. I went to the fastness on the 5th of the moon when there was a meeting, with all the leaders present, at which defensive measures were arranged against the soldiers who had been sent from Foochow to put down our organisation. The book of names was kept by Lau Ing-cheng.

(This prisoner killed two people, or helped to kill them. He is a very bad character and the people here say that killing is far too good for him. He had in his possession a pair of trousers, a tin of milk, a small box of ornaments, sundry clothes, and an umbrella. He asked for some money for his family, his brother having committed suicide since the trouble, and his home being broken up. The magistrate gave him 200 cash.)

The 22nd prisoner, In Paik-chiong, the man arrested at Hilwang with the previous prisoner, was 23 years old, one of 10 brothers—a dealer in earthenware, from Kikkau. Became a Vegetarian last year. He said,

‘I went to the fastness and was told by Chio Hi to get a sword. The leaders told me we were to go to Whasang and attack the foreign houses. I objected and they scolded me (he incriminated all the leaders, and gave names.) When I arrived at Whasang the gun had been fired and the work begun. I saw ‘no 7’, Lang Tau-kiang, and Ting Hwang-kiang. When I got to the front the house was on fire. I do not know who killed, but certainly ‘No 7’ Lang Tau-kiang and Ho Tiek did. I did not get any loot but was given an umbrella on the road. We were compelled to go.’

After the flight of their band, he and Nu Long fled to Ningtaik and saw there ‘No 7’ but he went home to Mingchiang on the 24th.

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

This finishes the examination of prisoners up to the 31st of August.
W Banister, CMS.

**Provenance: *North China Herald*, 20 September 1895, pp 484-489
CMS East Asia Archives, National Library of Australia, Mfm 1915, Reel 245**

REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION REPORT 6

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

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

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

The present moment is opportune for reviewing the conduct of the officials engaged in this case, viewed from within the Commission, and to show how far they have proved willing to act up to Sir H. Macartney’s promises. To begin with the event of the awful 1st of August, the 11th of the Chinese moon. The massacre was committed in the early dawn, and before 8 a.m. the sole remains of a happy party were the smoking ruins of two cottages, the ashes of one-half of the party, the bodies of the ladies lying on the hillside, and the wounded survivors gathered in Miss Hartford’s cottage. In Kucheng at this hour there was a Deputy Ho, a former magistrate, and he, in the presence of Dr. Gregory, wrote a telegram informing the Viceroy of what had occurred; this telegram reached the office at Suikow 30 miles off, at 7

p.m. the same day and was received by the Viceroy before his evening meal was finished. All the world besides was ignorant of the tragedy, but the Viceroy knew, yet he made no sign and gave no information to the representatives of the two nations concerned. The whole of Friday passed, still he said no word—no intimation was given from the *yamen* to the Consuls of England and America though there had been time to telegraph the news all round the world. Late that night a crumpled note written by the Rev. S Phillips from Whasang reached me. It said: 'The Vegetarians have risen—an awful thing has happened—five of our ladies are killed—the Stewarts are missing, but supposed safe.' Then for the first time the news was made known to the outside world. Another night passed without any sign from the Viceroy—and when Col. Hixson saw him on the Saturday morning to ask for the use of a launch for the relief of the survivors he made light of the matter and refused at first the use of a launch. Now comes another link in the chain of sequences which has resulted in the present deadlock. The Viceroy despatched the Foochow prefect to investigate and report, before he saw or communicated with any representative of the outside world—the while the blood of our honoured dead was soaking into the soil of Whasang. The prefect arrived at Kucheng on the 5th August, the 15th day of the Chinese moon, and lost no time in making his report, such as it was, the said report being made on the 20th of the moon, five days after his arrival.

On the arrival of the Commission at Kucheng, private information was given me that the report of the prefect to the Viceroy was made in a sense unfavourable to the Christians in Kucheng, and criticizing Mr. Stewart, and trying to show that the whole trouble in Kucheng was no more than a conflict between two rival sects. The object of this became more clear as the enquiry proceeded, in the anxious efforts of the officials concerned to minimise the affair and reduce the numbers of those engaged in the massacre to the proportions of a petty quarrel. It was, of course, extremely inconvenient that it could be known that the local officials, including the prefect, had allowed an organisation of this kind to grow to such dimensions as to be able to see the whole civil government at defiance and break out into open acts of violence and rebellion. The desire of the officials to minimize the numbers has been a marked feature all through the enquiry.

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

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

religious sect. This was undoubtedly the view and explains to a certain extent the attitude of the Viceroy, and his persistent unwillingness to treat the case in a manner befitting its gravity.

Again, to show how this only part of a definite plan of action previously agreed on, no sooner did the number of convictions of men guilty of taking part in the massacre reach to 45 (and the seven executions had taken place) than a marked change took place. All arrests stopped, and all prisoners who were brought into court for examination would acknowledge only to being present at the fastness and not at Whasang. This was certainly due to instructions from Foochow, and at an interview when both Taotai and prefect were present the hint was given that as no more Whasang cases had to be dealt with, the work of the foreign members of the Commission was practically completed. We then began to examine *privately* a number of witnesses gathered from different parts of the district who had actual personal knowledge of facts elicited. It is, of course, well known that no one will come forward openly to bear witness in a Chinese court. The class system of relationship and the intertwining of family interests make it impossible to obtain independent witnesses in the manner of foreign courts of justice. But after our inquiry at the *yamen* stopped at this deadlock, the English and American Consuls, Captain Newell and myself examined twenty-eight different witnesses brought from different parts of the district—and the following facts were proved absolutely beyond contradiction—(1) On the night of the midnight march from the fastness, the *Liengkahl* on watch in the village of Angchiong (through which the band passed on its way to Whasang) counted 259 armed men as they marched past to their work of plunder and murder. On the 9th day of the moon (30th July) the day before this march, the same *Lienghah* had petitioned in person the Kucheng magistrate for soldiers to resist a rumoured attack on the chapel in their village. Had the soldiers been sent there would have been no Whasang massacre to stain the record of foreign intercourse with China. (2) After the massacre was over the murderers returned *via* the village of Twaikang, about nine miles to the east of Whasang, where they halted and leisurely proceeded to cook their midday meal. No fear of pursuit or capture, but clearly a complete sense of security was present in their minds. The villagers counted over 130 of these men, who sat down to their dinner in the village or on the hillside. These were all armed, and carrying loot of different kinds and quantities. This number, of course, only includes the main body, who went in this direction, and takes no account of other scattered bodies of men who returned, as we know they did, to their own villages in other directions. (3) Later in the day, about the middle of the afternoon, this main body of men passed down the valley from Twaikiang to the village of Kasai and here again they were counted (and many of them recognised) as they passed through the village, by two independent witnesses. There were 118 men carrying loot and arms. (The diminution in numbers was natural, as men were dropping off on branch roads for their own homes as they proceeded further from the scene of the outrage.) (4) It is proved beyond doubt that there must have been at Whasang, on the fatal 1st of August, at least 150 or 160 men, all engaged in one way or another in the terrible doings of that morning. If these 45 had been convicted up to the present date, seven of whom had been executed. This left over 100 men still at large.

We got a list of 92 names against whom there was evidence, and who were still at large when Mr. Mansfield and I left Kucheng on the 11th of October. Although all but 29 of these names had been sent in to the magistrate some time ago, yet no attempt whatever had been made to arrest them. The only appearance of any desire to get them was the dispatch of a company of soldiers, who went as far as Ngysong, about nine miles from the city, and stopped there, telling the villagers they had only come so far to deceive the foreigners who were pressing the officials so much that something had got to be done to satisfy them. The episode of the proclamations has been already dealt with in previous communications, but two other points in reference to the conduct of deputies sent out on special service, shows what methods are used by them to deceive. At the time of the disturbance in march, when the magistrate closed the gates of the city, and people and missionaries were shut up for three days, the late Viceroy sent a deputy, Li by name, to examine into the matter. He was the likin officer at Suikou, the river-port thirty miles from Kucheng, and must have known by common report, the state of things in Kucheng at that time. He went into Kucheng, stayed there one night, returned next day, and reported that there was no trouble and that the soldiers asked for need not be sent. They were not sent, and the result we know. After we had repeatedly pressed on the Taotai at Kucheng the fact that we had definite information as to the

numbers of on the return march from Whasang, clearly showing there were many more men there than the officials allowed, he sent two deputies to enquire on the route taken. This was done at our suggestion, but the result was the same old story of fraud and deception. Before the deputies arrived at the village of Twaikiang, where 180 men were counted, they sent on ahead an interpreter to instruct the members of the *Liengkah* what to say. He told the head of the *Liengkah* that the deputies were coming to ask how many passed through their village from Whasang and that they were not to say too many, but to tell the deputies that about 60 or 70 was the number. The deputies arrived—exhorted the *liengkah* ‘to tell the truth, not too many and not too few, but the right number.’ ‘Now’, said they, ‘how many men passed through from Whasang that afternoon?’ ‘Some sixty or seventy,’ was the reply. ‘That is right,’ said the deputies, ‘and now you must sign this paper to that effect.’ Thus in enacted a solemn farce in the name of justice.

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

We hope to return to Kucheng in two days and begin another stage in our proceedings, after Mr. Mansfield’s personal interview with the Viceroy.

W Banister, CMS

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REPORT OF THE KUCHENG COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION REPORT 7

7th day of the Examination of Prisoners. (2 September 1895)

On this day the Court examined the notorious founder of the Vegetarian Sect in Ku Cheng. His name is Law Tung King, most commonly know as Lau Ing Cheng. He is a Kiang-Si man, 43 years old. A bad looking man, with a cast in his right eye. He was brought into Court heavily ironed. While propagating the ‘Vegetarian’ doctrine & adding to the numbers of the Sect, he followed the Business of a Weight and measure maker & repairer of broken pottery. He has admitted many members to the sect., and was looked on as the leader in the Ku Cheng district until the man Lo Chio-Hi came to the front. In his examination he confessed that he was the leader, but denied complicity in the Hwasang massacre. He has, however, been convicted by universal testimony of prisoners examined. He said the real head of the organisation was a native of Kiang-Si province, by name Lui Hok-Ing, and living in the Kwang Seng prefecture. He testified to the share to himself had taken in the attack on the city, and referred to the share that Lang Che-Ing (a literary man of some note) had in helping them to come off victorious in the conflict with the magistrates. He said their flag was first carried by Lang Hwa but was afterwards given to Lo Chio-Hi. There were 90 or 100 men at Hwa Sang. Their first & alternative plan was to attack the city by firing it, and then when the magistrates came out to see, to kill them & plunder the houses. He absolutely refused to say more than this.

The next prisoner was the man Lang Hwa, referred to by Lau. This person was fairly well dressed and came from a respectable house in the town of Sioh-Yong. He acknowledged being at Hwa Sang (& at the preliminary gathering at the fastness) & that he was amongst the first to go. The flag was first given to him, but some objecting it was handed to Lo Chio Hi. About 100 came to Hwa Sang, & the first of the lot to arrive rushed in and did the work. He was the only man from his village. He got a blanket out of the loot, which he afterwards gave to Long Finger-nails. The leader Lau Ing Cheng was present at Hwa Sang

but he did not know if he killed anyone. Asked why they went to Hwa Sang he said the general idea was plunder and the leaders did not say they were to kill till they were close to Hwa Sang.

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

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

8th day of the Examination of Prisoners. (3 September 1895)

Wong Cheng Hok was the first prisoner brought into Court this a.m. A strong, big man, 34 years old, a native of Ku Cheng City. He acknowledged being present at the fastness and going under pressure to Hwa Sang. He was told that soldiers had come to the aid of the magistrate and the members must organize and the only way to escape was to join the expedition and obey the leaders. He arrived at the Hwa Sang houses late, when the others were about leaving and saw them carrying away loot. . . While this man was being examined, another Ik Wong Seng who had previously been examined confessed that it was true he had been at the massacre. At this moment a great uproar arose outside and shouts of an excited crowd reached us—we wondered what it could mean and all in Court looked alarmed, but a Yamen runner came in and said it was due to the arrival of the famous “No 7” who had just been brought in. The noise and uproar still continued and then the city magistrate went out and quelled the disturbance. Soon two men came running into court where we sat, one of the them carrying the prisoner ‘No 7’ on his back, and the other holding a rope which was tied around the prisoners neck. The row had been caused by the soldiers wishing to remove him from the custody of his captors, the *Lieng Kah* or Home-guard of the place where he had been caught. The prisoner was hardly able to walk and his clothes were much stained with blood as he had been wounded in the arm and leg by his captors. He was caught in the upper part of this province in the Yong Pong Prefecture. He is a strong, bold, fearless looking man, and showed a disposition to treat the matter in a spirit of reckless bravado, and a contempt for all regret or remorse.

9th day of the Examination of Prisoners. (4 September 1895)

The next day, Sep 4th, the 9th day of examination:—he was brought before us. He had already been questioned by the magistrate and had openly confessed to sharing in the awful crime. His examination was mainly taken up by trying to get incriminating evidence as to the other sharers in the crime. He has been well-treated by the magistrates because he told unhesitatingly his share in the doings of that terrible day. (Almost every prisoner hitherto examined had testified that this man was the first to begin the attack). He said he saw a lady outside the house and at once went for her and stabbed her with the trident spear he carried. She at once fell, and rolled over a steep bank in front of the house. (This is supposed to be Miss Hessie Newcombe, whose body was found down the bank). He then assisted in the house. (He was afterwards accused by prisoner Wong Nong Sie of having killed one other lady inside the house- and the two men being confronted, he confessed that this was quite true, he had killed another lady, a short lady, inside the upper (CMS) house. He then started for the house below where Miss Hartford, of American Mission, stayed, intending to kill her. He knew she was down there because in the fourth month of this year (may 1895) he visited Hwa Sang and was shown the different houses by two Hwa Sang men who were of their body and they showed him this house and told him she had rented it and was coming there in the summer. He said his intention was to kill her, and he attacked her with the same trident spear, but she was defended by her servant and he was knocked down and disabled so that when, presently, the retreat was ordered after the work was done, he could only walk a short distance and had to be carried in a chair from the upper house. (Note: As he went to attack Miss Hartford alone, her servant had a chance to defend her. Some other men who started down the hill along with him turned aside on the way in pursuit

of some China men they saw,

The signal for the attack to begin was the firing of a gun by Ho Siek. He gave very interesting evidence as the reason why Hwa Sang was attacked. He said, After the coming of the Long-finger nails' to the fastness they determined that they would raise the standard and resist the soldiers sent to quell them. They debated for several days as to the best means of obtaining support and the means for carrying on their enterprise, and three plans were discussed. The first was to attack a rich man's house in the village of Lang Leuk, about 9 miles from Hwa Sang, he having much paddy [rice] stored in the village; the Second was to fire the city of Ku Cheng in several places once and when the magistrate came out to see the fire to kill him and loot the houses of the well-to-do; the 3rd plan was to march by night to Hwa Sang and drive the foreigners out and loot their houses. To decide which of these plans should be the one to follow, they cast lots and for three nights in succession the lot fell on Hwa Sang. The lot was always taken by 'Long Finger-Nails' and he may have so arranged that the lot *should* fall on Hwa Sang. "Long Finger Nails' had obtained an immense influence on the men assembled at the fastness. He was a very skilful writer as well as being a fortune-teller and pretending to supernatural powers and produce a cleverly written piece of verse showing the intentions of the sect and their object in attacking foreigners.

10th day of the Examination of Prisoners. (6 September 1895)

10th day of examn, Sep 6th. On this day we examined 3 prisoners. First was Ngang Ming Kiang, who gave little evidence in addition to that already obtained. He acknowledged having taken part in the business and to having obtained a coverlet as his share of loot.

There has been, of late, a strong disposition on the part of prisoners examined to conceal the names of other men who were at Hwa Sang and participated in the massacre.

The Second man examined was Sing Chung-The. He had been incriminated by Lau Ing Cheng, the leader, and confessed to being there and to carrying off two suits of female clothing. He would give no names and stubbornly denied the knowledge of any person who took part, except one man.

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

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

11th day of the Examination of Prisoners. (7 September 1895)

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

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

The notorious "Long-finger-nails" was also brought in, and confronted with the seditious piece of verse which had been posted up at the fastness. He denied any knowledge of it—looked at it without moving a muscle of his face, and having read it said he knew nothing about it and had never seen it

before. He is a consummate actor.
W Banister

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

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

From other parts of the mission unfavourable reports are coming and it seems almost impossible to foretell the harm that may arise from failure to get these murderers punished and protection really granted by the officials to the Christians.

Mary Banister,
Sep 16th/95.

Provenance: CMS Archives, Birmingham

Handwritten letter from Banister to Baring-Gould, Ku Cheng, 11 September 1895.

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

I wrote to you a fortnight ago and still we are here, with our task of trying these murderers unfinished. We have now had 11 sittings of the court in the City Yamen. Up to the present date, 12 men have been condemned and they will be executed in a few days by having their heads cut off and which will afterwards be hung in cages and exposed for a certain period to the public gaze.

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

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

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

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

I do not forget that I am a missionary but this has been an awful task.

I will not go into details as I have sent a report of the trial to Mr. Stock from day to day.

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

Each days experience only makes it plainer and clearer to me that I cannot come back, but that some other arrangements must be made.

You will have seen from my telegram that I suggest either Martin or Collins . . . other members of the Mission you will have objections urged against each one. For myself I think Martin possesses the qualities most needed in Ku Cheng at the present crisis, and I would urge his appointment as the most suitable. He could begin work at once. On the other hand, Collins is more in sympathy with the line of work taken up by dear Stewart and all his connections are with Ireland. In this case, the district would have to be left to the native brethren for some months in a year until Collins can come out again which will be in the autumn of next year. This would not make any great difference to the district, and would probably would help the natives to stand alone better. It is now the middle of September, and it is not in the least probable that any missionary work can be done until next year.

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

I think it is important that the Committee decision be sent by telegram. Much delay and much misunderstanding will be then avoided. At the present moment I gather from letters received that the Mission atmosphere in Foochow is in a disturbed condition, and much patience and forbearance is needed

...

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

W Banister.

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

- (1) My position as assessor with the consuls, and principal advocate against some murderers, sitting side by side with the officials entirely destroys my missionary character in the eyes of the Chinese marks me for the future as a man ostensibly a missionary but actually an official with a great deal of political power.
- (2) That this political character would give me great influence with the Chinese, both Christian and heathen, but would lead them to think that it would be a good thin to be associated with a person possessing such power. This would undoubtedly work against the spiritual growth of the Church and also give me an equivocal position.
- (3) The object of my association with the Consuls and officials is to bring these murderers to punishment, and without my aid it would have been difficult for the Consuls to do this. The heads of these men will hang on poles in cages at he gates of the City of Ku Cheng until they decay. I shall ever be associated with these executions and just and right as the punishment of these hardened criminals is yet I feel that my position here as a missionary would be unendurable.

Provenance, CMS Archives, Birmingham

Rev. W Banister to Mr. Eugene Stock, 7 October 1895. Received London 25 Nov 1895.

Ku Cheng, Foochow, Oct 7/95

My dear Mr. Stock

My reports have been sent to you by each mail from Foochow by Mrs. Banister. You will therefore have a good idea of the course of events since we began our work of investigation. Our work is now practically over—at least the first stage of the investigation. Out of over 60 persons brought before the court we have convicted 45 who are guilty of actual murder or direct complicity with it. Of these 7 only have been executed, 5 others have refused to confess that they were at Hwa Sang and this leaves 33, one

of whom has since died in prison. The rest will all have the death sentence passed on them but some will not suffer death. We have absolute proof that about 160 people were at the Hwa Sang massacre. These men ought all to be captured and punished and could be if the officials so willed. We have ascertained the names of these uncaptured criminals and urged the mandarins to arrest them but under orders from the Viceroy of Foochow they are not doing anything to capture them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elsie Marshall was the last speaker and she spoke on Luke IX 29, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whomever will lose his life for my sake the same shall find it.'

Prophetic words soon realised and fulfilled for them all. 'For His sake' they yielded up their lives and now know what it means. NO more mists and clouds, no more doubts and fears, all all known in eternal light and glory. Their faithfulness unto death will be forever a blessed memory for the Fuh Kien Church.

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

I am, Yours very truly

W Banister.

Provenance: CMS Archives, Birmingham

Archdeacon John R Wolfe to Baring Gould, c October 1895, Recd London Nov 1895

My Dear Mr Baring Gould

Things are perfectly quiet here at Foochow. The people all over the city and neighbourhood are civil and friendly and we have as good opportunities as we ever have had for preaching and teaching in the city and Surrounding Valley and neighbourhood. It was only this very week that I had an invitation to open a Station in a large place about 4 miles from Foochow. I accepted the invitation and was most cordially received and listened to with much respect and attention. The presence of the English man of war in the Foochow harbour has caused some agitation amongst the people of Lieng Kong and other outside cities because they suppose the intention of the English is to take possession of Foochow on a/c of the Ku Cheng murders. But there is no cause at all for alarm, and as we can now see, our friends need have no anxiety. We are perfectly safe here at Foochow. Our chapels and preaching halls are crowded with attentive listeners when we open the places for preaching . . . (unclear marginal addition)

There is certainly at the present time a very wholesome dread, on the part of the people generally of the Government however slow they be, & of the British Lion. It was quite time to make some sign that England was not asleep or regardless of the lives of her children that were murdered at Hwa Sang. The Chinese have come to the conclusion since that England did not care and that she could be . . . of mollified by a few thousand dollars for the lives of her subjects. This is the only way the Chinese account for the extraordinary conduct of the Viceroy and his subordinates in connexion with the Ku Cheng Massacre of British Subjects. The conduct of the Chinese officials all through the . . . has been disgraceful. They have done everything they could to impede the Commission of Enquiry in their work. They have secretly released some of the murderers and have refused to re-arrest them. They have endeavoured to screen some of the guilty leaders and have refused to execute some who have been found guilty of murder. These high officials evidently think they can, with impunity, disregard the demands of England. They do not seem to comprehend the gravity of the situation. It is hard to believe that these mandarins from the way they are going on care an atom for the power of England or realize what they may be bringing upon themselves or on their country. But their conduct in connexion with the Commission is characteristic. They have now placed the murder of our dear friends in the category of a street row in which both parties were to blame, and in which one party happened to get the worst of it. They have most industriously reported all over the country that our martyred friends had attacked the meetings of the Vegetarians who in return attacked the missionaries and killed a few of them. No justice can be expected from such officials as this Viceroy and his subordinates. When under the very eyes of the Consuls at Ku Cheng they issued a most criminal proclamation against the Christians . . . and in favour of the Vegetarians, and when the nature of this proclamation was discussed by the Commission these officials apologized and promised to remedy the evil they had done by issuing another, the draughting of which they submitted to Consuls for their approval, which they . . . As they left the presence of the Consuls they threw aside the draught (draft) approved by the Commission and issued again the obnoxious one with only a few unimportant characters altered. It is absolutely sickening to note their duplicity and dishonest dealing all through the melancholy business. We who know them of course are not surprised but it is difficult to convey to people at home the depth of their cunning and deceit and the facility with which they can lie!

The feeling against the native Christians is great but I trust the Lord who is mighty will cause even the wrath of man to praise Him, and enable the Christians to hold their way despite the hate and the fury of their persecution. I know you will all earnestly pray that they may be kept faithful. I am sanguine when this Ku Cheng business is settled, if settled satisfactorily, that the persecution of the Christians will cease and that we shall all be able once more to resume our various duties all over the country.

The feeling all over the foreign community here, and the whole of China, is strong, I regret to say,

against the employment of lady missionaries outside the treaty ports, and I believe a strong representation will be made to Government by Officials of all sorts on the subject. I hope the CMS will not be influenced by such pressure is brought on them to cease sending ladies missionaries to Fukien. A mission without a large staff of devoted lady missionaries, I have no hesitation in saying, after 34 years of experience, is a mission destitute of the most potent agencies for the conversion of China. The vast majority of Chinese women, half the population of China, can be reached only by lady missionaries. Even our Christian congregations on account of the ignorance of the wives and daughters of the men, are sorely lacking too often in devotion. The presence of lady missionaries is the only answer for this state of things, and I can bear testimony with deep thankfulness to God for the improvements seen everywhere in our Christian congregations which have had the privilege of the presence and teaching of these lady missionaries.

If there is one objection which I am sure will be urged by the officials here against them, and that is practice of going about in Chinese costumes, and it would be wise on the part of the two Societies, to at least advise their ladies agents to dispense with the practice. It is not really worth all the talk which it gives occasion for among all parties, especially when a lady in her own English dress will be just as useful. Some of us say more useful and certainly without exciting evil remark or giving occasion to evil disposed persons to raise reports which may result in riots or something worse. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the other provinces of China to say whether the practice is beneficial or otherwise, but from my experience of this province I can say without a moment's hesitation that it is harmful in more ways than one, I think it is a delicate matter and speak about just now because it was the practice of those devoted martyr sisters at Ku Cheng, and no one admired their devotion more than I have, but no sentiment of this sort prevent one in pointing out what may possibly result in future trouble, I am persuaded as I said it will be made a cause of offense by officials and others in the reports to Government. For myself if ladies will still persist in the practice I shall honour and respect them all the same though I shall feel they are mistaken in their view of the matter. And hope no argument or . . . of any sort will cause our Society or the Committee to cease sending in lady missionaries to this mission.

Yours very sincerely
John R Wolfe.

Provenance, CMS Archives, 29 November 1895.

Mss letter W Banister to Baring-Gould

House Boat, River Min, Oct 16th/95

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

My last letter was written to you from Ku Cheng. From my reports . . . you will see that we progress in the work of investigation. . . has been interrupted by the willful opposition of the Chinese Officials. After waiting patiently for some time, hoping that the Minister at Peking would be able to bring the Viceroy at Foochow to a better mind the English Consul, Mr. Mansfield felt it his duty to proceed to Foochow and have a personal interview with the chief obstructionist then Viceroy.

He and I therefore left Ku Cheng last Friday Oct 11th and arrived in Foochow on Saturday, just 2 months since our departure. It so happens that without the Consul's knowledge the English Admiral also arrived in Foochow on Friday afternoon. His arrival brought up the strength of the British ships at Pagoda Anchorage to four, and one at Foochow near the foreign settlement. This coincidence has had a very salutary effect upon the Viceroy for when Mr. Mansfield paid his visit to him in the city on Monday morning, he had ceased to desire further obstruction.

He gave way completely and entirely and granted all the Consuls demands. We are now returning to Ku Cheng with the earnest hope and expectation that peace will be restored to Ku Cheng and that the demands of justice will be fully met. I have only time and space just to give you the barest details of the process proposed by Mr. Mansfield and granted without hesitation by the, I suppose, repentant Viceroy. I thought to let you know as soon as possible.

With the exception of 4 leaders who are to be retried by the provincial authorities in Foochow where they will be executed, all the other chief criminals will be executed at once on our return to Ku Cheng.

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

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

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

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

Will you pray that every member of the Mission both male and female may have this gift of patience. I am, yours very truly, W Banister.

Provenance: CMS Archives,

Typewritten letter from Rev. W Baring-Gould, Sec, CMS, to Rev. W Banister, 25 October 1895

25th October 1895

My dear Mr. Banister

On the 22nd instant we sent a telegram to Archdeacon Wolfe to the following effect "Brethren must not act as members of Commission". The history of the telegram is as follows:—on the appointment of the 'Commission' in *the Times* your name with that of Mr. Star appeared as members of the Commission. On receiving a telegram from you informing us of the proceedings of the Commission being delayed, we went to the Foreign Office and informed the authorities of the terms of your telegram, and remarked that there was special weight to be attached to your telegram in-so-much as you were a member of the Commission. The Under-Secretary at once demurred to my statement, and from that day to less than a week ago some of us have been cherishing the idea that neither you nor Mr. Star were members of the Commission. Subsequently your diary, and especially one letter from Mr. Star, again throw doubts upon your position in connexion with the Commission, and at the same time we sent you the telegram above quoted. Most fully do we sympathise with you both in the difficult position in which you find your selves placed. On the one had it was evident that the Consul claimed your assistance on account of your personal knowledge of the dialect and your intimacy with the people and country around Ku-Cheng. In the interests of justice it was exceedingly difficult for you to decline to serve; on the other hand for your Missionaries to be directly connected with the transactions of the Commission would obviously prove very detrimental to any subsequent Missionary work being undertaken by you in that neighbourhood. Today we learn from the Foreign Office that our Government do not understand that you were asked to act as members of the Commission of Enquiry.

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

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

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

From R W Mansfield, British Consul, Foochow, to Rev. W Banister, Foochow, 3 November 1895

H.B.M. Consulate

Foochow, 3rd November 1895

The Revd Wm Banister, Foochow

Sir

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

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

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

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

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

R W Mansfield, Consul.

Provenance: CMS Archives, Birmingham

Rev. W. Banister to Baring-Gould, 5/11/95

My dear Mr. Baring-Gould

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

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

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

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

The result of the investigation up to date is as follows.

26 Executed

19 banished or imprisoned for life.

27 for periods of 10 to 15 years imprisonment.

20 for other minor punishment.

There are 94 more criminals against whom we have evidence and whose arrests we have demanded from the Chinese.

The new Consul Mr. Allen will have to deal with these as they are arrested to brought to Foochow for trial.

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

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

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

I am, yours very truly

W Banister

PS. The above Mr. Clement Allen is not the Vice Consul Allen mentioned in the dispatch.